ज्ञानाग्निः समिध्यते

BHĀRATA-KAUMUDĪ

[Studies in Indology in honour of
Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji]

PART II

PUBLISHED FOR THE COMMITTEE
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EDITORIAL PREFACE

In publishing this Presentation Volume, the Editors have to make a few acknowledgements. They regret the delay in its publication owing to unavoidable conditions created by the War. The delay is an unfortunate contrast to the readiness and promptitude with which the learned writers contributed their valued Articles to the Volume in response to our request, and we cannot adequately express in words our gratitude to them. The number of writers and their Articles is indeed very gratifying but, at the same time, it has called for a division of the Volume, lest it become too bulky, into two handy Parts, each of which is to make up more than 500 printed pages.

We deeply deplore the premature passing away of several scholars who had been the promoters and signatories of the Scheme. The first is Dr. N. N. Sen Gupta who was Professor and Head of the Department of Philosophy at the Lucknow University, a colleague, and whilom pupil, of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji. His sad and sudden death has been a great blow to Dr. Mookerji personally and to us all. The death of Dr. V. S. Sukthankar and of Dr. R. Shama Sastry is equally sad for us. Their names are permanently linked up with the project initiated by them. We have also to express our profound sorrow at the passing away of that doyen of Orientalists, Dr. A. Berriedale Keith, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology at the University of Edinburgh, who has added to the value of the Volume by his erudite Article.

The Volume in its two Parts is made up of Articles contributed by 75 learned scholars, each of whom has written on the subject of his special study. Such a large number of papers naturally represent a wide range of subjects in the field of Indology and must make the Volume a very useful publication with its appeal to a variety of intellectual interests and aptitudes.

We owe the design on the cover to the renowned artist, Mr. A. K. Haldar, Principal of the Lucknow School of Art, and the portraits of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji to Mr. L. M. Sen, A. R.

C.A. (London), of the same School, and to Dr. Anne Aucott, another accomplished Artist.

The design for part II we owe to the noted Artist, Mr. B. Sen, M. A., of Lucknow School of Art.

The title *Bhārata-Kaumudī* has been considered as an appropriate one for a volume associated with Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji.

BOARD OF EDITORS

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CEREMONY OF PRESENTATION OF THE VOLUME

The ceremony of Presentation of the Volume to Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji was held at the Lucknow University, Bennett Hall, on 31st January, 1945, at 6-0 p.m. with the Vice-Chancellor, Lt. Col. Raja Bisheshwar Dayal Seth, B.Sc., F.C.S., M.L.A., in the chair. The ceremony was preceded by the Committee's *At Home*. Advantage was taken on the occasion of the presence of the Hon'ble Justice Sir S. Varadachariar of the Federal Court at the University to have the ceremony of presentation performed by him. Justice Varadachariar came to the University to deliver the inaugural course of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji Lectures on the subject of "Hindu Judicial System."

Professor N. K. Sidhanta, M.A. (Cantab.), Chairman of the Presentation Volume Committee, in proposing the Vice-Chancellor to the chair, said :—

"I have great pleasure in requesting you to preside over this meeting which has been convened to present the Commemoration Volume to Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji. Such occasions are comparatively rare in this country and properly reserved for honouring scholars who have devoted their lives for extending the bounds of knowledge. Dr. Mookerji is one of those great scholars and through the labours of a life-time he has contributed to our knowledge of India's past as no one else has done. Tributes have been paid by all competent historians to Dr. Mookerji's meticulous accuracy in the presentation of facts and the attractive manner of his writing which has made his works popular even with the ordinary readers. We in the Lucknow University are proud of

his association with this institution and of the fact that most of his work has been done as Professor of History in this University. Dr. Mookerji has not only added to our store-house of knowledge but with the help of his willing and enthusiastic colleagues he has built up at Lucknow the strongest University school of Ancient Indian History.

"We are proud of the fact that eminent scholars of the East and West have contributed to make this commemoration volume a work which will be prized by scholars in the days to come. This, combined with the endowment to honour him, which will enable the University to have courses of learned lectures every year, will help the University to continue the work which he started here and also keep alive the memory of his work.

"I now request you, Sir, to preside over this meeting convened to honour a distinguished colleague."

The President then took the chair and called upon Dr. V. S. Agrawala, M.A., Ph.D., the Treasurer of the Committee to read his Report. He stated:

"Being a student of Dr. Mookerji I take it as a matter of personal pride and privilege to be associated with the project of which the fruition we are celebrating today by this function. On this auspicious occasion I present to you a short report on the origin and progress of the Scheme of which we are now witnessing the fulfilment. In October 1942 on the occasion of the meeting of the Indian History Congress at Hyderabad in the Nizam's Dominion, a few friends of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji met and initiated a proposal to honour him in recognition of his long and distinguished services in different spheres of national life. It was then agreed that a

Volume of Studies containing articles on Indian History and Civilization should be presented to him. The Scheme was soon expanded so as to include the endowment in his name of a Lectureship of a suitable annual value in the subject of Indian History and Civilisation at the Lucknow University which Dr. Mookerji has been serving. The proposal met with a hearty response and an Appeal signed by sixty-five distinguished scholars and public men was sent out. The success of the Scheme seemed to be assured from the very beginning by a princely donation of Rs. 5,000/- offered by Dr. B. C. Law of Calcutta as soon as the Scheme was announced. The cost of the Scheme was originally estimated at Rs. 10,000/-, but, thanks to the generous support of some of its sponsors and signatories, the estimate was exceeded in a very short time and raised to Rs. 15,000/- and, later on, to Rs. 30,000/. With the growing volume of support forthcoming for the Scheme from the leading Indian States, landlords, and business magnates, the target figure was raised to Rs. 75,000/- with a view to provide adequately for the Lectureship Endowment and its connected purposes such as the publication of the annual Lectures, institution of Scholarships, and the like. The total collections now exceed Rs. 60,000/-. The Committee has already transferred to the Lucknow University funds on the basis of which the University has instituted the Radha Kumud Mookerji Lectureship. A great impetus has been just given to the work of the Committee by the Government of the United Provinces recognizing it by sanctioning a generous subvention of Rs. 500/- towards the cost of the publication of these Lectures. It is extremely happy on the part of the University to have invited a person of the eminence and academic standing of the Hon'ble Justice Sir S. Varadachariar of the Federal Court to deliver the inaugural

course of Lectures under the Endowment. We are, therefore, fortunate in having him in our midst today and the Committee feels very much honoured that the first course of Lectures under the Scheme is being delivered by a person of his position and distinction. The Lectureship will no doubt materially promote the cause of Indian History and Civilization by the publication of learned works from year to year on selected topics by learned specialists.

The Committee has also made over to the University further sums by which the University has instituted respectively two Post-graduate Scholarships and a Gold Medal to be awarded annually at the Convocation to the best B.A. of the year.

The response from scholars for contributions to the Volume was no less encouraging. About seventy-five learned writers sent their valued articles to the Volume in response to our request. We cannot adequately express our gratitude to them. Although the matter for the Volume was sent to the press in April 1943, the Editors regret the delay in its publication owing to unavoidable conditions created by the War. Such a large number of papers naturally represents a wide range of subjects in the field of Indology and must make the Volume a very successful publication with its appeal to a variety of intellectual interests and aptitudes. Gratifying as the number of writers and their articles is, it has at the same time called for a division of the Volume into two handy parts, the first of which as now presented consists of 502 printed pages besides the introductory matter.

The Committee wishes to express its deep gratitude to all the promoters and signatories of the Scheme, to the many Patrons, Donors, and Subscribers who paid so generously during such hard times, and to all the scholars who offered their intellectual co-operation, in making the

various parts of the Scheme such a complete success. The Committee cannot but feel gratified that the love of India's culture keeps burning in so many hearts and this is a sure sign of our bright cultural future.

The President next requested Raja Sir Maharaja Singh as one of the signatories and donors of the Scheme, and as ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Lucknow University, to address the audience.

Raja Sir Maharaj Singh said:

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Sir S. Varadachariar, Prof. Sidhanta, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I have known Professor Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji as a friend and a colleague, and I have great admiration for him in either capacity. One cannot fail to mark the two principal and outstanding characteristics of the Professor. Firstly, his versatility. Perhaps the audience does not know that Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji was at one time Professor of English at Ripon and later at the Bishop's College, Calcutta. His knowledge of English is great. He is a good speaker and uses the choicest English in his speeches. Professor Mookerji is well versed in Indian politics and has been a Member of the Bengal Legislative Council. The second characteristic of Prof. Mookerji is his devotion to India's past. He has made what some people have termed the 'dry-bones' of Indian history live anew and shine with bright radiance. Newman, whose knowledge of English prose was profound, has once referred to an institution as a "monument of wisdom." To my mind no fitter tribute can be paid to Professor Mookerji than to call him a monument of ancient wisdom of India. He has been a source of inspiration to countless students of history here and elsewhere. Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, Lucknow

thanks you, educated India is grateful to you, our University is proud of you.

Mr. C. D. Chatterji, M.A., a Member of the Committee, was next asked to say a few words:

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Sir S. Varadachariar, Ladies and Gentlemen,

The occasion for which we have assembled here today is both happy and inspiring. We feel happy, because we are honouring here today a worthy son of India, who has achieved international reputation in the world of scholarship by his sustained and strenuous labours carried on for more than three decades in the field of History and Indology. The achievement of Prof. Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji in the realm of Thought as well as in the domain of Letters will also be a source of inspiration to us and to those who will come after us, as an example of what an Indian can accomplish to win for himself a status of equality with the savants of the West, on the basis of originality and scientific investigation. We are also proud to think how one of our colleagues, and through him the Lucknow University, has done so much for the cause of building up India's past history, both political and cultural, and restoring some of its forgotten chapters. When Prof. Mookerji commenced his work as a historian and published as far back as 1912 his monumental work on the *History of Indian Shipping* on the basis of strikingly original research, he appeared as a pioneer in the field which was hitherto owned almost as a monopoly by Western scholars like V. A. Smith, J. F. Fleet, G. Bühler, E. Senart, A. B. Keith, E. J. Rapson, T. W. Rhys Davids, F. W. Thomas, and A. A. Macdonell. There was then only a handful of Indian scholars working in the field of Ancient Indian

History and Archaeology, amongst whom mention may be made of Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, D. R. Bhandarkar, H. P. Sastri, R. D. Banerjee and S. Krishnaswamy Iyenger. But now the labours of these Indian pioneers have produced a rich harvest of research and bountiful crop of scholars working in different branches of Indology on the basis of intensive and highly specialized study. By his work as a teacher during all these years, Prof. Mookerji has also helped to build up schools of research in Ancient Indian history at different centres, such as the Universities of Benares, Mysore and Lucknow as the first Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture at these Universities.

The work of Prof. Mookerji in the sphere of History is unique both in quantity and quality. There are few scholars who have his pace of productivity and power of writing so much, within such a short space of time. Equally remarkable is the range of his literary output, which is not always confined to purely antiquarian research. Some of his researches are inspired by a spirit of service to the country by presenting proper historical data for a solution of some of its problems. As an instance, I may cite his *Fundamental Unity of India*, which has been honoured by an Introduction from the pen of a British Premier, J. Ramsay Macdonald. This work was followed by his *Nationalism in Hindu Culture*, which Dr. Annie Besant brought out as the first volume of her Asian Library Series published in London. I may also instance his extensive treatise called *Local Government in Ancient India*, which is the first book of its kind published by the Clarendon Press, Oxford with the *imprimatur* of the Oxford University and the Foreword of a Secretary of State for India, the Marquess of Crewe. This work is replete with epigraphic material, garnered with phenomenal patience, from obscure sources

ransacked by laborious research. It gives a unique picture of the Indian Village Community functioning as a rural republic and represents the scholarship of the author at its highest. English scholarship further recognised his worth by publishing his *Harsha* as the only work of an Indian, in the Oxford *Rulers of India Series.* Asoka, whom H. G. Wells counts as the greatest king, has got in Prof. Mookerji the best interpreter of his greatness, in a work presenting his history in its true light on the basis of elaborate annotations of the emperor's words in his immortal inscriptions. Prof. Mookerji's choice of subjects is extremely felicitous and appropriate in filling up gaps in our knowledge of ancient India. His recent work on *Chandragupta Maurya and His Times*, written as *Sir William Meyer Lectures* of the Madras University, supplies a long-felt need of students of Indian History. The world of scholars is equally indebted to him for his masterly presentation and exposition in his *Hindu Civilization* of the ideals and institutions characteristic of ancient India. In this valuable work, Prof. Mookerji has compressed within a remarkably short compass and in a compact manner, all that is best and noblest in India's Culture and Traditions. The West, indeed, cannot find in any other work a more concrete, vivid, and authoritative interpretation of India's Thought and Cultural heritage as embodied in the history presented in this work. Some of Prof. Mookerji's researches again have intimate bearings on India's present day problems, economic and political. I may mention here only one work of his, viz., *India's Land-System, Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern*, which he has written as a Member of the Bengal Land Revenue Commission, on the basis of his inevstigations on the spot, in typical rural regions in different parts of India. It will thus be seen that Prof. Mookerji's literary output

is remarkable in its range, variety, and volume and shows a rare combination of width and depth. The height of his scholarship is, verily, in happy accord with its breadth.

By the presentation of this Volume and the institution of a Lecureship in recognition of his work, we are feeling extremely gratified that we discharge the debt that students of Indian history owe to him. I am sure, Dr. Mookerji, that you will also appreciate the esteem which is expressed for you in the many learned papers which the distinguished and talented scholars of East and West have contributed to make the Volume so valuable as a study in Indology, to which you have consecrated your life and labour, and feel gratified at the generous and spontaneous financial contributions of your friends in adequately endowing the Radha Kumud Mookerji Lectureship at the Lucknow University. May you have long years of health, happiness, and service to scholarship and to the Motherland.

The President then requested the Hon'ble Sir S. Varadachariar to formally present the Volume to Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji in the following words:

It is a matter of great pleasure to me to associate myself with the function this afternoon for presentation of a Volume to Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji in recognition of his services as a historican and as a public man. The Volume is a collection of essays contributed by learned scholars as their tribute of appreciation of Dr. Mookerji's varied work in the field of Indology. He is the author of more than a dozen historical works by which he has done so much to revive and popularize the study of ancient Indian history and culture. We in this University are

proud of the good name he has brought to this University by his original researches and of his work in building up here a strong school of Ancient Indian History against heavy odds. Indeed, he has given a great impetus to its study of which the Lucknow University is now one of the best centres in the whole of India. The occasion is unique of its kind and it is our good fortune that on this occasion a man of the eminence and high status of Hon'ble Justice Sir S. Varadachariar agreed in the midst of his pre-occupations to accept our invitation to make the presentation of this volume aptly called BHĀRATA-KAUMUDI to Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji in person.

On behalf of the University I would also like to say how grateful I am to Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji Presentation Volume and Lectureship Committee for having placed at the disposal of the University an adequate endowment for the Lectureship, together with a few other facilities for the study of Ancient Indian History. I now request Sir S. Varadachariar to make the presentation of the Volume to Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji."

Sir S. Varadachariar in presenting the Volume to Dr. Mookerji spoke as follows :—

"Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I deem it a privilege and it gives me great pleasure to be associated with this evening's function. I cannot claim any long acquaintance with Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, but since we met here three years ago, I have been fortunate enough to be counted by him amongst his friends and I have in some measure reciprocated the same good will. It is not for me to essay the task of informing the Lucknow audience of biographical details relating to the life and work of Dr. Mookerji. A brief biographical

memoir contained in the Presentation Volume contains interesting information on these points and the speech just delivered by Professor Chatterji has drawn attention to the several works published by Dr. Mookerji. The Doctor seems to have a brilliant academic carreer which must have given some indication to any discerning mind of his future greatness. He has been in one way or another connected with nearly all the Indian Universities and some of the Indian States, but for more than 20 years past he has given of his best to the Lucknow University. A man of manifold activities he has not limited himself to professional or research work, but has taken full share in the public life of the country as a member of the Legislative Council, as a leading figure in the Hindu Mahasabha and as a member of more than one Commission of public importance.

"Of his services to the cause of historical studies in the country I should like to say a few words on this occasion. This evening's function is the best proof of the esteem and affection in which he is held by his fellow workers, by his students and by the leading citizens not merely of this city or even of this Province, but of various parts of this country. The names of those who have contributed articles to the Commemoration Volume bear witness to the wide circle of his friends and admirers. It seems to me appropriate to call your attention to the background of the circumstances in which he started his labours as a research worker in the field of ancient Indian history, as that will enhance your appreciation of his services to the cause and the courage with which he must have taken to this field of work. Without referring in any detail to the language controversy of the first half of the nineteenth century in this country, I may mention that one result of the triumph of those who advocated the claims of English as against Sanskrit was that till fairly late in that century many

educated influential Indians had persuaded themselves that the ancient past of this country had nothing worth knowing, and much less anything to be proud of. Such accounts of the history of India, ancient or mediaeval as then offered were mainly the work of foreigners. One need not impute any improper motive or intention to these writers but the fact nevertheless remains that later research showed that their works had to be greatly supplemented and sometimes even corrected. A few lonely Indians like Dr. Rajendralal Mitra, Mr. Ramesh Chandra Dutta and Dr. Bhandarkar were working in the field of Indian history but it could hardly be said that their works received at the time anything like appreciation or encouragement that they deserved. It was in these discouraging circumstances that Justice Ranade produced his *History of the Marathas*, but that was more a manifestation of intense patriotism then gathering strength in the Maratha country, than a part of a general movement in favour of historical research or study in the country. The work of Professor Max Müller and other orientalists and the study of comparative philology brought to light the importance of Sanskrit as a language and the richness of India's literary heritage, and the work of Swāmī Vivekānanda and Mrs. Besant led many Indians to change their attitude towards Hindu philosophy. It was now generally felt that India's past was nothing to be ashamed of. The rising tide of Nationalism which was a marked feature in this country at the beginning of this century created a growing desire for study of the ancient history of this country. That was the situation which inspired and encouraged a number of youngmen of this country to take research work in various fields of ancient Indian history. They had the enthusiasm for the cause and the readiness to work for it but it could hardly be said that there was sufficient material or moral encouragement to them yet.

The Bhandārkar Institute and the Itihāsa Maṇḍala led the way in the cause of historical research and the Universities followed suit in encouraging research studies. The expanding results of the labours of the Archaeological Department made more and more materials available and the result has been what we see today as the combined product of these various factors. Dr. Mookerji deserves congratulations and appreciation as one of the noble band of workers who have preferred to devote their time and labour to this cause without weighing the material ends it was likely to bring. Now at the evening of his life nothing could give him greater satisfaction than the knowledge that he has trained a band of young and enthusiastic workers to carry on the work of which a great deal yet remains to be done. I am sometimes oppressed by the thoughts that the trend of opinion gathering in the West against the study of the humanities may have an unhealthy reaction in this country and materially impair the appreciation of the value of the study of history. Let me hope that the workers now trained for the work are strong and stalwart enough to carry on inspite of such discouragement as changes in public taste and encouragement may involve.

"It is now my pleasant duty to make a presentation of this Commemoration Volume to Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji and I do so with the greatest pleasure. I am sure that I voice the feelings of all who are assembled here in expressing the hope and wish that he may be spared in health and strength for many years and though his formal connection as a Professor of this University may undergo a change he will continue his work without prejudice to his well-earned rest and that his help and guidance will be available to all young men who may follow his footsteps in the field in which he has so long laboured and which he has dearly loved."

After his speech Sir S. Varadachariar presented the Volume to Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji, who then made the following speech :

Mr. Vice-Chancellor, Sir, S. Varadachariar & Gentlemen,

"I feel overwhelmed by the generous manner in which my friends have expressed their appreciation of my humble work. The inauguration of the Lectureship by a person of the eminence and learning of the Hon'ble Justice Sir S. Varadachariar is a most hopeful augury of its future as an effective, and, may I add, economical means of promoting the cause of Indian History and Civilization for which it has been instituted. Such a provision is very urgently needed in the U.P. where the study of Ancient Indian Culture and Civilization specially has been on the decline in recent years and Sanskritic Studies are languishing. An effective remedy, in my opinion, will be to make Sanskrit a compulsory classic in the Schools for Hindu students, as Arabic or Persian should be for Muslim students.

"It is a pity and a strange irony of fate, that Sanskrit culture should be on the wane in the U.P., the land of its birth, its very home through the ages, the home also of both Brahmanical and Buddhist Culture since the time of the Vedas. The Upanishads are redolent of the Kuru-Pañchāla Countfy and its Philosophical Academy known as the Pañchāla Parishad, and also of the part played by the kingdoms of Kośala and Kāśī, in the spread of Vedic culture and learning towards the East. Of the seven sacred cities of India, the U.P. claims four: Ayodhyā, the city of Rāma; Mathurā, the city of Krishṇa; Māyā, the city of Gaṅgā and Kāśi, the city of Śiva. The Province is also the cradle of Buddhism, with its sacred memories centred at places like Lumbinī, where the Buddha was born, Sārnāth, where He first taught and Kuśīnārā,

KOLLAM (QUILON)

BY

DR. S. MUHAMMAD HUSAIN NAINAR, M.A., LL.B. (ALIGARH), PH.D. (LONDON),

Head of the Department of Arabic, Persian and Urdu, University of Madras.

The proverb in the Malayalam Language that 'one who has seen Kollam has no need for a house,' brings out the greatness and importance of Quilon in old days. This city on the west coast of India was well known for ages as one of the greatest ports of Indian trade with western Asia and Levant. It is possibly the Male of Cosmas[1] in the sixth century. It is also referred to as Mo-la-ye (Malaya) by Hiuan Tsang.[2] There is in Assemani (iii, Pt. ii, p. 437) a letter from the Nestorian Patriarch, Jesujabus of Adiabene, who died in 660 A.D. addressed to Simon Metropolitan of Fars (Iran) which complains of his grievous neglect of duty, and alleges that in consequence not only is India "which extends from the coast of the kingdom of Fars to Colon, a distance of 1200 parasangs, deprived of a regular ministry but Fars itself is lying in darkness". The mention of Colon in this letter may be identified with Quilon, but Yule and Burnell express the

[1] The imports to Taprobane are silk, aloes wood, cloves, sandalwood . . . These again are passed on from Sielediba to the marts on this side, such as Male, where the pepper is grown . . . And the most notable places of trade are these Sindu . . . and then the five marts of Male, from which the pepper is exported, viz., *Parti*, *Mangaruth*, *Salopatana*, *Nalopatana*, and *Pudopatana*. *Cosmas*. Bk. XI. In Cathay, etc., p. cl. xxviii.

[2] To the south this kingdom is near the sea. There rise the mountains called Mo-la-ye (Malaya) with their precipitous sides, and their lofty summits, their dark valleys, and their deep ravines. On these mountains grows the white sandalwood.—Hiuan Tsang in Julien III. 122.

view[3] that the rendering in Assemani's Latin is arbitrary and erroneous for the Syriac has Kalah which is a part in the Malay regions. The present writer ventures to differ from Yule for the simple reason that Kalah is about three months' journey from Masqat on the Persian gulf and the Nestorian Patriarch could not have meant such a large area comprising as far as Kalah in the Malay peninsula for the purpose of propagating the Faith. Perhaps the Syriac Kalah is wrongly written for Malay. The above references show that Kollam is a more ancient city.

It may also be noted that in a Syriac extract in *Land's Anecdota Syriaca*.[4] We learn that three Syrian missionaries came to Kaulam in 823 A.D. and got leave from king *Shakirbirti*[5] to build a church and city at Kaulam.

There are also some who believe that the city dates only from the ninth century A.D. and quote in support of their belief the Kollam era which commenced from 825 A.D. It may be observed that the era alluded to is in commemoration of a conference of astrologers held in Kollam to consider the desirability of changing from the Lunar to the Solar system. The conference was convened under the auspices of the Raja[6] of Kollam and was attended by astrologers from all parts of Kerala. It was unanimously agreed in that assembly that the whole of Kerala which was till then following the Lunar system should thenceforth adopt the Solar system of reckoning dates. The era was named *Kollam Era* in memory of that Conference which was an important event in the history of the city. Hence it is more appropriate to any that the new era got its name from Kollam and not *vice versa*.

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[3] See Hobson Jobson p. 752.

[4] See Hobson Jobson, p. 751.

[5] It is Chakaravarti meaning Raja.

[6] It is not possible to ascertain the name of the ruler. Perhaps Aditya Varma was the king who convened the Conference.

A study of the later accounts furnished by Arabs, beginning with the merchant Sulayman also proves that Quilon is an ancient port on the West Coast. As the accounts furnished by Sulayman are held by the present writer to be a compendium of different accounts by various Arab travellers and navigators of different periods including Sulayman from the earliest times prior to 851 A.D., the reference to Kulu Mali in the account of Sulayman undoubtedly shows the antiquity of the city of Kollam.

Eight Arab writers, *Sulayman*, *Ibn Khurdadhbeh*, *Ibnul Faqih Idrisi*, *Yaqut*, *Qazwini*, *Dimishqi* and *Abul Fida* who preceded Ibn Battuta (1355 A.D.) speak about Kawlam. They mention it in various forms.[8]

Ibn Khurdadbeh says that from Sandan to Mulay is five days' journey. Qanna and pepper are obtained here.

Sulayman mentions that ships from Masqat depart to the ports of Hind, sailing towards Kukam Mali. This is a months' journey from Masqat, with a moderate wind. There is a garrison in Kukam Mali. Chinese ships come here and one thousand *dirhams* are collected from them. Other ships pay a sum ranging from one to ten *dinars*. There is sweet water available here from the wells. Between Kukam Mali and the sea of Harkand is about a months' journey. After taking in sweet water at Kukam Mali, the ships sail towards the sea of Harkand, cross the sea and reach a place called Lakhyalus.

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7 For a detailed discussion on this point see *Arab Geographers' Knowledge of Southern India* by Dr. S. M. H. Nainar, published by the Madras University 1942.

8 Mulay—Ibn Khurdadhbeh.
Kulam Mali—Sulayman.
Kulu Mali—Ibnul Faqih.
Kukam Li, Kulam Mali, Jazirat Mali—Yaqut and Qazwini.
Madinat Kulam and Jazirat Mali—Dimishqi.
Kawlam—Abul Fida.
Kawlam—Ibn Battuta.

Ibnul Faqih follows Sulayman, giving almost all the details with a little variation. He says a sum ranging from ten to twenty *dinars* is collected from ships other than the Chinese; the ships cross the sea of Harkand and come to a place called Kalahbar, between which and Harkand there are islands peopled by a community known as Lanj. He seems to be more definite than Sulayman when he says that the ships after leaving Masqat, come straight to Kulu Mali, the first port of Hind, the distance between the two is a month's journey. But his assertion that the garrison at Kulu Mali belongs to the cities of Hind is vague.

Idrisi says that five miles by sea from Kulam Mali lies the island Mali, a large and beautiful spot, less hilly, and covered with much vegetation. The pepper plant grows in this island, as found nowhere else.

Yaqut mentions that the island Kulam is one of the innumerable islands in the sea of Hind. He quotes Abu Dulaf who says: "I went from Mandurqin to Kulam. The inhabitants have a prayer house in which there is no idol. The pillars of the houses are from the backbones of dead fish, though the inhabitants do not eat fish. They do not slaughter animals after the manner of the Muslims. The inhabitants choose a king for China when their own king dies. There is no art of medicine in India except in this town. You embark from this town for Uman. Water in Kulam comes from tanks which are made to collect rain water."

Qazwini follows Yaqut quoting the same source, yet there is some contradiction, since he says that Abu Dulaf Misar Ibn Muhalhal who visited this place (Kulam) did not see either a temple or an idol there.

Dimishqi mentions Kulam as the last city of the country of pepper. The island Mali is related to the city on the coast. Pepper is there loaded in ships even

though they all gather on the same day. Various kinds of perfumes are obtained here.

Abul Fida quotes the longitude and latitude from Ibn Said and *Kitab-al-Atwal.*[9] He assigns it to the first climate, and says that it is the last city of the pepper land of Manibar.

Then he quotes Ibn Said who says that Kawlam is the last city of the pepper land in the east, from where they embark to Aden. He also reports from travellers thus: "Kawlam is a city, the last one of the pepper land. It is situated in a gulf. There is a separate quarter for Muslims in the city, where there is also a cathedral mosque. The city is situated on a plain, its earth is sandy. There are a large number of gardens here."

Almost all these writers say that different kinds of aloes, wood, camphor, resin, and barks of trees are associated with Kulam.

Qazwini says that aloe wood is brought to Kulam from islands beyond the Equator where no one has ever gone and seen the tree. Water brings it towards the north.

Ibn Khurdadhbeh, Yaqut and Qazwini say that *qanna* and khayzuran[10] grow in abundance in Kulam.

Yaqut says that the baqqam[11] tree grows in Kulam. There are two kinds of it; one is of inferior quality, the other called *amrun* is excellent.

Qazwini: In Kulam the baqqam tree grows in abundance.

Abul Fida: The baqqam tree is found in Kawlam. It resembles the pomegranate tree and its leaves are like those of the jujube tree.

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[9] Ibn Said: Longitude 132 degrees, latitude 12 degrees.
Atwal: Longitude 110 degrees, latitude 13.30 degrees.

[10] Two varieties of bamboos.

[11] Brazil wood (caesalpina).

Yaqut: Camphor is found on the slope of a mountain between Kulam and Mandurqin (Madura). Camphor is the pulp of the tree. If the tree is split in the middle, the camphor will be found hidden in it. Sometimes it is soft, sometimes hard, for it is a resin in the heart of the tree.

Ibn Khurdadhbeh says that crystal is obtained from Mulay (Kawlam).

Yaqut: In Kulam there is a mine of yellow sulphur and of copper. The coagulated vapour of copper makes excellent tutiya. All kinds of tutiya are obtained from the coagulated vapour of copper except the Indian tutiya which is obtained from the sublimation of qalai lead.

A small quantity of myrobalan is obtained in Ku'am. But the myrobalan obtained in Kabul is better, for this city is far from the sea and all kinds of myrobalan are found here. That which is scattered by the wind from ripe tree is yellow, sour and cold; that which is plucked from the tree in the proper season is called *Kabuli*; it is sweet and hot; that which is left in the tree during winter till it becomes black, is called *al-aswad*, it is bitter and hot.

While every writer associates Kulam with pepper, some give a description of the pepper plant.

Ibn Khurdadhbeh: The navigators report that over every bunch of pepper is a leaf which protects it from the rain. When the rain stops, the leaf raises itself up. But when it rains again, it comes back.

Idrisi gives the identical information quoting Ibn Khurdadhbeh, and also has additional facts. The pepper plant is a shrub, having a trunk like that of the vine, the leaf is like the convolvulus, but longer; it has bunches like those of the shabuqa, each bunch of which is sheltered by a leaf from the rain, and the pepper is plucked

when it is ripe. White pepper is what is gathered as it begins to ripen or even before.

Yaqut quotes from Abu Dulaf who says: The pepper plant is a popular one in Malibar. Water is always under it. When the wind blows the crop falls down and shrivels. The pepper is collected from above water, and the king puts a tax on it. It is a free plant without an owner. It always bears a crop both summer and winter. It is in bunches. When the sun is hot, a number of leaves cover up the bunch so that it may not be scorched by the sun. When the sun goes off it, these leaves go off. Qazwini says that the pepper plant is a creeper. There is no special owner. Water is always under it. Its fruit is in bunches. When the sun rises and grows hot the leaves get hold of the bunches, else the sun will scorch them before the fruit ripens. When the wind blows the bunches fall upon water and shrivel, and people collect them.

Adul Fida: The pepper plant has bunches like those of the millet. Sometimes it winds round other trees like the pine.

Yaqut says that rhubarb of weak quality is obtained in Kulam, while the better quality is from China. Rhubarb is a gourd found there. Its leaves are known as *al-sadaj-al-Hindi*. There is no cultivation in Kulam except gourd from which rhubarb is obtained. It is grown in the midst of thorny shrubs, and in like manner the melon is cultivated. It is also excellent.

Qazwini: The rhubarb is obtained in Kulam. It is gourd that grows there. Its leaves, *al-sadaj-al-Hindi*, are held in high esteem as medicine for the eyes.

Yaqut remarks that a little sandarac of inferior quality is found in Kulam. The better quality is found in China. Sandarac resembles sulphur and is the most valuable of them.

Magnetised stone is found in Kulam. When it is heated by rubbing, it attracts all things. There is also in Kulam a kind of stone known as *sandaniyya* used for roofing. The teak tree found in Kulam is huge and tall; it exceeds one hundred cubits and more.

Yaqut says that vases are made in Kulam and sold in our countries as Chinese vases, but they are not Chinese, for the Chinese clay is harder than that and it is more fire resisting. The clay in this town from which they make vases resembles the Chinese clay. It is left in the fire for three days and cannot be baked longer, while the Chinese clay rests in the oven for ten days and could be baked longer. Kulam pottery is black in colour, but that which comes from China is white and of other colours, either translucent or not. It is manufactured in Persia from pebbles and qalai lime, and glass which smashed up into a paste and blown and worked with pincers giving it the shape of drinking cups and other shapes.

Let us now proceed to note what Ibn Battuta records about Quilon. He says: At length on April 5th, 1326 A.D. we reached Alexandria. It is a beautiful city, well-built, and fortified with four gates and a magnificent port. Among all the ports in the world I have seen none to equal it except Kawlam and Calicut in India, the port of the infidels (Genoese) at Sudaq in the land of the Turks and the port of Zaytum in China. Kawlam is one of the finest towns in the Mulaybar lands. It has fine bazaars, and its merchants are called Sulis. They are immensely wealthy; a single merchant will buy a vessel with all that is in it and load it with goods from his own house. There is a colony of Muslim merchants; the cathedral mosque is a magnificent building, constructed by the merchant Khwaja Muhazzab. This city is the nearest of the Mulaybar towns to China and it is to it that most of the merchants from China come. Mus-

lims are honoured and respected in it. The Sultan of Kawlam is an infidel called the Tirawari;[12] he respects the Muslims and has severe laws against thieves and profligates. That there was greater contact between Quilon and China can be learnt from the account of Yaqut who says: the inhabitants (of Kawlam) choose a King for China when their own King dies. But Qazwini has the remark "when their king dies the people of the place choose another from China." .

This shows the probability of there being a Chinese factory or settlement at the time in Quilon governed by one of their own chiefs who was succeeded on his death by another brought from China. If Yaqut's versions were to be correct, it may mean that the people of Quilon sent a person to China to represent their factory or settlement there.

That Chinese merchants used to come to Quilon is learnt from Ibn Battuta who says that Kawlam is the nearest of Mulaybar towns to China and it is to these that most of the merchants from China come.

Zaynud-Din al-Mabari (16th century) records in his *Tuhfat-al-Mujahidin* that the King of Kodungallur in Malabar embarked with a party of Muslim faqirs and a Sheikh for Arabia to meet the Prophet of Islam. The king did not return to Malabar but died on his return journey at Zifar, on the coast of Hadhramawt. But the

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[12] The name Tirawari is from *Tiruvati*. This is a part of the titles used by the people in addressing the Travancore king who is still referred to as *Venad Adikal Tiruvadikal*, the feet of Venad, the respectable feet. Thus the title Tirawari gives us a clue to identify the then ruling dynasty of Quilon with that of Travancore.

The expression Tirawari also illustrates a general truth that foreigners mistake the high sounding titles assumed by the Indian Princes for real names. Another example of this *Cheraman Perumal* or the Lord of Chera is assumed to be the name of the last ruler of Kerala.

party of men who accompanied the king returned to Kodungallur with their family and children. Some of them were Sharaf ibn Malik, Malik ibn Dinar and Malik ibn Habib. The newcomers settled at Kodungallur and erected a mosque. Malik ibn Habib proceeded to Kulam with his wife and some of his children and his property and erected a mosque there.[13]

The account of Zaynud-Din shows that Quilon was one of the earliest Muslim colonies on the west coast.

We have also interesting accounts from non-Arab sources, about Quilon. The Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela who travelled in Palestine and other eastern countries relates:

"Seven days from thence is Chulam (Quilon) on the confines of the country of the Sun-worshippers. They are decendants of Kush, are addicted to astrology and are all black. This nation is very trustworthy in the matters of trade, and whenever foreign merchants enter their port, three Secretaries of the king immediately repair on board their vessels, write down their names and report them to him. The king thereupon grants them security for their property, which they may even leave in the open fields without any guard. One of the king's officers sits in the market and receives goods that may have been found anywhere, and which he returns to those applicants who can minutely describe them. This custom is observed in the whole Empire of the king. From Easter to New year (April to October), during the whole of the summer, the heat is extreme. From the third hour of the day (9 in the morning), people shut themselves up in their houses until the evening, at which time every body goes out. The streets and markets are lighted up and the inhabitants employ all the night upon their business,

[13] See for more details *Tuhfat-at-Mujahidin* English Translation by Dr. S. M. H. Nainar—Madras University, 1942.

which they are prevented from doing in the day-time in consequence of the excessive heat. The pepper grows in this country; the trees which bear this fruit are planted in the fields, which surround the town, and every one knows his plantation. The trees are small and pepper is originally white, but when they collect it, they put it into basins and pour hot water upon it; it is then exposed to heat of the sun and dried in order to make it hard and more substantial in the course of which process it becomes black in colour. Cinnamon, ginger and many other kinds of spices also grow in this country. The inhabitants do not bury their dead, but embalm them with certain spices, put them upon stools, and cover them with cloths, every family keeping apart. The flesh dries upon the bones and as these corpses resemble living beings, every one of them recognises his parents and all the members of his family for many years to come. These people worship the sun; about half a mile from every town, they have large places of worship, and every morning they run towards the rising sun. Every place of worship contains a representation of that luminary, so constructed by machinery (our author calls it witchcraft) that upon the rising of the sun, it turns round with a great noise, at which moment both men and women take up their censers, and burns incense in honour of the deity. This is their way of folly.' All the cities and countries inhabited by the people contain about 100 jews, who are of black-colour, as well as the other inhabitants. The Jews are good men, observers of the law and possess the Pentateuch, the Prophets, and some little knowledge of the Thalmud and its decisions.''[14]

The account furnished by Benjamin is suspected by Yule to be particulars recorded from what he had heard from others.

[14] See also *Jewish Chronicle*, 19th October, 1906.

"Marco Polo (1298) gives us fuller details of the country, its people, its products, etc. He says: "When you quit Malabar and go 500 miles towards the south-west, you come to the kingdom of Coilum. The people are idolators, but there are also some Christians and some Jews. The natives have a language of their own, and king of their own, and are tributary to no one.

A great deal of brazil is got here which is called *brazil* Coilumin from the country which produces it; it is of very fine quality. Good ginger also grows here, and it is known by the same name of Coilumin after the country. Pepper too grows in great abundance throughout this country . . . They have also abundance of very fine indigo . . . And I assure you that the heat of the sun is so great here that it is scarcely to be endured; in fact if you put an egg into one of the rivers it will be boiled, before you have had time to go any distance, by the mere heat of the sun.

The merchants from Manzi (China) and from Arabia, and from the Levant come thither with their ships and their merchandise, and make great profits both by what they import and by what they export.

There are in this country many and divers beasts quite different from those of the other parts of the world. Thus there are lions black all over, with no mixture of any other colour; and there are parrots of many sorts, for some are white as snow with red beak and feet, and some are red, and some are blue, forming the most charming sight in the world. There are green ones too. There are also some parrots of exceedingly small size, beautiful creatures. They have also very beautiful pea-cocks, larger than ours, and different from ours; and what more shall I say? In short, everything they have is different from ours, and finer and better. Neither is their fruit

like ours, nor their beasts, nor their birds; and this difference all comes from excessive heat.

Corn they have not, but rice. So also their wine they make from (palm) sugar, capital drink it is, and very speedily it makes a man drunk. All other necessaries of man's life they have in great plenty and cheapness. They have very good astrologers and physicians. Man and woman, they are all black, and go naked save for a fine cloth worn about the middle. They look not on any sin of the flesh as a sin. They marry their cousins german, and a man takes his brother's wife after the brother's death; and all the people of India have this custom. The traveller Friar Odoric has the following account of Polumbum:

"At the extremity of that forest towards the south, there is a certain city which is called Polumbum, in which is grown better ginger than anywhere else in the world. And the variety and abundance of wares for sale in that city is so great that it would seem past belief to many folk.

Here all the people go naked, only they wear a cloth just enough to cover their nakedness, which they tie behind. All the people of this country worship the ox for their god (and they eat not his flesh); for they say that he is, as it were, a sacred creature. Six years they make him to work for them, and the seventh year they give him rest from all labour, and turn him out in some appointed public place, declaring him thenceforward to be a consecrated animal. And they observe the following abominable superstition. Every morning they take two basins of gold or silver, and when the ox is brought from the stall they put these under him and catch his urine in one and his dung in the other. With the former they wash their faces and with the latter they daub themselves, first on the middle of the forehead; secondly, on the balls

of both cheeks; and, lastly, in the middle of the chest. And when they have thus anointed themselves in four places they consider themselves to be sanctified (for the day). Thus do the common people; and thus do the king and queen likewise.

They worship also another idol, which is half man and half ox. And this idol giveth responses out of its mouth, and oft-times demandeth the blood of forty virgins to be given to it. For men and women there vow their sons and their daughters to that idol just as here they vow to place them in some religious order. And in this manner many perish.

And many other things are done by that people which it would be abomination even to write or to hear of, and many other things be there produced and grown, which it booteth little to relate. But the idolaters of this realm have one detestable custom (that I must mention). For when any man dies, they burn him and if he leave a wife they burn her alive with him, sayinng that she ought to go and keep her husband's company in the other world. But if the woman have sons by her husband she may abide with them, as she will. And, on the other hand, if the wife die, there is no law to impose the like on him; but he, if he likes, can take another wife. It is also customary there for the women to drink wine and not for the men. The women also have their foreheads shaven, whilst the men shave not the beard. And there be many other marvellous and beastly customs which it is just as well not to write."[15]

Friar Jordanus the Dominican (1328), the author of the *Mirabilia*, of which a translation was published by the Hakluyt Society in 1863, gives us an interesting account of Columbum and the country. It is also said that he was appointed as the Bishop of Columbum. But Yule

[15] Cathay and the Way Thither, Vol. II, pp. 136—140.

doubts whether he ever reached Columbum as Bishop. The trade of Quilon, was, according to Jordanus, extensive and consisted chiefly of pepper, cinamon, ginger and brazil wood.

John De Marignolli of the Fransciscan monastry of Santa Corce, Florence was sent by Pope Benedict on a mission to Cathay in 1338, touched at Quilon he lived there for about a year preaching in St. George's Church, founded by Jordanus. He says: "And sailing on the feast of St. Stephen, we navigated the Indian sea until Palm Sunday and then arrived at a very noble city of India called Columbum, where the whole world's pepper is produced. Now this pepper grows on a kind of vines, which are planted just like in our vine-yards. These vines produce clusters which are at first like those of the wild vine, of a green colour, and afterwards are almost like bunches of our grapes, and they have a red wine in them which I have squeezed out on my plate as a condiment. When they have ripened, they are left to dry upon the tree, and when shrivelled by the excessive heat the dry clusters are knocked off with a stick and caught upon linen cloths, and so the harvest is gathered.

These are the things that I have seen with mine eyes and handled with my hands during the fourteen months that I stayed there. And there is no roasting of the pepper, as authors have falsely asserted, nor does it grow in forests, but in regular gardens; nor are the Saracens the proprietors but the Christians of St. Thomas. And these latter are the masters of the public steelyard from which I derived, as a perquisite of my office as Pope's legate, every month a hundred gold *fanam* and a thousand when I left.

There is a church of St. George there, of the Latin Communion, at which I dwelt. And I adorned it with fine paintings, and taught there the holy Law. And

after I had been there some time I went beyond the glory of Alexander the Great, when he set up his column in India. For I erected a stone as my land mark and memorial, in the corner of the world over against Paradise, and anointed it with oil! In sooth it was a marble pillar with a stone cross upon it, intended to last till the world's end. And it had the Pope's arms and my own engraved upon it, with inscriptions both in Indian and Latin characters. I consecrated and blessed it in the presence of an infinite multitude of people, and I was carried on the shoulders of the chiefs in a litter or palanquin like Solomon's.' [16]

Nicolo Conti, the Venetian (1441) describes Coloen as a noble city the circumference of which is 12 miles, and notices its flourishing trade in ginger, pepper, brazil wood, and the cinnamon, and describes various kinds of fruit trees found there.

Varthema (1510) observes "we departed . . . and went to another city called Colon. The king of this city is a pagan and extremely powerful, and he has 20,000 horsemen, and many archers. This country has a good port near to the sea coast. No grain grows here, but fruits, as at Calicut, and pepper grow in great quantities."

Barbosa (1516) says: "Further on along the same coast towards the south is a great city and good sea-port which is named Coulam, in which dwell many Moors, and Gentiles, and Christians. They are great merchants, and very rich, and own many ships with which they trade to Cholamandel, the island of Ceylon, Bengal, Malaca, Sumatara, and Pegu . . . There is also in this city much pepper.

It may be observed from the various accounts of Arabs and non-Arabs that Quilon, at the extreme end of

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[16] Cathay and the Way Thither, Vol. III, pp. 216—18.

the pepper country towards the east, was an important port from the earliest times to the beginning of the 16th century. It was a good port with many great merchants, Muslims, and Christians, whose ships sailed to all the ports in Western Asia and the Levant, and to all eastern ports as far as Bengal, Pegu, and Archipelago. Throughout the middle ages it appears to have been one of the chief seats of the St. Thomas Christians. After the fifteenth century its decay was rather rapid. With the advent of the Portuguese the pepper trade was diverted to Cochin which was rising rapidly as an important port under the auspices of the Portuguese.

The Portuguese erected a fort at Kawlam in 1510 and it was held by them till 1661. The Dutch admiral Ryklof Van Goens captured it from the Portuguese in December 1661. The Dutch remained in possession of the port for a century and upwards although they were harassed often by the rajas of Travancore.

In 1795 when the Dutch fort of Cochin surrendered to the British under Major Petrie, all the dependencies under Cochin also passed into the hands of the English. The most prominent of these was Tangacherry or Dutch Quilon.

When the treaty was concluded between the English East India Company and Travancore, a subsidiary force was stationed in Quilon as per the terms of agreement. Quilon continued to be the headquarters of the Travancore Government till the Huzur Katchery was removed to Trivandrum. Since that time the town is losing its importance. It is now the terminus of the Travancore-Tinnevelly railway. There are signs of a prosperous future for this ancient city.

PRAYERS AND THEIR REWARD IN THE VEDA.

BY

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Among the many factors found useful in judging the standard of the civilization of a nation, an analysis of the vocabulary of its language is one of the most potent. As civilization advances, ideas increase, and there is a corresponding improvement even in the vocabulary. Although the main idea may remain the same, subtle differences in meaning bring about an expansion of the vocabulary; and such divergences do indicate a certain degree of advancement in civilization. Words change their connotation from time to time. As time passes, the same idea may be expressed by different words or the same word may express different ideas in different contexts. In view of these considerations, it is possible to rely on the extent of vocabulary in the language of a nation when we seek to determine the standard of its civilization and the extent of its progress. In a primitive society, man's wants are few his ambitions limited, and his prayers to the powers above him will consequently be confined to a narrow range. It is only when the nation progresses in civilization that knowledge increases, wants become manifold, ambition grows higher, and what is solicited of the gods in the course of prayers grows in volume as well as in variety. Looked at from this point of view, a comprehensive analysis of the contents of the R.V. will be of real value in the understanding of the conception of the Soul according to the RV. The following is such a comprehensive analysis, though it may not lay claims for being completely exhaustive.

Rayi is one of the words which represents some benefit which the Ṛgvedic seers sought from their propitious gods. The word occurs over 600 times in the RV. in such forms as *Rayi*, *Rāy*, *Revat* and *Rāti*, and as part of compounds like *Rayivataḥ*, *Rayivṛdhaḥ* *Rayisācaḥ*, *Bṛhadrayim*, *Maṁhayadrayim*, *Rāyaḥ-kāmaḥ*, *Rāti-Sācaḥ*, *Citra-rāti*, *Vibhūta-rātim*. The Nirukta (II. 12) derives the word from the root *rā*, 'to give,'. Usually the word is understood to mean 'wealth or riches'. Taken literally, this may be an aspect of material wealth.

Vasu connotes the same meaning in the Veda. It occurs over 300 times in all in such forms as *Vasu*, *Vasya*, *Vasva* and *Vasvi*, and as part of compounds like *Vṛṣaṇvasū*, *Vājinīvasū*, *Vibhāvasuḥ*, *Puruvasuḥ*, *Śacīvasuḥ*, *Saṁvasuḥ*, *Gūrtavasuḥ*.

Dhana, *Sāti*, *Rādhas*, *Rāti*, *Bhaga*, *Bhagatti*, *Rekṇa*, *Vārya*, *Dyumna*, *Śrī*, *Nidhi*, *Nireka*, *Abhva*, *Artha*, *Bhaga*, *Yoga*, *Draviṇa*, *Savya*, *Prasava*, *Varivas*, *Manma*, *Vāra*, *Veda*, *Sumna*, *Gaya*, *Magha*, *Vara*, *Śulka*, *Śruṣṭi*, *Raghu*, *Arya*, *Grābha*, *Svas*, *Sudhita*, *Nṛmṇa*, *Deṣṇ*, *Ukthya*, *Ī*, *Paṇya*, *Tana*, and *Indriya* are other words which are used very frequently in the Veda to mean 'riches or wealth' in general.

Śravas which occurs over 100 times in the RV. is often used to mean 'wealth or riches'. but more frequently designates 'food'. So does *Kṣatra* which in its more than 50 occurrences in the Veda more often means 'bodily strength' than 'wealth' of any kind.

Varūtha and *Gotra* are two other words which sometimes mean 'Riches or Wealth'. The former of the two more usually means a 'dwelling', while the latter is used abundantly in the sense of 'cow or cloud'.

The Vedic seers also specify the kinds of wealth they desired and obtained from their gods. Gold and precious stones seem to be very popular with them. Gold is called

by such names as *Hiraṇya*, *Hiraṇyavad Vasu*, *Hiraṇya-kalaśa*, *Hariśrī* and *Piśaṅga*, while precious stones were called *Ratna* or *Ratnadheya*. The seers seem also to have been fond of personal decorations like dress and ornament. These also they seek from their gods who are propitious towards them. Among the ornaments they sought were gold ear-rings (*Hiranyakarṇa*, 'having a gold ear-ring') and jewel necklaces (*Maṇigrīva*, 'having a jewel-necklace'). *Vastra* is the term generally used to signify 'gorgeous dress'.

Kine and flocks of sheep formed a major part of the requirements of the Vedic people. The sheep is generally designated *Avi*, while the cow was called by such names as *Go*, *Aghnī*, *Usriyā*, *and Dhenu*. The buffalo was already known by the name *Mahiṣa*, *Iḷā*, *Vatsa*, *Paśu*, *Śurudha* are the names for cattle in general. These quadrupeds were often indicated by such abstract terms as *Catuṣpāt*, *Śata*, *Śatagvina*, *Sahasra* and *Yūtha*.

Engaged as these people were in incessant wars, it is not strange that, of their gods, they should solicit horses and chariots which they could use in warfare, weapons which they could wield on such occasions, and strength both to withstand the enemy as well as to crush him. The 'horse' is called by such names as *Aśva*, *Atya*, *Arvat*, *Etas*, and *Sapti*. The word *Vāja* which occurs nearly 400 times in the ṚV. also means 'horse', but it is often used to designate 'strength', 'food', etc. *Ratha* is the term by which the 'chariot' is designated in the Veda. This word occurs over 600 times in the ṚV. in such forms as *Ratha*, *Rathi*, and *Rathya*, and as part of compounds like *Surat-hāsaḥ*, *Rathītamaḥ*, *Rathasaṅge*, *Pururathaḥ*, *Rathayu-jam*, and *Rathaspatiḥ*.

The weapons which the Vedic seers used seem to be of two kinds, those used for defence and those for offence; the former is called by the name *Varma*, while *Āyudha*

signifies that belonging to the latter category. The word *Aṁsatra* sometimes means 'armour', though it means 'strength' also.

'Strength' is denoted by such terms as *Dakṣa*, *Vīrya*, *Bala*, *Varcas*, *Tviṣu* (*ṣi*), *Ama*, *Retas*, *Tavas*, *Mahīyas*, *Rabhyas*, *Ojas*, *Śiś*, *Śak*, *Tṛ*, *Yāt*, *Bṛh*, *Prath*, *Vṛ*, *Sah*. *Aṁsatra*, *Pāja*, *Rabhas*, *Śuṣma*, *Śavas*, *Yaśas*, *Dyumna*, *Kṣatra*, *Ūrja*, *Pauṁsya*, *Kṛtti*, *Vṛjana* (*jina*), *Śaurya*, *Śardha*, *Ugra* and *Mahas*. *Nṛmṇa* a word of frequent occurrence in the RV. also signifies 'strength', but it also means 'wealth' in many a context. So also though *Śravas* should sometimes be taken in the sense of 'strength', it has more often the sense of 'food', and often means 'wealth' even.

The desire for wealth of offspring which is one of the major boons that the seers frequently sought from their gods, is only intimately connected with the idea of the conquest of enemies. These seers sought an unlimited number of sons so that with their united strength they might be able to destroy completely the hosts of their enemies. The words used in the RV. to denote the 'son' are: *Toka*, *Prajā*, *Vīra*, *Apatya*, *Tanaya*, *Sūnu*, *Sani*, *Śiśu*, *Kṛṣṭi*, and *Suputra*. The phrase *sarvavīram rayim* is often used to denote 'sons'; and this shows how much the Vedic seers valued the possession of sons. In one verse (RV. VI. 57. 7), the Maruts are said to allow the worshippers to multiply by hundreds (*Śatino vardhayanti*). This statement again shows the enthusiastic craving of the seers for sons. *Suvīryam*, a word which occurs at least 80 times often means 'sons', but it means also 'strength' as often.

The Vedic seers not only fought with their enemies in battle but also sought the help of the great gods in destroying them. 'Battle' is called by such names as *Samoha*, *Samarya*, *Abhīka*, *Gaviṣṭi*, *Samat*, *Pṛtana*,

Bhara, *Hvara*, *Durga*. *Vṛjana*, and *Vāja* also signify 'battle' in some contexts; but the former term often means 'food', and the latter frequently signifies 'food', or 'horse'. *Durita* also means 'battle' sometimes, but more often it is a synonym of 'sin' or 'distress'. Among the enemies of these seers are not only 'human beings', but also 'demons', and 'spirits', and even wild animals and reptiles. To the first of these classes belong the aboriginal neighbours of these gods who did not respect their gods, who offered no sacrifices to them and who were always in a state of war with them. These are designated by numerous names such as *Abrahma*, *Brahmadviṣ*, *Brahma yaḥ ninitsāt*, *Aśas*, *Aśasti*, *Anṛc*, *Anuktha*, *Ye na īrayanti*, *Kadācana Prajigat*, *Asunvat*, *Arāti*, *Arāvṇa*, *Dureva*, *Apṛṇat*, *Anāhuti*, *Araruṣ*, *Akarman*, *Akratu*, *Ayajvan*, *Ayajyu*, *Ayajñasācin*, *Avrata*, *Anyavrata*, *Apavrata*, *Anindra*, *Adeva*, *Adevayu*, *Amanyamāna*, *Amantu*, *Anṛtadeva*, *Mūradeva*, *Śiśnadeva*, *Aghaśaṁsa*, *Mṛdhravāk*, *Droghavāk*, *Duṣkṛt*, *Durmatin*, *Kimīdin*, *Ripu*, *Śatru*, *Amitra*, *Amitrayat*, *Abhimāti*, *Abhiśasti*, *Aririṣ*, *Ririkṣant*, *Aghāyat*, *Avapadaḥ kartā*, *Himsra*, *Jighīṣat*, *Nid*, *Spṛdh*, *Sapatna*, *Śridh*. The 'demons' and 'spirits' to be saved from whom was one of the fervent prayers of the seers to the gods were called by such generic names as *Amānuṣa*, *Asura Rakṣas*, *Druh*, *Kravyāda*, *Bāhukṣad*, *Asutṛpa*, *Ghoracakṣas*, *Kṛṣṇatvak*, *Aśikni*, *Anāsa*, *Dasyu*, *Dāsa*, *Paṇi*. The demons are also often specified by names like *Vṛtra*, *Ahi*, *Vala*, *Dānu*, *Namuci*, *Śuṣṇa*, *Arbuda*, *Śaṁbara*, *Uraṇa*, *Svarbhānu*, *Pipru*, *Dhuni*, *Cumuri*, *Tvāṣṭra*, *Navavāstva*, *Ahīśuva*, *Aurṇavābha Dṛbhīka*, *Rudhikrā*, *Anarśaṇi*, *Sṛbinda*, *Ilībiśa*, *Varcin and Viśvarūpa*. The wild animals which these seers dreaded are the *Vṛka* and the *Ducchuna*, and reptiles are called *Ahi* or *Tsaru*.

The several devotees, no doubt, fed their gods with offerings of *havis* or *soma* in sacrifices. This does not cer-

tainly mean that the gods were incapable of getting these things for themselves. The worshippers could themselves have these things only through the good-will of the gods, and if these were offered to the gods it shows their devotion rather than the needs of these gods. This is obvious when the seers repeatedly crave from their gods the supply of some of the vital necessities of life such as food, drink, clothing and shelter. They often complain of severe hunger (*kṣut*), of the consequent famishment (*jasu*) and of nakedness (*nagnatā*). The general names of food are *Prayas*, *Iṣa*, *Yava*, *Vaya*, *Śravas*, *Yaśas*, *Cana*, *Pṛkṣa*, *Sasa*, *Arka*, *Andhas*, *Śromat*, *Bhojana*, *Bhoja*, *Bhakta*, *Bīja*, *Dyukṣa*, *Bhakṣa*, *Adatra*, *Anna*, *Odana*, *Bandhu*, *Kṣu*, *Dhāyas*, *Iḷā*, *Svadhā*, *Svadita*, *Bhagatti*, *Pitu*, *Vena*, *Śaṁsa*, *Ṛju*, *Śruṣṭi*, *Puṣthi*, *Poṣa*. *Brahma* also means 'food' very often, but more frequently it means 'prayer'. *Dyumna* which is often a synonym of 'food' also means 'strength' and 'wealth'; and *jīva*, another synonym, is also the name of the 'individual soul'. *Arka* sometimes means 'food', but its more usual sense is the 'shining light of Heaven'. *Dakṣa*, *Retas* and *Varcas* are three other synonyms of 'food' which occur abundantly in the sense of 'strength'. *Vāja* is the equivalent of both 'food' and 'horse'.

'Drink' in its general sense is called *Āsuti*, while milk (*kṣīra*) and ghee (*sarpi*) are mentioned specifically by their names. *Svaḥ* often a 'drinkable liquid', but it sometimes means also 'riches', and most often the 'shining light of Heaven'. The seers also request their gods to supply them with *Soma*[2] or *Madhūdaka*.[3]

'Fields' which are cultivable and which can yield supplies are asked for by such terms as *Kṣetra*, *Sukṣetriya*,

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[1] RV. VII. 1. 19; X. 33. 2.

[2] RV. IV. 32. 7.

[3] RV. IX. 67. 32.

Urvarā and *Kṣiti*. The first and last of these words often signify 'a dwelling'.

It is not enough if the gods merely supply these fields. They must also see that they are well watered, and the Vedic seer is seen to request them to supply adequate rains from time to time. The synonyms of rain in the Veda are *Vṛṣṭi, Divyakośa, Payas and Āpaḥ*. The terms *Vṛṣ* and *Mīlhuṣ* also occur in this context, but they often signify 'showering of gifts in general'. It should be of interest in this context to note that in one verse (RV. X. 63. 15), the Maruts are asked to bless the seers with water even in desert tracts (*Dhanvasu*). The word *Dhanva* occurs 6 times in the RV. and often signifies the 'bow'.

The names used to designate 'dwelling' in the Veda are *Chardi, Kṣaya, Kṣiti, Dama, Sadana, Varūtha, Okas, Sti, Astatāti, Dhāma, Sudhātu, Viś, Saṁsat, Upasti, Svasara, Yoni, Usra, Kṣetra*. *Vasu*, one of the synonyms of 'dwelling', sometimes means 'food', but its more frequent signification is 'wealth'. *Śaraṇa* which means 'dwelling' also, means protection' in many contexts. *Śarma*, another term by which 'dwelling' is called, is more often a name for anything that is 'good'.

The gods have also to supply 'servants' (*Nṛ*, *Dāsa*) to look after the comforts of these seers. The latter word also means 'enemy'.

For purposes of easy movements from place to place, the seers need good 'roads', and even these are expected from the bountiful gods above. The names by which the 'road' was called are *Patha, Gātu, Sugātu, Pada, Yāna* and *Sruti*.

Gods like Indra and Aśvins are also match-makers, and see that the favoured among their devotees are united with suitable wives. The Vedic synonyms for 'wife' are *Jāyā, Janī, Patnī*, and *Ruṣat* (*tī*). Names of individual

maidens like Raji who was bestowed on *Piṭhinas* (RV. VI. 26. 6) are also mentioned often.

So far specific rewards made by the Vedic seers were taken note of. Often these seers used generic terms to signify their wants. Words like *Tuvi* and *Vṛṣ* are most important in this connection; the former occurs at least 100 times in the RV., mostly as part of compounds like *Tuvijāta*, *Tuvidyumna*, *Tuvimagha*, *Tuvinṛmṇa*, and though its general meaning may be 'plenty', it means, very often, as part of the first compound, some 'general good' which the gods can do their devotees. Similar is the case with the word *Vṛṣ* which, in its over 500 occurrences in forms like *Vṛṣan*, *Vṛṣaṇa*, *Vṛṣabha*, *Vṛṣayu* and *Vṛṣamanas*, has the general meaning 'to shower', and which, when used independently, means 'to confer some benefit'. *Dharman* is another word worth consideration in this context. It occurs about 70 times in all in the RV., independently as well as part of compounds like *Satyadharmā*, *Satyadharmāṇaḥ*, *Vidharmaṇi*, and *Vidharmaṇe*. The word very often means 'sustenance' in general, though its usual meaning is any 'sacrificial act.'

Certain collective terms like *Idam*, *Abhīṣṭa(-ṣṭi)*, *Abhiṣṭa*, *Dakṣiṇā*, *Dāna*, *Iṣṭa*, *Puru*, *Bhūri*, *Mahat* and *Bṛhat* are often used to designate the 'requirements in general' of these seers. Without any specific mention of the object of their desire, the gods are often addressed to grant them their requests. The verbs used on such occasions are *Yacch*, *San*, *Makhasy*, *Rā*, *Pin*, *Dhā* with *Prati*, *Cay*, *Vah*, *Acch*, *Daśasy*, *Pṛṇ*. The god who fulfils these desires is called *Draviṇodas*, *Dadi*, *Dāvan*, *Dāśvan*, *Dānaukas*, *Sudānu*, *Dāsvān*, *Satrādāvan*, *Maṁhayu*, *Mīlhuṣṭama*, *Svarṣā*, *Nṛṣāk*, and *Suvit*.

The following are the names used to denominate 'distress or misfortune' from which the gods are implored to save their devotee and make him happy: *Nireka*,

Avarti, *Durga*, *Bādha*, *Utva*, *Araṇa*, and *Tapa*. *Pāśa* and *Durita* often mean 'distress', in general, but 'sin' seems to be their particular signification. 'Prosperity' was sought for in positive terms also, and the following words used in this sense denote also 'felicity' happiness, and 'protection': *Śarma*, *Ūti*, *Juṣṭi*, *Māyā*, *Praśasti*, *Svasti*, *Avas*, *Śam*, *Varūtha*, *Śubha*, *Sva*, *Suga*, *Sugya*, *Śūṣa*, *Hita*, *Saṁnyāsa*, *Candra*, *Kṣema*, *Śakma*, *Śeva*, *Śuna*, *Pūḥ*, *Śaraṇa*, *Sumati*, *Rakṣā*, *Utsava*, *Suvita*, *Ārya*, *Bhoga*, and *Ka*. *Manma*, *Vasya*, *Sumna*, and *Narya* are also synonyms of 'wealth' besides of 'happiness.' In soliciting this 'happiness or protection', the following verbs are used: *Mṛḷ* (-*ḍ*), *Bhuj*, *Pā*, *Vṛdh*, *Śiv*, *Vṛ* with *Ā*, *Raṇ*, *Ram*, *Juṣ*, *Mad*, *Ind*, *Pun*, *Edh*, and *Uruṣ*.

The word *Bhadra* which occurs over 150 times in the RV. chiefly in the sense of 'bliss' deserves special mention in this connection, for it seems to denote 'good' which is something higher than ordinary material prosperity. The *Nirukta* (IV. 10; XII. 19) derives it in many ways, from the root *bhaj*, *dru* with *abhi*, *ram* with *bhū*, *bhand*, and *bhajana*.

The gods are not all alike. Though the vast majority of them is benevolent and generous to the suppliant devotee, there are still some among them whom the worshipper has to appease, not for any positive benefit, but to save himself from disaster which may otherwise befall him through their anger. The greatest boon that the worshipper can hope to secure from such gods is freedom from their malevolence. The words used in such supplications are *riṣ* with *mā*, and *vyath* and *bādh* with their negatives.

The interest of the gods in the welfare of their devotees does not stop with supplying them with all necessities of life. Some of the gods like Agni, Bṛhaspati,

Savitṛ, Aśvins, Ādityas, Soma, and Rudra seem to possess medical skill by which they cure the ailments of their worshippers who frequently approach them with such a request. The names by which the seers called 'disease' are *Amīva(vā)*, *Yakṣman*, *Srāma*, *Śipada*. White leprosy seems to be known by the name *Arjuna* (RV. I. 122. 5). There are also references[4] to the Ṛbhus having rejuvenated their parents and the Aśvins, their suppliants like Kali, Cyavana and *Dasra*. The Aśvins seem to possess much more skill in this respect than the rest of the gods, for they are able to cure defects in eye-sight as well as to repair maimed limbs. Kakṣīvān implores[5] the Aśvins to see that he passes his old-age possessed of eye-sight (*paśyan jarimāṇam jagamyām*), and glorifies them when his request is granted (RV. I. 120. 6). Ṛjrāśva, cursed by his father to become blind, was pitied by the Aśvins who gave him eyes (*akṣī vicakṣe*).[6] To the blind Kaṇva, Aśvins granted eye-sight (*mahaḥ adattam*).[7] Viśpalā, wife of Khela, broke a foot in a nocturnal engagement, and the Aśvins granted her an iron leg (*āyasīm jaṅghām adattam*).[8] The seer Ghoṣā says (RV. I. 117. 9) that the Aśvins made whole the maimed (*srāmam saṁriṇīthaḥ*). The skill of the Aśvins in ***obstetrics*** is shown from the report that they brought forth the sage Vāmadeva from the womb (*vipram kṣetrāj janathaḥ*).[9]

Indra also seems to be versed in the cure of blindness and lameness but specially, as it seems, in curing 'baldness'. Indra is described (RV. II. 13. 2) to have saved

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[4] RV. I. 20. 4; 112. 15; 116. 10; V. 74. 56 SII. 68. 6; 71, 5; X. 39. 4, 8.

[5] RV. I. 116. 25.

[6] RV. I. 116. 16; 117. (17-18).

[7] RV. 117. 8; VIII. 5. 23; 8. 20.

[8] RV. I. 116. 15; X. 39. 8.

[9] RV. 119. 7.

(Parāvṛj) from his affliction when he was blind (*andha* and lame (*sroṇa*); and when he, pleased with Apālā who gave him plenty of soma to drink, asked her to name the boons she wanted, she asks for the cure of baldness which afflicted her as well as her father (*virohaya śiras tātasya . . . tanvaṁ mama romaśā kṛdhi*).[10] The same lady asks (RV. VIII. 91. 7) Indra to give her lustrous skin (*akṛṇos sūryatvacam*). This perhaps signifies Indra's capacity to cure ailments of the skin.

Agni cures affection from poison (*vandana, viṣa*) of any kind (RV. VII. 50. 2-3).

Often the gods are conceived as mere friends of the worshippers. Gods like Indra and Agni are often[11] called *Sunvatas sakhā*, *Mandayat sakhaḥ*, and *Mitra*. The seers also seek[12] the friendship (*sakhya*) of the gods. The assistance that the gods frequently render like life-saving, helping in crossing rivers, restoration of lost property, can thus only be called friendly obligations. The story of the Aśvins having saved Bhujyu, son of Tugra, from being drowned in the ocean is frequently[13] told in the RV. The Aśvins are also said to have saved Dīrghatamas from a similar plight (RV. I. 158. 5). Atri is said to have been saved from flames by the Aśvins who quenched it with cold water (*himenāgnim avārayethām*),[14] and from the dark cavern into which he had been thrown head-long (*ṛbīṣe avanītam unninyathuḥ*).[15] The same gods extricated Vandana from the well (*darśata*) to which he was thrown by the demons,[16] and liberated the

[10] RV. VIII. 91. 5-6.

[11] RV. I. 4. 7; V. 16. 1 and so on.

[12] RV. IV. 55. 3, for instance.

[13] RV. I. 116. 3—5; 117. 15-15; VI. 62. 6; VIII. 5. 22; X. 39. 4 and so on.

[14] RV. I. 116. 8; V. 73. 7; X. 39. 9.

[15] RV. VII. 68. 5.

[16] RV. I. 116. 11; 117. 5; X. 39. 8.

quail from the mouth of the dog that had seized her (*āsraḥ vṛkasya vartikām amumuktam*).[17]

Protected by Indra, the Vasisthas hope to cross many rivers (*apo'titarāmasi*),[18] and the deep water of the Paruṣṇī was made fordable by Indra for King Sudāsa (*gādhān akṛṇot supārā*).[19]

The gods Pūṣan, Aśvins and Indra are very often[20] described as having found out lost cattle, and Indra even gets the appellation *gaveṣaṇa* (RV. VIII. 17. 5).

Most important of the solicitations of the seers from the gods seems to be that which craves for the removal of ignorance (*māyā, tamas*) and for the dawn of knowledge. The word *Māyā* which occurs over 80 times in the RV. means generally the 'divine power' to measure or encompass,' but in certain contexts it means 'ignorance or delusion.' So also though 'darkness' is the usual meaning of *tamas*, it also frequently means 'ignorance'. The synonyms for 'knowledge' in the Veda are *Cetana*, *Sumati*, *Dhī*, *Cakṣas Jyoti*, *Medhas*, *Tejas*, *Mati* and *Purandhi*. On many an occasion *Kratu* and Saumanasya also mean 'knowledge', but the former often means 'action' and the latter also means 'concord or amity'. *Veda* is another equivalent for 'knowledge', but it also means 'wealth'. The names used in the Veda to designate the 'knower' or 'the possessor of knowledge' are *Vipra* and *Sūri*; the former of these two words occurs nearly 300 times in the RV., independently as well as compounded, and the latter occurs over 150 times.

So much for the words denoting the several 'wants or needs' of the Vedic seers which were fulfilled by their kind and benevolent gods. Considering the general trend

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[17] RV. I. 116. 14.

[18] RV. VII. 32. 27.

[19] RV. VII. 18. 5.

[20] RV. 54. 10; VIII. 2. 39; 5. 26, etc.

of Ṛgvedic thought and Ṛgvedic poetry, it is not quite legitimate to interpret them in a very literal way. The question centres round the attitude one takes towards Vedic poetry. If we take the hymns as mere invocations to the visible aspects of nature with a view to securing the ordinary wants of life, we arrive at one conclusion. But, if, on the other hand, we take the poetry of the RV. to be mystic in character, and the deities propitiated therein to be certain powers incomprehensible to the ordinary intellect but visible only to the mystic imagination of the Ṛṣis, and if we understand by the rewards prayed for in these hymns a certain higher purpose of life, we then arrive at quite a different conclusion. I think that the clue that will guide us in choosing between the alternatives lies in the Veda itself.

In respect of gods like *Agni* or *Savitṛ*, or in the case of Uṣas, a physical back-ground is more or less plain; but the association with such a physical back-ground is less plain in the case of *Indra* and the *Maruts*. It is possible to say that *Indra* is an atmospheric god, closely related to thunder and lightning, marking the end of summer and heralding rain; and the association of *Maruts* with storm and wind is also too marked to be missed by any one. Still in the personification—and these are the best personified deities—there are so many epithets and attributes which have very little connection with the physical phenomena that is supposed to be at the background of these deities. When we come to *Varuṇa* and the *Aśvins*, the connection with a physical phenomenon becomes very difficult to trace; and in the case of *Bṛhaspati* the abstraction is complete, and it is not at all certain whether there is any physical phenomenon of which he could be a personification. If *Viṣṇu* can be regarded as an aspect of the solar deity, certain descriptions like his position being the highest, transcending human view

and comprehensible only to the vision of the Ṛṣis, show that there is an element of abstraction and idealization. It can be said of nearly every deity appearing in the RV. that he represents something more of the mere physical phenomenon which comes within the normal experience of man. When we take up also the consideration of the benefits which the seers prayed for from their gods, there are many factors that certainly come within the day to day wants of man for his ordinary happiness, viz., sons, absence of disease, long-life, destruction of enemies, food, dress, ornaments, horses and so on. Among the equivalents of wealth, strength and friendship, there are many words which may mean something subtler than what they connote taken literally. Thus *Arka* and *Svaḥ* which are often equivalents of 'wealth,' also mean very often the 'shining world above'; and it is quite possible that words like *tavas*, *mahas*, *mahīyas* and *kṣatar* which ordinarily mean 'strength', and the word *sakhya* which means 'friendship', have also a deeper meaning. There are certain words like *Gauḥ* which mean 'cow' as well as 'light', and when we think of 'light' it need not necessarily mean the 'light' of day after dark nights or the brightness of summer after the winter season. There is nothing to show that the Ṛgvedic Aryans prayed for the return of the summer season. On the other hand, they dreaded the draughts of summer and worshipped *Indra*, *Parjanya* and *Maruts* for 'rain'. These seers prayed also for 'knowledge'. The world above is full of 'light'; and when these things are read together there is a natural tendency to associate the 'light' prayed for with the 'light' of the other world as well as with the 'light' of knowledge. This craving for 'knowledge' and 'light' is not an isolated instance in the RV. We come across such things very frequently in the whole course of the text, and if we associate other benefits like 'wealth' and 'strength'

with 'knowledge' and 'light', it would be found that what the Vedic seers prayed for is something far higher than the physical needs of primitive man. And if the various benefits sought for are all understood in this way, it would be found that these Vedic seers had a very advanced notion about the Soul and its needs, during this life and after death. To establish that the Ṛgvedic Aryans believed in a Soul and in its permanence in contrast with the body that is destroyed at the time of death, it is not necessary to search for words like *Brahman* and *Ātman* and their synonyms. Nor is it proper to confine our attention to what may be called philosophical terms. It is only to point out the importance of a study of the general background in the RV. that I give here an analysis of what I may call the "wants" of the Ṛgvedic seers in respect of their Soul as well as of their physical existence.

THE DRAVIDIAN PHILOLOGIST

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The foundations of Dravidian Philology were laid in the latter part of the 19th century by the celebrated Orientalist, Dr. Caldwell, whose *Comparative Grammar of the South Indian Languages* was one of the monumental works of the age. His devoted services to the cause of Dravidian Antiquities in general, and Dravidian Philology in particular, deserve the grateful appreciation of the people of India.

Although Dr. Caldwell was born in Ireland[1] and brought up in Scotland, his residence in India for over half-a-century[2] and his appreciative study of the Indian languages and culture made him more an Indian than anything else. He completed his University education at Glasgow where his interest in philology was stimulated by the inspiring lectures of Sir Daniel Sandford, Professor of Greek and arrived in Madras on the 8th January 1838 as a missionary of the London Society. During his stay in Madras for three and a half years he came in contact with distinguished European scholars well versed in Tamil. Particularly, Mr. Drew of the London Mission[3] and Dr. Bower who subsequently became the Principal reviser of the Tamil Bible, gave him valuable help

[1] 7th May, 1814.

[2] He came to India in January 1838 and passed away at Kodaikanal in August 1891. During this period he went to England thrice for the benefit of his health.

[3] A devout missionary who brought out an edition of Tirukkural.

in his endeavour to acquire a correct knowledge of the classical and common forms of speech. He had not proceeded far in the study before he realised that much light might be thrown on Tamil by comparing it with Telugu, Kannada and other sister languages. In his preface to the Comparative Grammar,[4] he says, 'I have become more and more firmly persuaded as time has gone on, that it is not a theory, but a fact, that none of these languages can be thoroughly understood and appreciated without some study of the others, and hence that a Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages may claim to be regarded not merely as something that is useful in its way but as a necessity.'

The village of Idaiyangudi[5] in Tinnevelly, about thirty miles from Cape Comorin was the scene of Dr. Caldwell's memorable labours in the cause of language and religion. It is situated on the slopes of an expanse of red sand, studded with palmyras. His justification for selecting the remote village was that the people of that part of the country were 'teachable and tractable.'

Dr. Caldwell had great admiration for the devotion of Tamil scholars to their ancient literature and grammar but deplored their lack of interest in a comparative study of the South Indian Languages.[6] A scientific study of the linguistic material at his disposal convinced him that the languages of South India formed a distinct family which he termed "Dravidian." In his investigations he received valuable suggestions from contemporary scholars especially Dr. Gundert and Dr. Kittel who were expounding the morphological and etymological aspects of

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4 See his preface to the second edition, 1875.

5 For a description of the village in the sandy region known as *teri*, see Gazetteer of Tinnevelly, Vol. I, pp. 395-398.

6 See the preface to the second edition of Comparative Grammar.

Malayalam and Kannada respectively. He was anxious that the whole range of the Dravidian languages and dialects must be fully elucidated by means of a comparative vocabulary of cognates.[7]

Besides Philology, Dr. Caldwell was interested in South Indian History and Archaeology. When he went to England for the benefit of his health he studied every book in the British Museum pertaining to Indian Archaeology and examined every reference to India found in the Greek and Roman Classics: but nevertheless he realised that the study of the history and archaeology of the country will never reach anything like completeness of development or realise results of national importance till it is systematically undertaken by educated Indians. In his Convocation Address[8] to the Graduates of the University of Madras he laid stress on this point. 'The most important aid that they (Indian students) can render to the study of the history of their country is by means of a search after inscriptions, many of which hitherto unnoticed and unknown, they will find inviting their attention on the walls of temples in almost every village in the interior. The only ancient history worthy of the name is that which has been spelled out from inscriptions and coins. Popular legends and poetical myths, by whatever name they are dignified may be discarded not only without loss but with positive advantage.'

The archaeological investigations of Dr. Caldwell led to the identification of the ancient and mediaeval sea-ports of the Pandya kingdom. According to tradition, Korkai in Tinnevelly, was the cradle of South Indian civilisation and the most ancient capital of the Pandya

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7 A comparative Vocabulary of Dravidian Cognates is being prepared by the Oriental Research Institute, University of Madras.

8 See his address delivered at the Convocation in 1879.

kingdom.[9] The classical Tamil poets and the early Greek geographers[10] had no doubt referred to it but it was little more than a placename until Dr. Caldwell identified it with the insignificant village now four miles away from the sea. The obstacles which he encountered in the course of the exploration at Korkai are described by him in an article that he contributed on the subject to the Indian Antiquary.[11] "The people of these parts think that our real object is to endeavour to discover hidden treasures and this they consider a very risky business for all the hidden treasures are in the custody of demons who will not allow them to be rifled with impunity. At Korkai before my explorations commenced many of the people expressed an earnest hope that I would not make any excavation near any temple, because although very likely there might be treasure underneath, the demons in charge would be so enraged that they would destroy the village outright. I assured them that I would take care not to come near any temple or image and I scrupulously kept my word." The excavations at Korkai and Kayal, a village two miles from the sea[12] convinced him that they were once at the mouth of the Tampraparni and that the continuous accumulation of silt deposited by the river destroyed their commercial prosperity.

The missionary services of Dr. Caldwell are as memorable as his linguistic and historical achievements. The present village of Idaiyangudi with its magnificent church, its regular streets, commodious and comfortable houses, hospitals and schools and many other modern appliances is a living monument of his zeal in the cause of

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9 'Korkai Turaivan', 'the Lord of the Korkai port' was one of the titles of the Pandya king.

10 This place is mentioned by Ptolemy and the author of the 'Periplus.'

11 Indian Antiquary, Vol. VII, pp. 80-82.

religion and civilisation. His meritorious services were widely recognised and appreciated.[13] The University of Glasgow conferred on him the honorary degree of LL.D. in recognition of his contribution to linguistic research. The Government of Madras paid him an unsolicited honorarium of a thousand rupees for the History of Tinnevelly compiled by him from original sources. The University of Madras invited him to deliver the Convocation Address in 1879. He was appointed Bishop of Tinnevelly in 1877 and during the fourteen years of his episcopal office he worked heart and soul for the uplift of the Christian community. The theological seminary founded by Dr. G. U. Pope at Sawyerpuram was transferred to Tuticorin and Dr. Caldwell took charge of the College. His efforts in the educational field were so successful that the Director of Public Instruction, Madras, declared that "if the Indian Christians maintain their present rate of educational progress they will before long engross the leading positions in professional life in Southern India."

Dr. Caldwell passed away full of years and honours at Kodaikanal in 1891 and (his earthly remains were) interred beneath the altar of the Holy Trinity Church at Idaiyangudi in accordance with his wishes. The centenary of his advent to Tinnevelly was celebrated two years ago by the local Christian community and may we hope that the centenary of the publication of the Comparative Grammar will be celebrated in 1956 throughout India in a manner worthy of its great author who is rightly styled the "Father of Dravidian Philology."

[12] This place known as Palaya Kayal is the 'Cail' of Morco Polo and it was 'a great and noble city' when he visited it in 1292 A.D.

[13] A grant of £150 was given to Mrs. Caldwell on the recommendation of Mr. Gladstone from the Royal Bounty Fund in consideration of his eminent services to the people of India—Caldwell's Rem, p. 190.

TOLKĀPPIYAR'S RELIGION

BY

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I

Tolkāppiyam is believed to be the earliest of extant Tamil works. Its author, Tolkāppiyar remains but a hazy figure to modern scholars. No serious attempt has hitherto been made either to study him as a personality or to study his work from the historical standpoint. His age also is a matter of acute controversy, some scholars placing him in the 4th or 5th century A.D., and others in about 10,000 B.C.! The present contribution does not propose to touch upon such vexed questions; but tries simply to throw some light upon Tolkāppiyar's religious faith.

In 1875, Dr. A. C. Burnell[1] made the suggestion that Tolkāppiyar was either a Buddhist or a Jain, most probably a Nigrantha or Digambara Jain. This was but a surmise and did not attract much attention from scholars. On the other hand, the statement made by Naccinārkkiniyar[2] that Tolkāppiyar's real name was Tṛṇa-dhūmāgni, that he was a son of the sage Jamadagni and that he was a pupil of Agastya, went far to popularise the opinion that Tolkappiyar was a follower of the Vedic religion. It was even suggested by an orthodox scholar[3] that Aindram occurring in the prefatory verse to Tolkappiyam was a Śaiva Āgama. There must have been earlier sources for this statement of Naccinarkki-

1 The Aindra School of Sanskrit Grammarians, p. 8, 56.

2 See his commentary on *Eluttatikaram*, prefatory verse.

niyar, but none such is available to us at present. So long as the nature of this source remains unknown, we may safely ignore the statement. To consider Tolkāppiyar as the son of Jamadagni (and incidentally a brother of Paraśurāma) is hardly within the domain of history.

But the question must be settled beyond all reasonable doubt, if any solid reconstruction of our ancient literary history is to become possible. It is not always easy to get direct, contemporary evidence; but where this is available, it is conclusive and all doubts are once for all set at rest.

Let us see whether there is any such evidence relating to Tolkāppiyar's religion.

The prefatory verse to *Tolkāppiyam* is written by Panambāranār, a fellow student of Tolkāppiyar himself. Iḷampūraṇar, the earliest commentator, records this fact. The verse itself mentions details of the preparation and publication of this great grammar and its style and diction bear a very close resemblance to the sūtras in the main work. Moreover, it is found in every manuscript of *Tolkāppiyam-Eḻuttatikāram* available at the present day. So, there need be no doubt that the verse is contemporaneous with *Tolkāppiyam* itself.

From this verse, we learn that Tolkāppiyar published his great work in the assembly of Nilan-taru-tiruviṟ-Pāndiyan. He had the satisfaction of having his work critically reviewed by Atankōṭṭāsān. He was an expert in Aindra Grammar. Lastly, his fame was well established and he led an ascetic life.

The expression 'ascetic life' corresponds to the obscure term 'paḍimai' in the original. It is Iḷampūraṇar's interpretation that is followed here. Naccinārkkiniyar, who came later, interprets the term as meaning

[3] Tolkappiyar Carita-ārāycci by Sri. V. Chidambaramalingam Pillai, M. D. T. Hindu College, Tinnevelly, 1944.

'(ascetic) garb or dress' and perhaps wants to suggest that the earlier interpretation was simply an extension of this significance. But the semantic history of the word 'paḍimai' will not support this suggestion. The word is the same as the prakrit word *paḍimā* whose Sanskrit equivalent is *pratimā*. Primarily, it means an image or idol. (See *Amarakośa*). Resemblance, similitude, reflected image, symbol—these are all extensions of this primary significance. The meaning '(ascetic) garb' is a further extension and the adjunct 'ascetic', though perhaps justifiable in the context, has nothing to do with the word '*pratimā*'. To go still further and derive 'ascetic life' from the primary significance seems indeed very far-fetched and hardly natural. If *paḍimā* has the meaning of *tava voḷukkam* which it has, the inference is irresistible that it is a technical term.

In fact, there is such a technical term in Jainism, covering exactly what Iḷampūraṇar calls *tava voḷukkam* (ascetic life). Outside Jainism, such a technical term is unknown.

A Jaina layman who is desirous of reaching a higher stage in the upward path of *cauḍa guṇasthānaka* than that attained by keeping the twelve vows will also observe the eleven pratimās. These lead him gently on towards the point when he will be able to take the five great vows of the ascetic. The aim of the twelve vows is to bridge over the gap between the lay and the ascetic life. The eleven pratimās (paḍimās) bring the approach still closer. They are :—

1. *Darśana Pratimā*—Vow to worship the true Deva, to reverence true gurū and to believe in the true dharma (i.e. Jainism).

[4] See The *Heart of Jainism* by Mrs. Sinclair Stevenson, pp. 221 to 224. Also *Outlines of Jainism* by Jagmenderlal Jaini, pp. 67-70.

2. *Vrata Pratimā*—Vow to observe the minor vows (anu-vratas) the three guṇa-vratas and four siksha-vratas.
3. *Sāmayika Pratimā*—Vow to wroship at least three times every day.
4. *Pōshadhōpavāsa-Pratimā*—Vow to fast regularly twice a fortnight each lunar month.
5. *Sachitta-tyāga Pratimā*—Vow to abstain from the flesh of conscious creatures and refraining from vegetables.
6. *Rātri-bhukta-tyāga Pratimā*—Vow to abstain from eating at nights.
7. *Brahmacharya Pratimā*—Vow to keep away from the society of even one's own wife.
8. *Arambha-tyāga Pratimā*—Vow to abandon such worldly pursuits as involve the destruction of life.
9. *Pratigraha-tyāga Pratimā*—Vow to abandon worldly possessions.
10. *Anumati-tyāga Pratimā*—Vow to observe the ascetic rule of never allowing any special cooking and of taking what is left over when others have dined.
11. *Uddhiṣṭa-tyāga Pratimā*—Vow to retire into a quiet place to acquire a knowledge of truth.

Before a Jaina can go on to the *pratimās* (eleven stages in his religious life) he must pass through two preliminary stages. He must have faith in Jainism and he must become what is called a Pākshika śrāvaka, layman intent on following the path of salvation. When he takes the eleventh *pratimā*, he is practically a monk or ascetic. Hence to explain the sense of these *pratimās* by 'ascetic life' is appropriate.

Thus we see that *paḍimai*, as explained by Iḷampūraṇar, is a technical term, *pratimā*, being its Sanskrit equivalent. This term is applied to the ascetic observances of the Jains only, and nowhere else in the whole range of Sanskrit literature does it occur in this technical sense. So, we are forced to conclude that Tolkāppiyar was a Jain. He must have been a lay Jain aspiring to become an ascetic. Since the reference to him as a *paḍimaiyōn* occurs in a contemporaneous verse, the evidence is unimpeachable.

II

So far, we have been considering a piece of contemporary evidence. Let us now see whether Tolkappiyar himself gives any indication of the religion he followed.

It is well-known that the minute classification of *Jīva* and *Ajīva* is a distinguishing feature of Jainism. In fact, they form the first two of the nine categories of fundamental truths of the Jains (*nava tatva*). *Uttarādhyayana sūtra*[5] (which Dr. Jacobi ascribes to the early centuries before the Christian era) says—'Now learn from me with attentive minds the division of living beings and things without life, which a monk must know who is to exert himself in self-control'. To take any life seems to the Jaina the most heinous of all crimes and entails the most terrible punishment. Jainism is the religion of non-killing. A monk must strive not to take any life (insect, vegetable, etc.) that has even one sense; but the laity are only forbidden to take any life possessed of two or more senses. Such rules reveal the necessity for a minute classification of *jīvas* (living beings).

Jīva is classified into five kinds according to the number of senses it possesses, as *ēkēndriya*, *dvīndriya*,

[5] 36. 1.

trīndriya, *caturīndriya* and *pancēndriya*. The last is subdivided into *samjñi pancēndriya* and *asamjñi pancēndriya*. *Ekēndriya* possesses only one sense, the sense of touch; *drīndriya*, two senses, that of taste as well as of touch; *trīndriya* has in addition to the senses of taste and touch, the sense of smell; *caturīndriya* possesses the four senses of touch, taste, smell and sight. *Asamjñi pancēndriya* has in addition to the above four, the sense of hearing. Samjñi *pancēndriya* has mind besides the five senses.

This detailed classification and the definitions are found in *Tolkappiyam* also. A free rendering of the seven sūtras of this work (*marapiyal*, 27—33) relating to the above classification is given below.

One-sensed being has the sense of touch; the two-sensed has besides the above, the sense of taste; the three-sensed adds to the above the sense of smell; the four-sensed adds to the above the sense of sight; the five-sensed adds to the above the sense of hearing; the six-sensed has, besides the five senses, the faculty of mind. Those who had a deep knowledge have made this classification (S. 27).[6]

Grass and trees are one-sensed beings; there are other beings also belonging to this class. Conches and shell-fish are two sensed beings; there are other beings also belonging to this class. White-ants and ants are three-sensed beings; there are others also belonging to this class. Crabs and bees are four-sensed beings; there are others also belonging to this class. Beasts and savages are five-sensed beings; there are others also belonging to this class. Mankind are six-sensed beings; there are others also belonging to this class (S. 28—33).[7]

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[6] The author of *Ilakkana-vilakkam*, a Śaivaite, has incorporated this sūtra in his work, without paying any attention to the source of this classification.

[7] *Ilakkana-vilakkam* reduced these statements into one comprehensive sūtra.

What is noticeable here is the absolute agreement between the Jaina classification of the living beings and Tolkāppiyar's classification of the same. Tolkāppiyar explicitly says that the classification was made and the lives graded by men of deep knowledge and there can hardly be any doubt that these men were the great propounders of Jaina Dharma. The respect with which these men are mentioned and the wholesale adoption of their views fully justify the conclusion that Tolkāppiyar was a Jain.

MOHENJO-DARO AND ṚGVEDA

BY

A. D. PUSALKER, M.A., PH.D., LL.B.

In his Presidential Address at the Vedic Section of the Ninth All-India Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum, Prof. K. C. CHATTOPADHYAYA[1] has done me the honour to refer to my article on "Authors of the Indus Culture".[2] That article was published before five years and was actually written a year before. In view of the vast amount of material that is steadily gathering round this most important and interesting subject as also on account of some change in my views I held hitherto, I consider it desirable to make a fresh study dealing only with the relation of the Ṛgvedic Aryans and Mohenjo-Daro; I shall not consider here arguments regarding the authorship of the Indus culture in connection with the Dravidians, Paṇis, etc.

Prof. CHATTOPADHYAYA prefers to hold the so-called official view which happens to be in majority[3] regarding the pre-Aryan date of the Indus culture, and strongly

[1] *Proc. AIOC (All-India Oriental Conference)*, Trivandrum, p. 143.

[2] *ABORI (Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute)*, XVIII, pp. 385—395. I take this opportunity of recording my thanks to Prof. Nilakanta SASTRI, Drs. ACHARYA, MOOKERJI, SARUP, Col. GORDON, Mr. PODUVAL and others who very kindly wrote favourable opinions about my article. Dr. ACHARYA suggested that I should deal at some length with the date of the *Ṛgveda*, and Dr. MOOKERJI felt that in view of his papers on the subject (which were not available to me when I wrote my article) I would be tempted to write my paper anew. As I was first brought into contact with Dr. MOOKERJI on account of this article, I think it fit that the present paper will be an appropriate homage to the Commemoration Volume in his honour.

[3] Cf. WINTERNITZ, *CR (Calcutta Review)*, Dec. 1924, p. 330: "In science truth is not found out by the majority of *votes* but by the majority of *arguments*."

relies on the following grounds in support of his contention :[4] iconism, and the absence of the horse.

The whole problem as to the nature of the civilization, whether it was Aryan or non-Aryan, rests mainly on the dates we attach to the *Ṛgveda*, the oldest document of the Aryans in India, and the Indus culture. The latter practically offers no *prima facie* difficulty as its date has unanimously been taken to be c. 3250-2750 B.C.,—at least prior to 2500 B.C. The basis for so early a dating is the stratification data on the analogy of the excavated sites in Asia and Europe; but I doubt whether we can go so early as 3250 B.C. on this hypothesis alone. Climatic, racial and cultural differences do not seem to have been thoroughly appreciated. It may further be noted that at some places in Sind identical finds have been discovered not far below in the earth,[5] which casts at least some doubt on the hoary antiquity which is claimed for this civilization. Sir Aurel STEIN also has come across some finds in his excavations in Baluchistan which do not go very deep. However, I may mention that 2500 B.C. may be taken as the working date for the Indus civilization.

Coming to the date of the *Ṛgveda*, in the absence of a full-fledged paper, I offer here only my main arguments and conclusions. Lok. TILAK put the hymns of the *Ṛgveda* on astronomical grounds as far back as 6000 B.C.,[6] while Dr. JACOBI placed the beginning of Vedic civilization at about 4500 B.C.,[7] and considered the *Ṛgveda* hymns as the ripe, perhaps even late fruit of that age. Dr. BUHLER found the estimates of the age of the Veda made

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[4] *Proc. AIOC*, Trivandrum, pp. 143-146.

[5] Cf. GHURYE, *Journ. Univ. Bom.*, IV, May 1936, p. 4.

[6] *Orion*, p. 206; *Arctic Home in the Vedas*, pp.

[7] *Festgruss an Roth*, pp. 68-73; WINTERNITZ, *Hist. Ind.* Lit., I, pp. 230-236.

by Dr. JACOBI and TILAK, as "not prima facie incredible."[8] The Mittani inscriptions and the recent discovery of Tokharian to the NE of the Punjab and of Nasili in Hittite Cappadocia show that the age of the Vedas is considerably prior to 2500 B.C. Though the earlier date as signed by Dr. DAS[9] (viz., 25000 B.C.) is generally not accepted on account of its failure to take into consideration other evidences, there appears to be some reason in Prof. VENKATEŚVARA'S estimate[10] of 11000 B.C. as denoting the beginning of the Vedic age on astronomical, historical and cultural data. Mr. V. R. KARANDIKAR,[11] on his study of the Purāṇas, places the *Ṛgveda* before *pralaya* (flood) which, in his opinion, occurred in 4200 B.C. That judicious, impartial and reasonable Orientalist, Dr. WINTERNITZ, observes that "nothing speaks against the assumption that the Vedic literature extends back into the third millenary, and ancient Indian culture *to* the fourth millenary."[12] Dr. Radhakumud MOOKERJI considers 2500 B.C. "on a modest computation" as the time of the Ṛgveda.[13]

Allied with the question of dates, is the important point of the original home of the Aryans. Here also, I reserve full treatment for a subsequent paper in detail, and offer only my main arguments and conclusions. The recent philological, archaelogical and anthropological researches have necessitated a reconsideration of the whole question of Aryan migrations. It seems to me that the Aryan invasion of India through the Bolan Pass is cer-

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8 *Ind. Ant.*, 1894, p. 248.

9 *Ṛgvedic Culture*, Preface, p. v; Ch. I; *CR*, Mar. 1924, pp. 540 ff; *Ṛgvedic India*.

10 *Aryan Path*, 1931, pp. 297-300.

11 Cf. various contributions by him in Marathi on the *Purāṇas* and the Narmada Valley.

12 *Hist. Ind. Lit.*, I, p. 299.

13 *Hindu Civilization*, p. 67, also p. 29.

tainly a myth, and that the Aryans were autocthones in India, their original habitat being the land of the seven rivers. Wave after wave of Aryan colonizers moved thereafter towards the West. The fact that none of the sacred and holy places which the Aryans in India revere and venerate, lies outside India is a good ground in support of the Indian home theory. Further, there is no allusion in any of the Vedic texts, *Smṛtis* or *Purāṇas* to suggest that the Aryans came from abroad.[14] Mr. PARGITER maintains that the Himalayas were the homeland of the Aryans on the evidence of the Purāṇic data;[15] but his theories as to the different racial stocks of ancient Indian tribes are clearly unacceptable. He takes only the Ailas to represent the Aryans and places them in the Himalayan region. Prof. VENKATESVARA states that the family books of the *Ṛgveda* reveal familiarity with the Himalayan region;[16] there is no reference to salt at all, though rock salt abounds in the Panjab. It is only in the later books of the *Ṛgveda* that the Panjab comes in. The objections to the indigenous theory on philological grounds, as mentioned by Prof. RANGACHARYA,[17] such as the Indo-Germanic group being closely allied to Sanskrit, may be explained as being due to the Aryan migrations and expansion to the West; and regarding the Dravidian group, it is not yet proved that the Dravidians were autocthones of Northern India.

From all these facts, it seems fairly safe to conclude that even by the period 3250-2750 B.C., which has been provisionally assigned to the Indus Valley Civilization, the Vedic Aryans had occupied Sind, as would also appear

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14 SARUP, *IC* (*Indian Culture*), IV, pp. 155-156; TRIVEDA, *ABORI*, XX, pp. 60-61; PARGITER, *Anc. Ind. Hist. Trad.*, pp. 301-302.

15 *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 297-300.

16 *Cult. Her.* (*Cultural Heritage of India*), III, p. 55.

17 *Pre-Musalman India*, Vol. I, pp. 211-212; also Ch. IX.

from the reference to the rivers and the province in some of the earlier books of the *Ṛgveda*. Hence, on the analogy of Dr. FRANKFORT'S statement in another connection,[18] we may say that the un-Aryan does not, and need not, necessarily mean pre-Aryan.

Now, before reverting to the main topic of the consideration of Prof. CHATTOPADHYAYA'S arguments, I think it necessary to make my position quite clear. It is not as a "glorious champion" or an "ardent advocate" of the Aryans[19] that I began to study this fascinating subject of Ancient Indian Culture. My only object is the search for Truth, and not the championship of any cause. As regards the argument about aniconism in the Vedic religion as is maintained by Sir John MARSHALL,[20] Prof. CHATTOPADHYAYA and others, it may be stated that the *Ṛgveda* passage (IV. 24. 10) which was hitherto taken to refer to an image of Indra for which ten cows were not an adequate price[21] has been satisfactorily explained by Prof. VELANKAR.[22a] Dr. KEITH states that the "objects of devotion of the priests were the great phenomena of nature, conceived as alive, and usually represented as anthropomorphic in shape, though not rarely theriomorphism is referred to."[22b] Prof. VENKATESVARA has given citations from numerous hymns to show that iconism was in evidence in the Vedic religion.[23] It seems,

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[18] *Archaeology and the Sumerian Problem*, Chicago, 1932, p. 22 (non-Sumerian and pre-Sumerian).

[19] Cf. MARIWALLA, *Ancient Sind*, p. 5; HERAS, *JIH* (*Journal of India History*), XXI, p. 33.

[20] *MIC* (*Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilisation*), I, p. 111.

[21] *CHI* (*Cambridge History of India*), I, pp. 97, 106 [KEITH].

[22a] *Journ. Univ. Bom.*, VI, May 1938, p. 52.

[22b] *CHI*, I, p. 103.

[23] *Cult. Her.*, III, pp. 54, 58-59; also "Vedic Iconography," *Rupam*, 1930; "Origins of Hindu Iconism," *IHQ* (*Indian Historical Quarterly*), 1927.

however, that the evidence is not sufficient to postulate the existence of iconism, and so we may conclude that the Vedic religion was an iconic to a very great extent. The worship of icons followed the Vedic culture. The worship of gods of various types of the Vedic pantheon gradually resulted in the evolution of cults, and a definite system of idol worship followed as time went on. Building of temples and shrines to house the idols was a later phase of Hinduism as shown by the Epics. Thus, in an age of the worship of icons the phallus worship, as seen in the Indus Valley, came in the wake of the worship of Śiva (to which we shall presently refer). This, no doubt, indicates the antiquity of the *Ṛgveda* and its priority to the Indus Civilization.

The argument about the absence of the horse in the ancient Indus Valley loses all its force after what Dr. MACKAY has written in "Further Excavations at Mohenjo-Daro."[24] Even before the publication of *Further Excavations*, Mr. DAS GUPTA had shown from the statements of Sir John MARSHALL himself and those of Dr. MACKAY in "Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilisation" that the Indus Valley art did represent a horse.[25] Prof. Śrikaṇṭha ŚĀSTRI, on account of the discovery of the stylised horse in Susa I and of the horse saddles in some of the lowest levels of Mohenjo-Daro, states that the horse must have migrated westwards from north-western India.[26] Great capital has hitherto been made of the philological ground that there is a common word for the horse among most Indo-European languages and that

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24 *Further Exc.* (*Further Excavations at Mohenjo Daro*), pp. 289-290.

25 *IC*, IV, pp. 423-424; also, cf. VENKATESVARA, *Cult. Her.*, III, p. 48; PUSALKER, *ABORI*, XVIII, p. 393; Herr MERIGGI (*ZDMG*, XII, p. 223) has taken two signs from the Indus script to mean "horse".

26 *IHQ*, XVI, pp. 520-521.

therefore it is definitely an "Indo-European" animal. Dr. MACKAY, however, on the basis of definite evidence, shows that "the philological evidence alone might be open to criticism."[27] He has proved that the horse was known in Elam, Sumer, Susa as early as 3000 B.C.; that the Indus Valley contains the representation of a horse; and that there is every probability that it was known to, if not used by, the Indus Valley people at 2500 B.C. Thus we find that the horse argument cannot now be used to prove that the Indus Valley Civilization is non-Aryan.

Rev. Father HERAS raises many points of a controversial nature in his reply to Dr. SARUP about the Aryan character of the Indus Valley Civilization.[28] As already indicated, in the study of this problem, much depends on the view we take as to the date of the *Ṛgveda* and the early home of the Aryans. It is not true that the Ṛgvedic Aryans were not acquainted with city life or that they knew nothing about trade or commerce.[29] The word "*pur*" in the *Ṛgveda*, whether referring to the structures of the Vedic Aryans or those of the Dāsas, does mean "rampart, fort or stronghold."[30] These fortifications were probably of stone or brick. PISCHEL and GELDNER, however, held the "*pur*" to refer to fortified cities,[31] and Prof. DIKSHITAR supports this interpretation on the strength of the tradition transmitted in the *Artha-śāstra*.[32] The statement of Drs. MACDONELL and KEITH that "on the whole it is hardly likely that in early Vedic time, city life was much developed,"[33] is no doubt true,

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27 *Further Exc.*, p. 290.

28 *JIH*, XXI, pp. 23—33.

29 *JIH*, XXI, pp. 24-27; MARSHALL, *op. cit.*, pp. 110-111.

30 *Vedic Index*, I, pp. 538-539.

31 *Vedische Studien*, I, pp. xxii-xxiii.

32 *Journal of Mad. Univ.*, 1934, p. 4.

33 *Vedic Index*, I, p. 539.

and we have no details furnished regarding the amenities of city life. This, however, only indicates that their life was plain and simple and that they were not conversant with the comforts and complexities of civic life, which characterize the later Indus Civilization. In connection with trade and commerce, it may be stated that sea trade was not the monopoly of the Dravidians or the Paṇis. There are many references in the *Ṛgveda* to ocean-going vessels, maritime travels, foreign countries and naval expeditions.[34] The *Atharvaveda* calls Indra a Vaṇij, and refers to traders among Indra-worshippers.[35]

One more argument put forward by the protagonists of the Dravidian theory and also mentioned by Rev. Father HERAS, is that Śiva is not found in the *Ṛgveda* and that the coneption has been incorporated in later Vedic mythology due to contact with the non-Aryans.[36] The matter has already been dealt with by me elsewhere. Here I intend to draw attention to one specific point. In connection with the so-called absence of Śiva from the *Ṛgveda*, as would appear from that of any reference to him in the *Vedic Index*, Dr. MOOKERJI has stated that when told of three Ṛgvedic references to Śiva, Dr. KEITH (one of the authors of the *Vedic Index*) admitted that "he did not know of these Ṛgvedic passages mentioning Śiva so definitely and accordingly failed to notice them in his *Vedic Index*."[37] Any comment is superfluous.

Rev. Father HERAS then states that "the Vrātya cult was essentially Dravidian."[38] Prof. Śrīkaṇṭha ŚĀSTRI

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[34] cf. Śrīkaṇṭha ŚĀSTRI, *Proto-Indic Religion*, pp. 83-86, and the quotations given there.

[35] *Atharvaveda*, III. 15. 1: "*Indraṁ vayaṁ vaṇijaṁ havāmahe.*"

[36] *JIH*, XXI, p. 27; MARSHALL, *op. cit.*, p.

[37] *Proc. AIOC*, Mysore, p. 452. The passages from the *Ṛgveda* are II. 33. 9, II. 1. 6 and X. 92. 9.

[38] *JIH*, XXI, p. 28.

has adduced cogent reasons to prove that the Vrātyas were worshippers of Śiva and belonged to the Vaiśya class.[39] Any way, they belonged to the Aryan fold.[40]

Then we come to the phallic cult, its prevalence in the Indus Valley being evidenced by numerous phallic emblems. There is no reference to phallic worship among the Indo-Europeans. The term "*śiśnadevāḥ*" in the *Ṛgveda* has been taken practically by all modern interpreters to mean "phallic worshippers."[41] Prof. Vidhusekhara BHATTACHARYA, following Sāyaṇa and the Indian tradition, takes it to mean "non-celebates", on the analogy of "*mātṛdevo bhava*, etc.", as also of "*śiśnodaraparāyaṇa*".[42] Yāska interprets the compound "*śiśnadevāḥ*" as "*abrahmacaryāḥ*"[43] (non-celebate, lustful, given to sexual enjoyment), and Dr. SARUP pronounces this meaning to be incorrect and not acceptable.[44] Yāska's interpretation, however, can be arrived at by taking the expression as a *bahuvrīhi* compound (which no doubt it is) as is maintained by Dr. SARUP. Prof. BHATTACHARYA has quoted analogies in support of the traditional interpretation from the *Brāhmaṇas* and the *Upaniṣads*; but as an objection may be raised that these conceptions show a later development, I refer to parallel instances from the *Ṛgveda* itself, which will show that the traditional interpretation had its basis in the *Ṛgveda*, and that "*deva*" as the second member of the *bahuvrīhi* compound had already

39 *Proto-Indic Religion*, pp. 7-9, 88-90.

40 cf. *Vedic Index*, II, p. 343: " . . . . Aryans outside the sphere of Brahmin culture."

41 cf. *Vedic Index*, II, p. ; KEITH, *Religion and Philosophy of Veda and Upaniṣads*, pp. 10, 75, 129, 148; etc. Dr. DANDEKAR has referred to some views on the subject in his "Vedic Studies" (*Progress of Indic Studies*); according to him, "this question is still an open one" (p. 46).

42 *IHQ*, IX, p. 103; X, pp. 156-157.

43 *Nirukta*, 4. 19.

44 *IC*, IV, p. 159; *Woolner Comm.* Vol., p. 234.

in the Ṛgveda attained the meaning of "devoted to" (*parāyaṇa*) something, object of high respect,—not necessarily a deity. The references are:[45] "*ugradeva*" (*Ṛgveda*, I. 36. 18); "*śauradevya*" (patronym of Śūradeva) (*Ṛgveda*, VIII. 70. 15); "*mūradeva*" (*Ṛgveda*, VII. 104. 24; X. 87. 2, 14); "*anṛtadeva*" (*Ṛgveda*, VII. 104. 14). It is immaterial for the purpose of interpretation that the first two words are proper names. It may be noted that the last word is on all fours with "*śiśnadeva*", and lends a unique support to the traditional interpretation of "*śiśnadevāḥ*". Prof. DIKSHITAR takes the reference in "*śiśnadeva*" to allude to the fallen *yatis* as the enemies of Indra.[46] It would thus seem that the phallic worship is not Ṛgvedic. Dr. KEITH states that phallus worshippers have been regarded as hostile in the *Ṛgveda*, and everything points to the probability of such deities being among the enemies overthrown by Indra in the *Ṛgveda*.[47] Mr. SUBRAMANIA sees the origin of the phallic cult from the Śakti cult after the suppression of the matriarchal society.[48] Thus, it would appear that the Vedic Aryans incorporated the Liṅga cult among their religious ideas at a later date taking it from the alien elements in the society. In later Vedic times, the Liṅga cult was Hinduised and was given a religious significance, as would appear also from the Epics. The Tantras make much of the Liṅga worship, and enjoin that all religious merit would go in vain if one did not worship the Liṅga.

Rev. Father HERAS then refers to the dates of

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[45] I am indebted to my revered friend Prof. H. D. VELANKAR, a great Vedic scholar, for these references.

[46] *Journ. Mad. Univ.*, 1934, p. 11.

[47] *Religion and Philosophy of Veda and Upaniṣads*, p. 129. Later on, however, Dr. KEITH accepts the possibility of these phallus worhsippers being Aryans.

[48] *Origin and Early History of Śaivism.* Madras, 1929.

Yudhiṣṭhira and Kaliyuga as given by Dr. SARUP.[49] There is apparently a misprint regarding the date of the beginning of the Kaliyuga, which should be 3102 B.C. as mentioned by Dr. SARUP.[50] Now, historical importance of the *Purāṇas* has now generally been accepted by scholars,[51] and I feel certain that a critical study of the *Purāṇas* in comparison with Sumerian and Egyptian records will solve many problems of pre-history and proto-history. Though reduced to writing at a late date the Purāṇas embody oldest traditions. The suggestion of Rev. Father HERAS regarding the dates of Yuddhiṣṭhira and the *Ṛgveda* is perhaps due to his comparative not profound acquaintance with Indian traditions.[52] It may be stated here that some of the personages that figured in the Bhārata war are found in later Vedic texts, and that chronologically the Bhārata war comes after the *Ṛgveda.* In fact, it is for the first time suggested that Yudhiṣṭhira may be put to pre-Ṛgvedic times. So, taking the period of the Bhārata war at 3102 B.C. in accordance with the traditional view, the *Ṛgvedic* period comes still earlier. The Purāṇic system of Yugas and Manvantaras needs a critical, careful and comparative study to yield satisfactory results.

With regard to the other arguments indicating non-Aryan character of the Indus civilization mentioned by Sir John MARSHALL[53] and repeated by all scholars after him, there is practically nothing to add to what I have

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[49] *JIH*, XXI, pp. 30-33; SARUP, *Summaries AIOC*, Hyderabad, pp. 122-123.

[50] *JIH*, XXI, p. 31 (Kaliyuga started in 12100 B.C.); it should be 3102 B.C. (SARUP, *Summaries, AIOC*, p. 122).

[51] Some articles on the subject during the last twenty-five Studies" (*Progress of Indic Studies*), p. 142.

[52] *JIH*, XXI, p. 32: "Therefore, most likely, the story of Yudhiṣṭhira and his enthronement dates from a period prior to the *Ṛgveda* and to the Aryan invasion."

[53] *MIC*, I, pp. 110-112.

already written in the *Modern Review*[54] and the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*.[55] Much capital was made of the fact that no defensive armour was unearthed in earlier excavations; further excavations have, however, brought to light a number of thin, domed pieces of copper perforated with two minute holes which have been taken as forming a kind of scale armour.[56] On a seal found at Chanhu-Daro (Ch. 372, Pl. XVII, 38) occurs the shield sign for the first time.[57] As regards the position of the Mother Goddess in the Vedic pantheon, it may be stated that Dr. Sten KONOW has shown that the Indian cult of Durgā-Kālī-Devī is of Aryan origin and is an inheritance from Indo-European times.[58] To the references already cited, may be added the undermentioned articles which quote many Ṛgvedic passages in support of the statement that the Mother Goddess occupied a prominent position in the *Ṛgveda*.[59] The fact that rice, so familiar to the Dravidians, appears to be unknown in the Indus Valley is an important point.[60]

Thus, chronologically the *Ṛgveda* comes prior to the Indus Valley, and culturally, the Ṛgvedic civilization reveals the earlier phases of the Indus Civilization. Prof. S. Śrīkaṇṭha ŚĀSTRI has recently published his series of articles on "Proto-Indic Religion" in book form, in which he tries to show that "the proto-Indic civilization was predominantly the Vedic culture as revealed in the

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54 *MR*, Dec. 1936, pp. 697-703.

55 *ABORI*, XVIII, pp. 385-395.

56 *Further Exc*, p. 546.

57 *Exploration in Sind*, p. 38.

58 *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, NS. XXI, 1925, p.

59 "Mother-Goddess Conception in the Vedic Literature," N. M. CHAUDHURI, IC, VIII. pp. 64-83; VENKATESVARA, *Cult. Her.*, III, pp. 56 ff.

60 Śrīkaṇṭha ŚĀSTRI, *Proto-Indic Religion*, p. 27.

Atharvaveda."[61] The Atharvan tradition mainly concerned itself with charms, sorcery, witchcraft, incantations, etc., and catered more for the general populace. In order to attract a greater number of alien elements under its fold and to make a popular appeal, the *Atharvaveda* not only incorporated and embodied many of the unorthodox and non-traditional practices, but Aryanized them. Though originally regarded as outside the sphere of *trayī vidyā*, the *Atharvaveda* soon gained status as the fourth Veda. It does not affect my position that the Indus civilization shows affinities with the Atharvan tradition; because the latter also goes back to hoary antiquity and the Seers and Ṛṣis who figure in the *Atharvaveda* are the same as in the other Vedas.

In conclusion, I request scholars to reconsider the problem in the light of these observations for what they are worth.

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61 *Proto-Indic Religion*, Mysore, 1942, Foreword.

AKBARIYA-KĀLIDĀSA ALIAS GOVINDABHAṬṬA (16th CENTURY)

BY

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Akbarīya-Kālidāsa alias Govindabhaṭṭa.

Much has of late been written about the Mughal patronage to Sanskrit Literature, by Prof. Śrī Rām Sharmā (in the *I.H.Q.*), Mr. M. M. Patkar (in the *Poona Orientalist*) and Mr. D. C. Bhaṭṭācārya (in the *I.H.Q.*). In the first part of this paper I propose to deal with a neglected Sanskrit poet who was once very famous at the Court of the Emperor Akbar.

The name Akbarīya-Kālidāsa seems to be rather a title than a name. After Kālidāsa, the name Kālidāsa has become a proverbial expression for any poet of merit. There were many poets having the name Kālidāsa, with the prefixes Navīna, Ādhunika, Abhinava, Nava, Nūtana, etc. If Akbarīya-Kālidāsa is a title, the question now arises as to his original name. In the early years of this century, Mr. (now Dr. etc.) M. Krishṇamāchārya identified this poet with Hari Kavi, the author of *Subhāṣitahārāvalī* and other works. But my late lamented friend *Vidyāsudhākara* Dr. Haradatta Sharma had, in his paper on *'sūkti-sundara of Sundaradeva'*[1] remarked that Akbarīya-Kālidāsa was a protégé of both Akbar and the Vaghela ruler, Rāmacandra of Rewa and in a subsequent

[1] *Calcutta Oriental Journal*, Vol. III. No. 5. p. 136.

paper on '*Some Vaghela Rulers and the Sanskrit Poets patronised by them*,'[2] Dr. Sharma notices the poet again while dealing with King Rāmacandra (1555—1592 A.D.).

In the first article Dr. Sharma opines thus[3] about the real name of Akbarīya-Kālidāsa:

'He (=Akbarīya-Kālidāsa) praises Akbar (or Kābilendra or Jallāladin) and Vaghela. The latter must be Rāmacandra, the Vaghela King of Rewa, a contemporary of Akbar and a great patron of learning. It is he who sent Tāna Sena to Akbar's Court. He cannot be identified with Hari Kavi as Krishṇamāchārya would have it.[3]

In his second article[4] Dr. Sharma remarks that the real name of the poet 'is still a mystery' and yet he 'hazards' a guess that Gaṅgādhara might be the real name of our poet, on the following grounds:

The colophon of a small poem of 75 verses mentions the name of Gaṅgādhara as having written it. The *last six* verses of this poem appear to be a eulogy of Emperor Akbar. One of the six verses ('हस्ताम्भोजालिमाला') actually makes mention of Akbar and this verse is ascribed to Akbarīya-Kālidāsa in the *Rasikajīvana*[5] and the *Padyaracanā*.[6] Hence he surmised that Gaṅgādhara might, in all probability, be the real name of our poet.

My esteemed friend, Dr. V. Rāghavan of Madras has recently published a note[7] in which he exploded Dr. Sharma's surmise and proved that Govinda Bhaṭṭa was

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2 *Dr. S. Krishṇaswāmi Aiyaṅgār Commemoration Volume*, p. 50.

3 *Classical Sanskrit Literature*, p. (1906, Madras).

4 *Some Vaghela Rulers and the Sanskrit Poets patronised by them*.

5 II. 29 *śl.* 24. p.

6 III. 27 *śl.* 20. p.

7 *Govindabhaṭṭa, the real name of Akabarīya-Kālidāsa* (in I.H.Q. XVII. 2. pp. 257-8. June 1941).

the real name of our poet. He bases his conclusion on the following data:

Akbarīya-Kālidāsa had written a panegyric, *Rāmacandra-yasaḥ-prabandha*, on Rāmacandra of Rewa, a manuscript of which was described in Mitra's *Bikaner Catalogue*[8] (MS. No. 522) and another in the *Descriptive Catalogue of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*[9] by the late Dr. Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasād Śāstrī (MS. No. 3109). From the following colophon quoted by Dr. Mm. H. P. Śāstrī it is clear that Govinda-Bhaṭṭa[10] was the real name of Akbarīya-Kālidāsa—

'इत्यकब्वरीय—कालिदासकवि–श्रीगोविन्दभट्ट–विरचित:
श्रीमहराजाधिराज–रामचन्द्र–यश:प्रबन्ध: समाप्त:'

Date of the Poet.

As regards the date of our poet there is not much difficulty, though the two limits within which he had lived cannot be set down definitely. *Rasikajīvana* (later than *c.* 1735 A.D.), *Padyāmṛta-taraṅginī* (1673 A.D.), *Subhāṣita-hārāvalī* (*c.* 1650 A.D.) and *Sūkti-sundara* (*c.* 1644—1710 A.D., or roughly the last quarter of the 17th century) cite by name the verses of Akbarīya-Kālidāsa. We can thus say with certainty that our poet must have been earlier than *c.* 1650 A.D.

Since our poet was a protégé of Akbar (1542—1605 A.D.) and the Vaghela King, Rāmacandra of Rewa (1555—92 A.D.), he can be safely assigned to the second, third and fourth quarters of the 16th century (or 1525—

[8] *Catalogue of Skt. MSS. in the Library of H. H. The Mahārājah of Bikaner*: by R. Mittra (1880).

[9] *D. C. Skt. MSS. in the A.S.B.* by Dr. Mm. H. P. Sāstrī, Vol. IV. (1923, Calcutta).

[10] Vide also the Provisional Fasciculus of the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, published by the University of Madras, p. 2. (1937), and pages 390-91 of *History of Classical Sanskrit Literature* by Dr. M. Krishṇamāchāriar. (2nd revised and enlarged ed. 1937. Madras.)

1600 A.D.). The poet attained a rapid popularity within a century, for as many as six anthologies of the 17th and 18th centuries cite his verses.

Works of the Poet.

There are not many works to the credit of Akbarīya-Kālidāsa. Besides the *Rāmacandra-yaśaḥ-prabandha* already referred to, another work of his by name *Birudāvalī*[11] is available. Both these works have not yet seen the light of day.

We shall now cite below the verses of our poet available in Saṁskṛt Anthologies, under his name :

हयवर्णनम्

१. तोटकम्—'इयती जगती कियती भविता
नमितानतना-मिति याति हयः
वियदङ्गनरङ्गिणरङ्गणभू-
विमृशन्निव नर्तन-मातनुते'

—*Sūkti-sundara*,[12] 124. 'Akabarīya-Kālidāsa's.' *S. R. Bh.*, p. 129, *śl.* 5. Anon. It will be at once observed that the metre selected very well echoes the dance of a horse which is described in the stanza.)

कालिकास्तुतिः

२. भुजङ्गप्रयातम्—'कृशा कर्कशा केसरित्वग्व-(ग्वृ)-ताङ्गी,
द्विषत्तर्जिनी गर्जिनी युद्धमध्ये,
हसतासितारातिगर्वातिचर्वा (?),
करालानना कालिका पालिका मे'

—(*Subhāṣita-hārāvalī*, fol. 29a, *śl.* 69, under Akbarīya-Kālidāsa.)

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[11] Vide. p. 39, *Report of the 2nd Tour in search of Skt MSS. made in Rājaputāna and Central India* (in 1904—1906)—by Prof. S. R. Bhaṇḍārkar, M.A. (1907).

[12] Vide, p. 36, *Journal of the Skt. Sāhitya-Pariṣat*, Vol. XXV. No. 3 (July, 1942. Calcutta.)

कालिकास्तुतिः

३. भुजङ्गप्रयातम्—'जरीजृम्भदम्भोजिनीपुञ्जशङ्का
मिलन्मत्तमैलिन्दमाला जटालाः
किमन्यै–रधन्यै–रगण्यै–रपुण्यैः
करिष्यन्ति नः शर्म कालीकटाक्षाः'

(*Subhāṣita-hārāvalī*, fol. 29 a, *śl.* 69, under Akbarīya-Kālidāsa.).

जल्लालप्रभु–शत्रुनगरावस्था

४. स्रग्धरा—'जल्लालक्षोणिपाल! त्वदहित–नगरे सञ्चरन्ती किराती,
कीर्णान्यालोक्य रत्नान्युरुतर–खदिराङ्गार–शङ्काकुलाङ्गी,
मुक्त्वा श्रीखण्डखण्डं तदुपरि मुकुलीभूतनेत्रा धमन्ती,
श्वासामोदानुयातै–र्मधुकरनिकरै–र्धूमशङ्कां बिभर्ति'

—(*Sūkti-sundara*, 'Akabarīya-Kālidāsa's. *Bhoja-prabandha*, 276 *śl.* 'Kālidāsa's'; *S.R.Bh.*, p. 121, *śl.* 68. Anon. But begins with 'बल्लाल

बघेल-प्रभु-कीर्ति-वर्णनम्

५. स्रग्धरा—'तुङ्गब्रह्माण्ड-सिंहासन-मिदमुदयच्चित्रमध्यास्य नित्य-
न्यञ्चद्दिव्यस्रवन्ती-सितचमरचयं लालयन् दिग्वधूभिः,
राकाचन्द्रातपत्रं दिनकरमुकुटं ग्राहयँल्लोकपालान्
निर्जित्यैन्द्रं करीन्द्रं तव जयति यशश्चक्रवर्ती बघेल!'

—(*Padyaracanā*, II. 14 *śl.* 11p., under 'Akabarīya-Kālidāsa; *Sūkti-sundara*,[13] 63. 'Akavarī-Kālidāsa's. *S.R.Bh.* III. p. 144, *śl.* 89. Anon.)

६. मालिनी—'मदनविजययात्रा मङ्गलं द्योतयन्ती'

—(*Padyaveṇī*, 114, under 'Kālidāsa and Akbarīya-Kālidāsa'! The full verse could not be procured at present.—*Vide* Prof. F. W. Thomas: Intro. to *K.V.S.*, p. 32.)

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[13] Vide, *Journal of the Saṁskṛt-Sāhitya-Pariṣat*, (Vol. XXV. No. 1, p. 4. May, 1942. Calcutta.)

गणेशः

७ स्रग्धरा—'रुद्राणीदत्तपञ्चाङ्गुल-घुसृणघनीभूतसीमन्तभङ्गा
सङ्गीता सिद्धसङ्घैरुपहरतु हितं हारिहेरम्बशुण्डा,
ऊर्ध्वप्रक्षेपकेलिक्षुभित-सुरपुरीचन्द्रशालाग्रनृत्यत्-
पौलोमी-मुक्त-हाहारव-चकित-सुराधीश्वरारब्धपूजा'

—(*Padyāmṛta-taraṅginī.*[14] 'अकबरीयकालिदासस्य')

शौर्यप्रधाना कीर्तिः

८. स्रग्धरा—'विस्फार्य व्योमगङ्गावलदुरुलहरीकैतवात् केसराली-
रुच्चैर्मस्तिष्कदेशे हिमकरकपटान् मण्डलीकृत्य पुच्छम्,
दिङ्नागारब्धझम्पस्तव विशदयशःकेसरी काबिलेन्द्र
ब्रह्माण्डारण्यवीथीगिरिगहनदरीसम्भ्रमी बभ्रमीति'

—(*Sūkti-sundara,*[15] 80. 'अकब्बरी-कालिदासस्य'
S.R.Bh., p. 118, sl. 15.

अकबर-प्रशंसा

९. स्रग्धरा—'वीर त्वं कार्मुकं चेदकबर! कलयस्युग्रटङ्कारघोषं
दूरे सद्यः कलङ्का इव धरणिभृतो यान्ति कङ्कालशेषाः
शङ्कापन्नश्च किं कारणमिति मनसा भ्रान्तिपङ्कायितेन
त्यक्त्वाहंकार मङ्काद्विसृजति गृहिणीं किं च लङ्काधिनास्थः'

—(Sundaradeva's *Sūkti-sundara,* under Akbarīya-Kālidāsa. Also in *S.R.Bh.* III. p. 118, *śl.* Anon.)

प्रताप-वर्णनम्

१०. स्रग्धरा—'वेलामुल्लङ्घ्य हेलादलित-धरणिभृद्वाहिनी-कोटि-पूरै-
रुद्वेल्लत्-काबिलेन्द्र-प्रबल-जलनिधिः प्लावनायोज्जजृम्भे,
स्यान्मग्ना मेदिनीयं प्रबल-भुजबलप्रौढतच्चन्द्रहास-
ज्वालाभिः सन्ततं चेन्न दहति बडवा-वीतिहोत्रो वघेलः'

—(*Sūkti-Sundara,*[16] 121. 'Akabarī-Kālidāsa's'. Also in *Padyāmṛtataraṅginī.*[17] Variants in the latter: 'तच्चन्द्रहास = चञ्चप्रताप' *S.R.Bh.*, p. 119, *śl.* 16.

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[14] Vide, *Journal of the Saṁskṛt-Sāhitya-Pariṣat.* (Vol. XXIV. No. 3. p. 41. July, 1941.)

[15] Vide, *Journal of the Saṁskṛt-Sāhitya-Pariṣat.* (Vol. XXV. No. 1. p. 7. May, 1942. Calcutta.).

[16] Vide, *Journal of the Saṁskṛt-Sāhitya-Pariṣat.* (Vol. XXIV. No. 4; p. 58. August, 1941;

[17] And Vol. XXV. No. 3. p. 36. July, 1942.)

हेरम्बवर्णनम्

११. स्रग्धरा—'स्मेरे चन्द्रावतंसे हसति सकुतुकं षण्मुखे सोपहासं,
पश्यत्यालीकदम्बे गणसदसि शिशुक्रीडनं प्रेक्षमाणे,
माभैति व्याहरन्त्या स्तुहिनगिरिभुवः कम्पमानाग्रपाणेः
कर्षन्ती कर्णकेलीकिसलयमवताद् बालहेरम्बशुण्डा'

—(*S. Hārāvalī*, fol. 15a, under Akbarīya-Kālidāsa; taken from Dr. H. D. Sharma's paper, referred to above.)

राज्ञो कृपाणी

१२. स्रग्धरा—'हस्ताम्भोजालिमाला नखशशिरुचिरश्यामलच्छायवीचि-
स्तेजोऽग्नेर्धूमधारा वितरणकरिणो गण्डदानप्रणाली
वैरिश्रीवेणिदण्डो लवणिमसरसीबालशैवालवल्ली
वेल्लत्यम्भोधरश्री रकबरधरणीपालपाणौ कृपाणः'

—(*Rasikajīvana*, II. 29 *śl*. 24 p. 'अकबरीय-कालिदासस्य'; padyara *canā*, III. 27 *śl*. 20 p. under Akabarīya-Kālidāsa; *S.R.Bh*. III. p. 118. 1 *śl*. Anonymous.)

वसन्तवायुः

१३. शार्दूलविक्रीडितम्—'हेमाम्भोरुहपत्तने परिमलस्तेयी वसन्तानिल-
स्तत्रत्यैरिव यामिकैर्मधुकरै रारब्धकोलाहलः
निर्यातिस्त्वरया व्रजन्निपतितः श्रीखण्डपङ्कद्रवै-
र्लिप्ते केरलकामिनीकुचतटे खञ्जः शनैर्गच्छति'

—(*Rasikajīvana*, VIII. 17 *śl*. 180 p. 'अकबरीय-कालिदासस्य Dr. Peterson says in his Intro. -[p. 20]- to *Sbhv.*: 'Two MSS of *Śārangadhara-paddhati* attribute this to Kālidāsa.' Also in S.R. Bh. VI. p. 350. *śl*. 133. Anon; but, it is found also in Jalhaṇa's *Sūkti-muktāvalī*, [1257 A.D.] p. 211, śl. 32 Anon. Variants. 'हेमा = स्मेरा' 'आरब्ध = आबद्ध' 'केरलकामिनी = पिच्छिलकेरली' 'खञ्जः = खञ्जन्'
Since the verse is found quoted in *Sml.* which is decidedly earlier than Akbarīya-Kālidāsa, it cannot be assigned to our poet.)

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THE ORIGINAL PAIŚĀCĪ BṚHATKATHĀ[1]

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Numerous references in both Kāvya and Alaṁkāra literature point to the fact of the existence of the original Bṛhatkathā written by Guṇāḍhya in the Paiśācī language and it is needless to mention them all here. In his essay on Guṇāḍhya and the Bṛhatkathā, Mr. F. Lacote has shown that there exist three Sanskrit versions of the Paiśācī Bṛhatkathā, two of which can be grouped together as being based on the same source and the third representing altogether another version. The first two can be characterised as the Kāśmirian version, whose authors are two Kāśmirians of the 11th and the 12th centuries, Kṣemendra and Somadeva. Their Bṛhatkathāmanjarī and the Kathāsaritsāgara (Lacote suggests that the real name of Somadeva's Sanskrit version must be Bṛhat sarit sāgara sāra) are based according to Lacote, on a common source. The other version is represented by an earlier work, the Bṛhatkathā Śloka saṁgraha by Budhasvāmin which represents a more faithful version and which can be called the Nepalese version.

The common Kāśmirian source of the two Kāśmirian translators is a Paiśācī text. Somadeva says clearly that he is faithful to the original, adding or changing only for needs of clarity and minimum poetic embellishment and that his version is the original itself, but in a different language. भाषा च भिद्यते (I-i-10). Lacote accepts that the source of Kṣemendra and Somadeva is a Paiśācī text but he does not accept it as the original Paiśācī text of

[1] This forms part of the writer's work "Bhoja's Śṛṅgāra Prakāśa" and is published here with the permission of the authorities of the New Indian Antiquary.

Guṇāḍhya himself. These two writers did not have knowledge of or access to Guṇāḍhya's original. So Lacote postulates a secondary Kāśmirian Paiśācī Bṛhatkathā as the immediate source of Kṣemendra and Somadeva. Therefore in Lacote's opinion there are: 3 Sanskrit versions, 2 Kāśmirian and 1 Nepalese, the former two based on the same source and the latter one based on a more faithful but as yet unfixed text; the Kāśmirian redaction of the original Bṛhatkathā by some Kāśmirian Prākṛt poet, with a lot of additions such as the stories of Vikramāditya found in the Viṣamaśīla lambaka upon which are based the versions of Kṣemendra and Somadeva; and lastly the original of Guṇāḍhya. Thus there were two Paiśācī texts according to Lacote, the original of Guṇāḍhya and a later inflated Kāśmirian version. J. S. Speyer accepts later interpolations and points out the Viṣamaśīla lambaka as one such. But he does not postulate a definite Kāśmirian redaction. He says on p. 27 of his Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara: "There cannot be least doubt about the existence in Kāśmir in the 11th century of that vast encyclopaedia of tales in the Paiśācī dialect which is acknowledged as the common source of both the Bṛhatkathāmanjarī and the Kathāsaritsāgara."

Lacote also discusses the evidences which some have taken as sufficient to prove the truth of the existence of the Guṇāḍhya-original. The chief evidence is the number of isolated Paiśācī words and what are more important, the running Paiśācī passages, though few on the whole, given as illustration in his Prākṛt Grammar by Hemacandra. In chapter III of his essay (translated into English by Rev. A.M. Tabard), Lacote gathers all these passages and says: "We have no absolute proof that those examples are borrowed from the Bṛhatkathā, though this has always been considered probable." (P. 149). Towards the end of this chapter he still doubts the existence of the

original Guṇāḍhya, for which absolute proof is yet to come. And according to his view, Hemacandra's illustrative Paiśācī passages are taken from the new text which Lacote has brought into being, viz., the Kāśmirian inflated Paiśācī version. He says (p. 152): "It is worth while noticing that it is only passages found in the Kāśmirian Bṛhatkathā that one is *inclined* (italics ours) to identify with the quotations of Hemacandra.

Lacote and others before him have tried to make out some situation of some story from the Paiśācī extracts in Hemacandra and they have sought for the identification of the characters and the situation found in these excerpts in the labyrinth of the stories of the available Sanskrit versions of the Bṛhatkathā. Lacote criticises an earlier scholar's attempt and suggests his own identification in the prototype in the Kathāsaritsāgara of the story of Bāṇa's Kādambarī. But as expressed by himself, all such attempts are idle. There cannot be any doubt on the matter that the Paiśācī words and extracts in Hemacandra are from no other source except a Paiśācī Bṛhatkathā. For, they are in Paiśācī and the whole world of Sanskrit poets and Ālaṁkārikas know of only one work in the Paiśācī language and that is the Bṛhatkathā of Guṇāḍhya. One may differ on the question of identifying the particular characters, situation and story appearing in these extracts, as also on the larger question of the identity of the exact version from which they are quoted. As already said above, Lacote expresses his view that Hemacandra quotes his examples for Paiśācī and Cūlikā Paiśācī from the secondary source of a Kāśmirian Paiśācī version of the Bṛhatkathā.

This Cūlikā Paiśācī brings in the related question of the several varieties of the Paiśācī and variety in which Guṇāḍhya wrote his original Bṛhatkathā. Lacote would ask us to suppose that the Kāśmirian re-

cension was in both Śuddha Paiśācī and Cūlikā Paiśācī for he attributes Hemacandra's illustration for both of them to the same Kāśmirian Paiśācī version. Here comes another difficulty in the shape of another variety of Paiśācī, viz., the Kekaya Paiśācī. It is Sir G. A. Grierson who draws our attention to this: In the J. R. A. S. for 1913 (p. 391) he has a note on the Bṛhatkathā in Mārkaṇḍeya's Prākṛt Grammar. He is of opinion that in the light of Mārkaṇḍeya's (middle of 17th century) evidence, the original Paiśācī Guṇāḍhya Bṛhatkathā was available till such a late date as Mārkaṇḍeya's. And this Mārkaṇḍeya tells us that the Bṛhatkathā is in neither Śuddha Paiśācī nor Cūlikā Paiśācī but in variety called Kekaya Paiśācī. He says that the Sanskrit "Kvacit" turns into "Kucapi" in Kekaya Paiśācī and illustrates from Bṛhatkathā. "वृहत्कथायां—कुत्रापि पिसालम्।" Kekaya is the extreme northwest of India and perhaps the recension available there was in the local variation of the main Paiśācī. Perhaps the Nepalese version which was Budhasvāmin's source was in Nepala-Paiśācī. For, the following are the countries that Lakṣmīdhara, author of the Ṣaḍbhāṣā-candrikā, gives accordnig to old authorities (Vṛddhas), as pervaded by the Paiśācī:—Pāṇḍya in the extreme south, Kuntala, a little higher up in the south, Bhoja, near Kuntala, Gāndhāra and Kekaya in the northwestern frontier and Nepal in the Himalayan region in the North as also the provinces named Bāhlika, Simha, Sudheṣṇa, Haiva and Kannojaka. These are not contiguous places and Paiśācī does not seem to be a provincial dialect. How can the same language be spoken in distant Pāṇḍya in the south, in Nepal in the north, and Kekaya in the north-western frontier? That question of the artificial nature of the Prākṛt called Paiśācī apart, one is tempted to postulate in the train of the Kekaya Paiśācī, Kāśmirian Paiśācī and Cūlikā Paiśācī, other Paiśācī

Bṛhatkathās for other Paiśācī regions. We are at a loss to know if Cūlikā has any geographical significance and if so, what. Grierson is of opinion that the group of languages coming under Paiśācī belong to north-west India and Kāśmīr; and hence is the prevalence of the Bṛhatkathā in Kāśmir, says Grierson in his book on Paiśācī. Speyer also is of opinion that Paiśācī belongs to N. W. India and Kāśmir, and says in his Studies on the Kathāsaritsāgara that it is understandable how the patronage and place of composition of the Bṛhatkathā is given in the Dakṣiṇāpatha, at the court of Sātavāhana of the city of Pratiṣṭhāna in Kuntala territory. Perhaps he forgets that in the quotation given by Lakṣmīdhara, Kuntala and Bhoja are given as two of the provinces pervaded by the Paiśācī.

To return to the main subject, hypothetical are the observations one is able to make regarding the original Bṛhatkathā. Even the few available Paiśācī passages quoted by Hemacandra, there is no very clear evidence to take as quotations from the Bṛhatkathā. That is, Hemacandra does not quote them with the express mention of the name Bṛhatkathā; we can at best infer that they are in all likelihood from the Bṛhatkathā. Identification of the story and characters in it is next to impossible. It is when standing in such a helpless condition, in a condition of doubt and guess work, that Bhoja and his Śṛingara Prakaśa greet us with some definite data. It is in chapter 28 of the Śṛ. Pra. devoted to Dūtas and their work; Bhoja is illustrating a number of incidents and happenings in romantic love affairs; one such condition is Arthāpaharaṇa, the forcible or cunning snatching away of ladies' clothes, jewels, etc. There is the classic instance of Kṛṣṇa and the Gopikā-vastrāpaharaṇa. But great is the debt of gratitude which is due to Bhoja from us for fortunately leaving this Gopikā-vastrāpaharaṇa and for

illustrating it by a situation in a sub-story found among the innumerable stories of the Bṛhatkathā. It is the story of the gambler Ṭhinṭhākarāla (Somadeva) or Ṭenṭākarāla (Kṣemendra) or Genṭakarāla (Śr. Pra.).[2] It is now found in the Viṣamaśīla lambaka in the Bṛhatkathāmanjarī and the Kathāsaritsāgara and it is a sub-story in the main-story of the marriage of Vikramāditya and the Simhala princess Madanalekhā in which the Yakṣī Madanamañjarī returns a good turn done to her by the king by helping in his marriage. The story of the gambler is told by Madanamañjarī to Vikramāditya's man. In his story, Mahākāla (Śiva at the burning ghat), wishing to help this resourceful gambler-pauper, tells him one evening that in the night the Apsaras damsels of heaven come down to bathe in his tank, asks him to steal away their garments and jewels and refuse to give them back till they consent to give a young Apsaras among them, one named Kalāvatī, for his wife. The Bṛhatkathāmanjarī is very uninformingly abridged and hence I quote the relevent Ślokas from the Kathāsaritsāgara

एकदात्र महाकाल तीर्थेऽत्र स्नातुमागताः ।
रात्रावप्सरसो दृष्ट्वा स देवो व्यादिदेश तम् ॥
आसां स्नातुं प्रवृत्तानां सर्वासां सुरयोषिताम् ।
तटन्यस्तानि वासांसि लघु हृत्वा त्वमानय ॥
यावदेता न दास्यन्ति तुभ्यमेतां कलावतीम् ।
अप्सरः कन्यकां तावत् आसां वस्त्राणि मा मुचः ॥
एवं स भैरवेणोक्तः गत्वामरमृगीदृशाम् ।
ठिण्ठाकरालः स्नान्तीनां तासां वस्त्राण्यपाहरत् ॥
मुञ्च मुञ्चाम्बराण्यस्मान् मा स्म कार्षीर्दिगम्बराः ।
इति ब्रुवाणाश्च स ता व्याजहार हरौजसा ॥
कन्यां कलावतीमेतां यदि मह्यं प्रयच्छथ ।
तदहं वो विमोक्ष्यामि वासांस्येतानि, नान्यथा ॥

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[2] In the Karpūramañjarī of Rājaśekhara, K.M. edn. p. 17, line 1, the Vidūṣaka uses the word 'टेण्ठाकराला' as a term of abuse of the Ceṭī, and Vāsudeva the commentator explains that it is a Deśī word meaning व्यर्थ प्रलापिनी। See also *ibid*-p. 22, where again Vidūṣaka calls the Ceṭī 'Ṭenṭākarāla.'

This situation is quoted by Bhoja. What is really helpful to us is Bhoja's quotation of this part of the story in Prākṛt. Bhoja says :

वस्त्रविभूषणादेः बलच्छलादिभिरादानाम् अर्थापहरणम् । यथा :—

"भो गंगारोल (गेण्टाकराल) पयच्छसु णो (नो) प (व) त्था नि,
(भो गेण्टाकराल प्रयच्छ नो वस्त्राणि),
जानि मज्जान्दि (न्दी) णं त (तु) रा व (अ) पहितानि;
(यानि मज्जन्तीनां त्वया अपहृतानि);
अम्हेहिं सग्गे गन्तव्वं । कथ (थं)
(अस्माभिः स्वर्गे गन्तव्यं । कथम्)
सिनान साग (ट) केसु परिहितेसु तत्थ व (ग) छामो ?
(स्नानशाटकेषु परिहृतेषु तत्र गच्छामः ?)
अव (ग) छमानीयो उन भ आम (मो)
(अगच्छन्त्यः पुनः बिभीमः)
सतक्कतुनो सायातो पभाताअं च
(शतक्रतोः शापात् प्रभातायां च)
सव्वरिकाअं सिलब्भूदा (ता) इहव्वे अवचिट्ठीसामो
(शर्वरिकायां शिलाभूताः इहैव अवस्थास्यामः)

इति अपस्परोभिः (अप्सरोभिः) उक्ते गेण्डाकरालः कलिङ्ग सेना लाटे (लाभे व लम्भे) प्राह—

पयच्छामि ओ पद्धानि (वत्थानि)
(प्रयच्छामि वो वस्त्राणि)
जमेदिमे (जदि मे) एक्कं अच्छरं भरिअं
(यदि मे राकाम् अप्सरसं भार्याम्)
सम्पअच्छथ"
(संप्रयच्छथ) इति ॥

Śṛ. Prā., Vol. IV, pp. 516-517.

This is clearly in Paiśācī language; for, we find here the characteristic of the Paiśācī as found in Vararuci, Simharāja and Lakṣmīdhara. In the Paiśācī the Skr. 'Na' is retained; it does not change into 'Ṇa' as in other Prākṛts. In chapter 10, Vararuci has the Sūtra णो नः x. 5. The Ṣaḍbhāṣācandrikā says on p. 257 : नो णनोः

पैशाच्याम्। e.g.,रामेन् In accordance with this, we find in this passage :

प (व) त्थानि = वस्त्राणि

जानि = यानि

व (अ) पहितानि = अपहृतानि

अगच्छमानी ओ = अगच्छन्त्यः

सत क्रतु नो = शतक्रतोः

पद्धानि (वत्थानि) = वस्त्राणि

As against this we also find two 'Ṇas' in this passage : णो for नः (the Skr. नः genetive singular of Asmat) and जन्दि (न्दी) णं for मज्जन्दीनं which however one is inclined to attribute to the scribe's carelessness. Further, Simharāja says that it is not only a negative non-changing of Skr. 'Na' into : Ṇa' but it is also a positive changing of Skr. 'Ṇa' also into 'Na'. See also Hemacandra's verse illustration for Cūlikā Paiśācī : पनमथ for प्रणमत. In this passage also we find twice वत्था नि for वस्त्राणि.

Secondly, in X. 7, Vararuci says स्नस्य सनः and Bhāmaha illustrates स्नानं as becoming स्नानं. We find in this passage quoted by Bhoja सिनान for सनान. The two conjunct consonants get separated, though in Bhoja's quotation there is a difference in the initial consonant which has become सि instead of being स. The इ of the first separated consonant is natural and we find in Prākṛt सिरी = श्रीः । सिलित्थं = श्लिष्टं । सिविणो = स्वप्नः । भारिआ = भार्या । पिरबु = प्रभु । विरत = व्रत । किरियै = क्रिया ।

As a matter of fact, Simharāja's Prākṛtarūpāvatāra gives in XX. Sūtra 13 'सिनानं' for 'स्नानं'.

Thirdly, the ablative form of a stem ending in 'a' as 'Rāma' becomes रामातो for रामात् The Ṣaḍ. bhā. ca. says : अतो ङसेःतुतोश् । रामात्-रामातो । We accordingly find here सापातो शापात् ।

Fourthly, Vararuci and Vālmīki say that in Paiśācī 'Ta' is not softened but continues to be hard. Even 'Da'

becomes 'Ta'; हितअकं for हृदयम्। Vararuci X. 3 says that the non-initial (Anādya) third and fourth of a consonantal Varga change into the first and the second of that Varga.

वर्गाणां तु तृतीय चतुर्थ योः अयुजोः अनाद्यो राद्यौ। मेखो = मेघः।
राचा = राजा। गोविन्तो = गोविन्दः। सलफः = शलभः।

This condition of Vararuci is not wholly satisfied by our Paiśācī passage. For, we do not see भ changed into फ. We find पभातास्रं for प्रभातायां instead of पफातास्रम्. But the Vālmīki sūtras notice only the non-changing of 'Ta' into 'Da' as in other Prākṛts. And this is satisfied by our passage. We find here:

अपहितानि = अपहृतानि। गन्तव्वं = गन्तव्यं। परिहितेषु = परिहृतेषु।
सतक्रतुनो = शतक्रतोः। सापातो = शापात्। पभातास्रं = प्रभातायाम्।

As against these instances, we have two 'Das'— मज्जन्दीनं for, मज्जन्तीनां भूदा for भूताः, and which as in the case of the two cases of ण-न can be attributed to careless copying.

The condition of Anādya 'Da', etc., alone changing into 'Ta', etc., given by Vararuci is cast off by Vālmīki: तामोतरो = दामोदरः. In Simharāja also the condition of 'Anādy is absent and the phenomenon is given for Cūlikā Paiśācī. And Grierson says in his Paiśācī Lagguges of N. W. India that Vararuci's Paiśācī is Cūlikā Paiśācī.

In this connection, a profitable examination of the Paiśācī passages quoted by Hemacandra can be made. His extracts do not show a change of the fourth of a consonantal Varga into the second. We have in them परिब्भमन्तो and we even find 'थ' the second changed into the fourth 'ध' अध = अथ। कुधं = कथम् In another passage 'Dha' is changed into the second; we find महाधनं and विथाए for विधये. Thus this change between the 2nd and the 4th of a Varga seems to be 'Vaikalpika'.

Thus, since leading Paiśācī characteristics present themselves in this passage, we can, beyond doubt, identify it as a Paiśācī passage.

It is also beyond doubt that it is from the Paiśācī Bṛhatkathā and, unlike the passages and isolated words quoted by Hemacandra, this passage has a story that is easily identified as shown above.

Thirdly, there remains the question of deciding the exact source of this Paiśācī Bṛhatkathā extract, whether it can be the original of Guṇāḍhya himself. Of course critical opinion as that of Lacote and Keith, (and Speyer also) is that Guṇāḍhya could not have perpetrated the anachronism of writing Vikramāditya's story found now in the two Kāśmirian Sanskrit versions in the Viṣamaśīla lambaka and that Vikrama's exploits were added in the secondary Paiśācī text of the swollen Kāśmerian Bṛhatkathā original. Thus Lacote, on seeing the passage now laid before the world from the Śṛ. Pra., would have no hesitation in saying that Bhoja quotes from the inflated Kāśmirian recension, which Kṣemendra and Somadeva faithfully translate into Sanskrit.

We can clearly see that we face some difficulty if we propose to assign this Paiśācī passage in Bhoja to the recension on which are based the faithful versions of Kṣemendra and Somadeva. Bhoja's source also has in it the stories of Vikramāditya, for Bhoja says that this story is from 'Kaliṅgasenā lābha' and Kalingasenā is Vikramāditya's queen. Elsewhere also Bhoja refers to a story in the section on Vikramāditya, the help rendered to him by Madanamañjarī in his marriage with the Simhala princess. Therefore Bhoja's source also had the stories of Vikramāditya. But what we have to note here is that this source is not identical with the Kāśmirian version which forms the basis for Kṣemendra and Somadeva. For, in Kṣemendra and Somadeva, the stories of Vikramāditya are in the book called Viṣamaśīla lambaka; but Bhoja calls that part of the Bṛhatkathā 'Kalingasenā lābha', (K. lambh.) It cannot be explained away that

Bhoja does not mean here the whole lambha but means only the particular episode of the attainment of Kalingasenā only. For, the story of Geṇṭā karāla does not appear as a sub-story in the marriage of Vikramāditya and Kalingasenā but it appears in the story of Vikrama's subsequent marriage with the Simhala princess. Thus, Bhoja's Kalingasenā lābha (lambha. Prākṛt) is the name of the Vikramādiyta lambha in the source of Bhoja. Secondly, in the gambler's story as found in the Kāśmirian version represented by Somadeva, there is no mention of a curse of Indra which would turn the Apsaras damsels into stones if they did not return to heaven before daybreak; and further Somadeva's Ṭhiṇṭhā karāla does not expressly request them to give one of them *for his wife;* Śiva has asked him to demand one Kalāvatī and he demands her at the very outset. These show that Bhoja quotes from a Paiśācī original, different from that which forms the basis of Kṣemendra and Somadeva. Perhaps Bhoja is quoting from the original of Guṇāḍhya himself and as to the existence of Guṇāḍhya's original, scholars need not be so sceptic as they are.

Regarding the obstacle of the Vikramāditya-Kalingasenā story standing in our way of identifying Bhoja's source with anything but a later and swollen recension, we have only to remark that the Vikramāditya-problem is not yet solved. K. P. Jayaswal has discussed this question of the identity of the Vikramāditya of the last book and also the Sātavāhana of the first book of the Kathāsaritsāgara and the Bṛhatkathāmanjarī in a long article on Śaka-Sātavāhana Problems in the J.B.O.R.S., 1930, pp. 279—294. His conclusions are as follows: The great renowned Vikramāditya, the first king to be called by that name, the Vikramāditya of Ujjayinī, is Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī of the Āndhra Sātavāhana line. His line at Pratiṣṭhāna in the south had its greatest personality in

a grandson of his, Hāla-Sātavāhana, the author of the Saptaśatī, who became king about 17—21 A.D. He was also called Vikramāditya and he also defeated the Śakas in 78 A.D. He is the Kuntala Śātakarṇī referred to by Vātsyāyana and he was the son of Mahendrāditya or Mahendra Śātakarṇī. Guṇāḍhya was his court-poet. Jayaswal opines that the Sātavāhana of the Kathāpīṭha and the Viṣamaśīla lambaka's Vikramāditya are identical. Far from being a later addition, the Viṣamaśīla lambaka is the crown of the work, singing as it does the glory of the poet Guṇāḍhya's patron, Hāla-Sātavāhana-Vikramāditya-Kuntala-Śātakarṇī. The golden age of the Sātavāhanas at Pratiṣṭhāna is between 58 B.C. and 78 A.D.

But the text itself gives little room for such identification as Jayaswal has done. The Kaṭhāpīṭha nowhere refers to its Sātavāhana by the name Vikramāditya, a name of renown which one must have preferred. If the Kathāpīṭha Sātavāhana is Vātsyāyana's Kuntala Śātakarṇī, we do not find in the stories of the Kathāpīṭha or the Viṣamaśīla lambakas the chief queen of that king, Malayavatī and the interesting story of how the king killed her accidentally.

Speyer says in his Studies on the Kathāsaritsāgara that V. Smith is of opinion that Hāla-Sātavāhana of the Āndhra-Sātavāhana dynasty which came into being about 220 B.C., ruled about 68 or 54 A.D. and that he is the patron of three works: the Saptaśatī, Guṇāḍhya's Bṛhatkathā and the Kātantra vyākaraṇa. These three works must be placed about 60—70 A.D. Speyer does not agree with this view and he calls Smith's arguments 'one-sided' and 'specious'. He doubts the patronage of Guṇāḍhya and his Bṛhatkathā by Hāla in the south on the ground that, according to Grierson, Paiśācī is a north-west Indian language and that it is impossible to

believe the only great work in that language to have been written at a place so distant from the home of the language. But Speyer seems to forget, as has been pointed out at the beginning, that Sanskrit works give many other places besides the north-west region, and among them the very place where Sātavāhana ruled, as the home of the Paiśācī. Rājaśekhara also says that the Vindhyan region is pervaded by Paiśācī and Grierson accepts, in view of Rājaśekhara's statement, that though the north-west is the original home, the Paiśācī spread to other parts also.[3] This argument apart, Speyer says that Guṇāḍhya could not have composed the Kathāpīṭha, for Somadeva says in Taranga viii, śloka 37 that Sātavāhana composed the Kathāpīṭha. Speyer argues with Weber in the view that the Saptaśatī cannot be placed before the third century A.D. According to the Kathāpīṭha itself, its Sātavāhana is coeval with the Nandas of Pāṭalīputra and it is not possible for Smith to naively fix him in the first century A.D. Speyer then argues for 300 A.D. as the date of the composition of Guṇāḍhya's Bṛhatkathā but from here all his arguments are trivial and as he himself says, are based on the assumption that what we have in Somadeva's version is true of the original also. Speyer advances the "Nāgārjuna argument". That Nāgārjuna figures in one of the stories need not necessarily mean a later date for the Bṛhatkathā. According to the Prākṛt kathā in verse called Līlāvatī, Nāgārjuna was a minister of Hāla-Sātavāhana and Guṇāḍhya might have recorded stories of his famous contemporary also in his work. But it is so difficult to say anything definitely on the Vikramāditya problem.

It is interesting to note that the Paiśācī extract given by Bhoja is in the most direct, plain, unadorned,

[3] See J.R. A.S. 1921, Controversy between Konow and Grierson.

one is even tempted to say bald, prose style. It runs thus :

अप्सरसः—भो गेण्टाकराल ! प्रयच्छ नः वस्त्राणि, यानि मज्जन्तीनां त्वया अपहृतानि । अस्माभिः स्वर्गे गन्तव्यम् । कथं स्नानशाटकेषु परिहृतेषु तत्र गच्छामः ? अगच्छन्त्यः पुनर्बिभीमः । शतक्रतु शापात् प्रभातायां च शर्वरिकायां शिलाभूता इहैव अवस्थास्यामः ।

गेण्टाकरालः—प्रयच्छामि वो वस्त्राणि, यदि मे राकाम् अप्सरसं भार्यां प्रयच्छथ ।

When compared to this, the passages quoted by Hemacandra show a little more effort at literary beauty though, speaking generally, they are also in a simple and straight style. We are tempted to attribute such a non-flamboyant and extra-simple style of narrative prose to Guṇāḍhya's original itself.

The last point to be considered here is the fact that from the extract quoted by Bhoja, we are led to conclude that the original Bṛhatkthā is purely in prose. If Hemachandra also had quoted from it, his extracts will go to confirm it. This also agrees with a guess of Dr. Keith that Guṇāḍhya's original was in prose, a guess based upon Daṇḍin's remark of Gadya, the two varieties are Kathā and Akhyāyikā. (Keith, Skr. Lit. p. 268). This is also supported by the reference to the Bṛhatkathā in Jinaṣena's Mahāpurāṇa or Ādipurāṇa.[4]

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[4] In a Note on pp. 547-8, Vol, V., IHQ. on the Ādipurāṇa and Bṛhatkathā, Kanta Prasad Jain points out that Jinasena bases himself on the Gadya Katha of Sri Kavi Paramesvara.

[4] In an article entitled 'Some Observations on the Bṛhatkathā' in Vol. I, No. 2 of *Indian Culture* (p. 218), Mr. C. D. Chatterjee says that there were five recensions of the Bṛhatkatha in Paiśācī and that "one of the Paiśāī recensions, very probably the fifth one, was in prose, while others were in verse." He adds: "A Bṛhatkathā in Paiśācī prose was at least known to Daṇḍin and Jinasena." In a foot-note, he says further: "The original of the Bṛhatkathāmañjarī and that of the Kathāsaritsāgara, viz., the third and the fourth recension, were undoubtedly in verse." We do not think that there is any evidence to suppose a Paiśācī text in verse form. The reason for Mr. Chatterji's affirming four Paiśācī texts in verses are not given by Mr. Chatterjee. On other points also, Mr. Chatterjee differs from Locate.

THE POLITICAL ALLEGORY IN KĀLIDĀSA'S KUMĀRASAMBHAVA

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It has been accepted by many scholars that the works of Kālidāsa are not to be taken as merely poetical presentations of certain stories of some kings or of certain Purāṇic tales and that they reflect the political conditions of Kālidāsa's days; from this, attempts have been made to fix the date of Kālidāsa. Thus the great sacrifice performed by Puṣyamitra is regarded as reflecting the sacrifice performed by Samudra Gupta; the conquests of Raghu as described in the fourth canto of the Raghuvaṁśa are regarded as reflecting the conquests of the same Gupta Emperor; and the later portions of the Raghuvaṃśa are regarded as picturing the decadent condition of the later kings of the ruling dynasty founded by great conquerors and kept in prosperity by virtuous rulers. In the mention of a law point in the sixth Act of the Śākuntala, scholars find some reference to the law of inheritance prevailing at the time of Kālidāsa. In the present Paper I am not propounding any new doctrine; my attempt is a very modest one, that of applying this well known attitude of scholars to a particular work of Kālidāsa.

The main story in the Kumārasambhava is as follows. Dakṣa, one of the Prajāpatis (Lords of men) insulted Śiva the Great God, who was also his son-in-law. Satī, his daughter and the consort of Śiva could not bear this humiliation and so she committed suicide; she was later re-born as the daughter of Himavān, the king of mountains. Śiva withdrew himself from the affairs of the

world and resorted to penance in the valleys of the Himavān. Himavān desired his daughter to be married to Śiva who was engaged in penance and directed his daughter to worship and propitiate the great God.

At this time the world of virtuous men was without a leader and the evil powers of the world under the leadership of Tāraka were harrassing the gods. The gods went to Brahman, the Supreme God, and represented their grievances to Him. Brahman told them that a leader could be secured only through the re-union of Śiva with Pārvatī, the daughter of Himavān, and He directed them to take steps to bring about that union.

The gods were not able to understand the real meaning of the direction of Brahman and they tried to bring about this union through the device of inciting the carnal passions of Śiva. Kāma, the presiding deity of physical love tried his strength and was consumed to ashes by the fire from the face of Śiva.

Pārvatī decided to resort to penance to propitiate Śiva; Śiva was pleased with her austerities and after placing Pārvatī's fidelity to a severe ordeal, He made His presence before her and gave His promise to take her as His consort.

Śiva assembled the seven great sages and sent them as envoys to seek the hand of Pārvatī. They went to Himavān and Himavān was greatly pleased at it and the marriage was arranged.

The marriage was celebrated in a grand way and Śiva and Pārvatī spent many years in happy union. Thus the work closes, as it is available at present.

We do not know what earlier source Kālidāsa had for picturing Śiva's second consort as the daughter of Himavān; it has not been proved that the Purāṇa version of the story is earlier than Kālidāsa. In so far as Kālidāsa had no original known to us, except the bare men-

tion of the name of Raghu in some of the geneologies now preserved in the Purāṇas, for the first eight cantos of the Raghuvaṁśa in which Raghu is the hero, there is no ground to believe that in the case of Kumārasambhava he had any original to model his epic.

If we can conceive of an Indian Empire extending far beyond the present borders of India, which collapsed on account of the misrule of her rulers and if we conceive of the re-birth of India within the narrower limits encompassed by the Himalayas, the imagery fits in very well with the starting portion of the Kumārasambhava.

The epic begins with the mention of Himavān, the king of the mountains, of divine form:

> asty uttarasyām diśi devatātmā himālayo nāma
> nagādhirājaḥ
> pūrvāparau vārinidhī vigāhya sthitaḥ pṛthivyā
> iva mānadaṇḍaḥ
> Kum. I—1.

In the following sixteen verses Himavān's greatness is described in detail. Then Himavān married Menā, the daughter of the fore-fathers born through mental activity (mānasīm pitṛṇām kanyām, Kum. I—18) for the preservation of his dynasty (kulasya sthitaye, Kum. 1—18). Kālidāsa must have been quite aware of the unity of India as based on the position of the Himalayas on the North and of the ocean on the other sides. He knew that India's greatness and her continued security depended on the protection of the Himalayas as a father.

The blessings of ancient fore-fathers constituted the fit consort for Himavān for the birth of the New India. Thus the New India was heralded under the auspices of the great range of mountains on the north and the blessings of the ancient fore-fathers, who were the guardians of India's destiny. This union was applauded by the

great sages, the spiritual guardians of the land (munīnām api mānanīyām, Kum. I—18). First was born the mountain Maināka. At this stage in the 21st verse, Kālidāsa introduces Pārvatī. Satī was the consort of Śiva. Her father, the Prajāpati (Lord of men) insulted Śiva, and unable to bear this humiliation at the hands of her father, she discarded her body through her spiritual power and she resorted to the consort of H'mavān, namely, the blessings of the ancient forefathers, for her rebirth.

athāvamānena pituḥ prayuktā dakṣasya kanyā bhavapūrvapatnī
satī satī yogaviyuktadehā tām janmane śailvadhūm prapede.
Kum. I. 21.

Kālidāsa's patriotism is something unique. He could not believe that his native land could perish through any external oppression and he says that the temporary collapse of the empire was only a self-willed immolation through her own spiritual power on account of the sin of her own father, the protector of man. That was not a final destruction; the empire immediately took re-birth under the protection of the Himalays and with the blessings of the ancient fore-fathers of the land.

Kālidāsa felt that although there were other children for the Himavān to protect, namely, the other countries brodering on it, it was only India that was born through the blessings of the ancient forefathers and it was India that was the real favourite of Himavān.

mahībhṛtaḥ putravato 'pi dṛṣṭis tasminnapatye na jagāma tṛptim
Kum. I. 27.

She sanctified the father and also was an ornamentation to the father as the chaste words are to a poet.

> saṃskāravatyeva girā manīṣī tayā sa pūtaś ca vibhūṣitaś ca.
>
> Kum. I. 28.

Kālidāsa seems to think of some kings entrusted with the task of protecting the empire which was the consort of the great God, who abused his position, flouted religion and thus brought humiliation to the country. The empire must have met with ruin on account of the misconduct of the ruler. Kālidāsa must have known an empire of smaller dimensions being rebuilt under very sacred auspices. From verse No. 29 until verse No. 49, in twenty one verses, Kālidāsa describes the youth of Pārvatī.

Nārada, one of the spiritual guardians of India, saw this young daughter of Himavān near the father and prophesied that she would once again become the sole consort of the great god.

> tām nāradaḥ kāmacaraḥ kadācit kanyām kila prekṣya pituḥ samīpe
> samādideśaikavadhūm bhavitrīm premṇā śarīrārdhaharām harasya.
>
> Kum. I—50.

Nārada knew what was going to happen; he knew that the new country bordering on the Himalayas would once more be the beloved of the great God on account of her own worth.

The question is always about the person who should take the initiative to bring about such a re-union. God's grace is not something which comes in very easily. Naturally men are a little diffident in approaching Him, and a man readily appeals to God only when there is a prompt-

ing from His side. There was no real leader in the country who could dedicate himself and the land to the service of God, and the protecting wall of the Himalayas was the only security for the country. Thus Himavān will not take the initiative in the matter. The newly born country was becoming mature; and without re-union with God, the country may come under evil powers. All that the Himavān could accomplish was to protect his ward from falling into evil hands. This was the position.

guruḥ pragalbhe 'pi vayasy ato 'syās tasthau
nivṛttānyavarābhilāṣaḥ
ayācitāram na hi devadevam adriḥ sutām
grāhayitum śaśāka.
Kum. I—51.

It was also difficult to expect God to take the initiative in the matter. Ever since the destruction of Dakṣa's daughter, he had renounced all thoughts of having a consort and devoted himself to penance with some motive which cannot be explained.

yadaiva pūrve janane śarīram sā dakṣaroṣāt
sudatī sasarja
tadāprabhṛtyeva vimuktasaṅgaḥ patiḥ paśūnām
aparigraho 'bhut.
Kum. I—53.

sa kṛttivāsās tapase yatātmā gaṅgāpravāhokṣita-
devadāru
prastham himādrer mṛganābhigandhi kiñcit
kvaṇatkinnaram adhyuvāsa.
Kum. I—54.

tatrāgnim ādhāya samitsamiddham svam eva
mūrtyantaram aṣṭamūrtiḥ
svayam vidhātā tapasaḥ phalānām kenāpi
kāmena tapaś cacāra.
Kum. I—57.

Even in these verses Kālidāsa hints that God's separation from the affairs of India was not to be a permanent feature. He took his abode in the valleys of the Himavān (prastham himādrer . . . adhyuvāsa Kum. I—54), in the vicinity of the place where Pārvatī was born. In that place there was the Ganges flowing, with its floods watering the Devadāru trees on the banks (gaṅgāpravāhokṣitadevadāru Kum. I—54), and the place was permeated with the fragrance of musk (mṛganābhigandhi Kum. I—54). Such is not the appropriate place for the performance of penance, absolutely free from all concern about man's affairs. The place is more appropriate for re-union with the world and its affairs.

Further he is the object of penance and as such there was no other God whom he had to propitiate; and so he performed penance dedicating Himself to one of His own eight Forms (svam eva mūrtyantaram aṣṭamūritiḥ Kum. I—57), and he had some motive that cannot be explained (kenāpi kāmena Kum. I—57). What other motive could He have than to make India fit to be His Consort once more? Thus although active steps were not taken by the Supreme God at this stage to bring about a reunion of himself and India, He was preparing the ground for such an event.

Himavān directed his daughter to serve the Lord who was performing penance. Himavān knew that his daughter must prove herself worthy of acceptance by the Supreme God and that he himself cannot bring about their union, like the ordinary unions between husbands and wives effected by the parents.

anarghyam arghyena tam adrināthaḥ svargaukasāṃ arcitam arcayitvā
ārādhanāyāsya sakhīsametām samādideśa prayatām tanūjām

Kum. I—58.

In the next verse also, Kālidāsa makes it quite clear that Śiva's penance had only one motive and that is to enable India to become once more a fitting Consort of His.

> pratyarthibhūtām api tām samādheḥ śuśrūṣamāṇām
> giriśo 'numene.
>
> Km. I—59.

If what He was performing was the ordinary penance undertaken to get freed from the entanglements of the world, the presence of a young lady is an obstacle. But He permitted her presence and her service.

After thus describing the temporary separation of the country from the Divine influence and after indicating the approaching re-union of the two, Kālidāsa starts to picture the condition of the country during this period of separation. The Evil Powers under the leadership of Tāraka were harrassing the gods and they approached Brahman to seek protection.

> tasmin viprakṛtāḥ kāle tārakeṇa divaukasaḥ
> turāsāham purodhāya dhāma svāyambhuvam
> yayau.
>
> Kum. II—1.

They explained their plight to the Supreme Brahman and prayed to Him to save them from their plight by sending a leader.

> tad icchāmo vibho sraṣṭum senānyam tasya
> śāntaye.
>
> Kum. II—51.

> goptāram surasainyānām yam puraskṛtya
> gotrabhit
> pratyāneṣyati śatrubhyo bandīm iva jayaśriyam.
>
> Kum. II—52.

All that India lacked was a leader. They had plenty of physical and mortal power. If a leader will guide the

divine army, success is assured. To this Brahman replies to say that the evil power operates as much through his potency as good powers can operate. He cannot eradicate evil from the world. The fight must be between the good powers and the evil powers in the world and not between the Supreme Brahman and evil powers.

itaḥ sa daityaḥ prāptaśrīr neta evārhati kṣayam.

Kum. II—55.

They must wait and prepare themselves for victory. He cannot himself take any independent steps to create a leader for his ruin, although he can assure them of final triumph for the virtuous.

sampatsyate vaḥ kāmo 'yam kālaḥ kaścit pratīkṣyatām
na tv asya siddhau yāsyāmi sargavyāparam ātmanā

Kum. II—54.

Brahman advises them to see that the destruction of evil do come as a natural process in the affairs of man and of the world and that it is not to be imposed by God. The only way in which a leader can be born, capable of defeating the enemy, is to see that the country is re-united to the Great God Śiva. Brahman represents the supreme spiritual power in the Universe; both the evil power and the good power in the universe function on account of this supreme force, which will not operate against either of them. Evil must be resisted by virtue in alliance with physical force, just as evil force is functioning in combination with physical force. So He instructs them to bring about the re-union of the country with the Divine.

Umārūpeṇa te yūyam saṃyamastimitam manaḥ
Śambhor yatadhvam ākraṣṭum

Kum. II—59.

A leader for the nation cannot be won through the pure supreme spirit functioning. It is only through the combination of the spiritual force with physical force that a leader capable of eradicating evil and bringing about the triumph of the good over the evil, will be born. And when spiritual force is united to physical force, there will be the salvation of the land.

> **tasyātmā Śitikaṇṭhasya saināpatyam upetya vaḥ**
> **mokṣyate surabandīnam veṇīr vīryavibhūtibhiḥ.**
>
> Kum. II—61.

The gods of the Kumārasambhava represent the good and pious people of the land, who understand only the worldly affairs or only the divine intervention in man's affairs. When the Supreme Brahman said that man cannot be saved through a mere divine intervention and that man must work out his own salavation, they thought that such a salavation can be brought about in the ordinary way. An individual is united to another individual in various capacities, either as husband and wife, or as father and son, or as brother and brother, or as master and servant through some temporary tie. But the tie that binds man to God is of quite a different nature. It is this secret that the gods did not understand, and they tried to effect the union of God and man in the normal way. Kāmadeva who represents the agent that brings about the normal tie between two individuals as husband and wife boasts of his powers and promises to unite even the Great God to a woman.

> tava prasādāt kusumāyudho 'pi sahāyam ekam
> madhum eva labdhvā
> kuryām harasyāpi pinākapāṇer dhairyacyutim
> ke mama dhanvino 'nye.
>
> Kum. III—10.

Then the chief of the gods tells Kāmadeva that that was just what he wanted him to accomplish. They wanted him to unite Śiva with Pārvatī so that a son may be born of the union, who will lead the gods into victory against their foe.

> āśaṃsatā bāṇagatiṃ vṛṣāṅke kāryam tvayā naḥ pratipannakalpaṃ
> nibodha yajñāṃśabhujām idānīm uccairdviṣām īpsitam etad eva
>
> Kum. III—14.

> amī hi vīryaprabhavam harasya jayāya senānyam uśanti devāḥ
> sa ca tvadekeṣunipātasādhyo brahmaṅgabhūr brahmaṇi yojitātmā
>
> Kum. III—15.

> tasmai himādreh prayatām tanūjām yatātmane rocayitum yatasva
> yoṣitsu tadvīryaniṣekabhūmiḥ saiva kṣametyā- tmabhuvopadiṣṭam.
>
> Kum. III—16.

In these words Kālidāsa brings into great prominence the nature of the real evil that existed in the country. The presence of what is patent as an evil is not the worst misfortune in a country. The so-called good people are often the most unfortunate dangers to a country. They cannot distinguish between the ordinary human relations and the nature of God's relation to man. Evil brings about misfortune in man's life; but the good operating in bad ways brings about worse misfortunes. This is the tragedy in all countries. The real nature of tragedy in man's life is when virtue operates for attainment of virtuous ends in the wrong way and brings about worse misfortunes than from operation of evil. The removal

of such virtuous people from a country is the first step for the salvation of a country. This is the great teaching of Kālidāsa in this portion of the Kumārasambhava.

The only way to propitiate God is to completely dedicate oneself to God. Pārvatī now takes the right step. She performs penance of a severe nature. God is pleased. Her fidelty is tested in a very severe way and she stands the ordeal with great firmness. Then God Himself proposes the union; he sends the great sages as his messengers to the father of Pārvatī.

The way to be religious is not to try to win over God by ways in which kings and masters are won over in the world. This is the very negation of religion. Religion is the complete dedication of the entire life in all its activities for the service of God. It is only such a total dedication that can win over the Grace of God. And such a Divine Grace is necessary for the country to have a national hero as leader to defend virtue against the operation of evil and to bring about the triumph of virtue over evil.

I have not strained any portion of the Kumārasambhava to read a sort of political allegory or political philosophy into it. Nor have I tried to read too much into scant phrases and expressions here and there. I find a certain political thought very prominent in the whole epic. The destruction of a great empire through man's sin against the laws of God, the evils in the world consequent on this separation of God from man's affairs, the propitiation of God through the total dedication of the country to the cause of God, and God's union with the country's life resulting in the birth of a national leader who could vanquish the evil—this central idea is very plain in the epic.

I cannot say whether Kālidāsa had any definite political event in his mind when he developed this political

allegory, or whether he was explaining a political thought in a general way. The great empire of Candragupta Maurya which extended beyond the borders of the present India, its disruption due to the maladministration of the decadent later Maurya rulers, Puṣyamitra's revival of the Magadha Empire and his services to the country by the revival of religious life in the country—these historical facts fit in with the allegory very well. Neither the establishment of a great empire after defeating the country's foes by Candragupta Maurya nor the establishment of the great Gupta Empire fits in with this allegory so well as the Puṣyamitra event.

Perhaps the pro-Buddhistic and anti-Vedic tendencies of the Mauryan Emperors and the pro-Vedic and anti-Buddhistic tendencies of the Śuṅga Emperors have been a little over-drawn in the books on Early Indian History written in recent times. But the decadence of the later Mauryan Emperors, the overthrow of the last Mauryan Emperor by Puṣyamitra and Puṣyamitra's devotion to Vedic religion have a firmer foundation than the predilections of historians. If Kālidāsa was a contemporary of Agnimitra, Puṣyamitra's son, and if in that case the memory of Candragupta's great Empire and of the misrule of the immediate predecessors of Puṣyamitra, namely, the last Mauryan Emperors, were fresh in the memory of the nation and well-known to Kālidāsa, the allegory becomes all the more appropriate. But my only point is the presence of a current of political thought in the Kumārasambhava.

THE STONE-BOAT OF DHARMAPĀLA

BY

DR. H. C. RAY CHAUDHURI, M.A., PH.D.

There is a passage in Sandhyākara's *Rāmacarita* in connection with the eulogy of the famous king Dharmapāla of Bengal which has puzzled modern scholars and commentators. We are told that the "stone-boat" (*grāvanau*) of the great king floated on the sea, even as gourds (*ikshvāku*), and looked radiant as it effected a successful crossing :—

Tatkuladīpo nṛipatirabhūd
Dharmo dhāmavān ivekshvākuḥ
yasyābdhiṁtīrṇāgrāvanau
rarājāpi kīrttiravadātā[1]

The ancient commentator explains *grāvanau* as *śilānaukā* or stone-boat. The distinguished scholars[2] to whom we owe the latest edition of the *Rāmacarita* find in the verse a possible reference to a naval expedition, but add that "what is meant by stone-boats (*śilānaukā*) is not very clear. What important historical event is alluded to in this obscure passage, we shall perhaps never know."[3]

The evidence of a Javanese text may, however, be considered in this connection. The text in question is the *Tantu Panggelaran*. Dr. Majumdar[4] points out that it is a work of the nature of a *Purāṇa* and contains matters relating to theology, cosmogony as well as stories of a mythological character. In this text we have the tale of a great *Guru*, an ascetic (*viku i.e., bhikshu of the Bhairava*

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[1] *Rāmacaritam*, I. 4.

[2] Dr. R. C. Maumjumdar, Dr. R. G. Basāk and Pandit N. G. Banerji Kavyatirtha.

[3] Introduction, p. x.

[4] *Suvarṇadvīpa*, II. pp. 113, 133.

sect whose weird and uncanny practices led to a royal decree for his expulsion from Java. The king's men threw him into the sea, but he came back. Then they burnt his body and threw the ashes into the sea. But the *viku* could not be disposed of in that way. What followed is best stated in the words of Dr. Majumdar :—

"Amazed at the exhibition of the magical power by the Pandit, the king's emissaries fell at his feet when the latter said : 'I belong to the island of Kambangan and have a Bhujangga-maṇḍala there. As the king is angry, I shall go back to my own land; *a piece of stone will I take as my boat.*' The bewildered servants of the king became his disciples and accompanied him . . . . . . Sometime later (the aforesaid *viku*) came back to the island of Java. He divided his body in two parts, and there arose one Saugata (Buddhist) empu Waluh-bang and one Śaiva, empu Baramg''.

We have in the above extract reference to a "stone boat", the use of which by the wizard of the Bhairava sect is doubtless intended to illustrate his possession of miraculous powers. It is not improbable that posterity attributed to Dharmapāla, just those magic powers that they had learnt to associate with the adepts of the *Bhujanggamaṇḍalas* or orders of Śaiva or Buddhist wizards. The ascription to Gopāla, the father of Dharmapāla, of the attributes of the Buddha (*Lokanātha, Daśabala*) in the Bhagalpur Grant of Nārāyaṇapāla[5] and several later records, may be recalled in this connection. Sandhyākara Nandin lived some three centuries after Dharmapāla. In his days the figure of the real founder of Pāla imperialism must have become almost mythical, and we need not be surprised at the attribution to him of the use of a stone-boat like that of Mahampu Palyat of Javanese legend.

[5] A. K. Maitraya, *Gauḍalekhamēta*, 56.

AJITODAYA

BY

MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA PT. BISHESHWAR NATH REU, JODHPUR

This historical poem of 32 cantos written by Jagjivan Bhatta[1] covers a period of about half a century *i.e.*, from 1730 to 1781 V. S. (1674 to 1724 A. D.).

The period ranging from 1735 to 1781 V. S. or 1678 to 1724 A. D. has its special importance in the history of Rajputana as well as that of India. This was the period when Emperor Aurangzēb tried to subjugate Mārwār, but was later on forced to move towards the Deccan, where he died in 1763 V. S. or 1707 A.D. As soon as he died, Mahārājā Ajitsingh, the posthumus son of Mahārājā Jasvantsingh I, re-took Marwar and played conspicuous role in the reigns of Emperor Bahādur Shāh, Jahāndār Shāh, Farrukh Siyar, Rafī-uddarjāt, Shāhjahān II and Mohammad Shāh.

The poem opens with the defeat of the Pathāns by Mahārājā Jasvant Singh I of Mārwār on the bank of the river Gandāb in 1730 V. S. (1674 A. D.) and ends with the marriage at Muttra of Mahārājā Abhayasingh, the son and successor of Mahārājā Ajit Singh, with the daughter of Mahārāja Jayasingh of Jaipur in 1781 V. S. (1724 A. D.).

As this work was written by a contemporary poet so it is of great importance for the history of that period.

Only one manuscript copy of the book is found in the Jodhpur State Manuscript Library, which, though in good condition, is full of mistakes and shows the poet's ignorance of Sanskrit grammar.

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[1] The poet seems to be a Shrimālī Brāhaman by caste, but nothing can be said with certainty.

Its editing has been entrusted to Pandit Nityānand Shāstri, a well versed Pandit and poet, incharge of the State Manuscript Library, called "Pustak-Prakāsh", who has already edited its 20 cantos and as soon as the work is completed and revised and funds made available, it will be sent for publication.

This poem is written on 312 leaves of hand made paper measuring $10\frac{1}{2}'' \times 5''$, each side having 8 lines and each line contains about 25-Devanāgari letters.

SUMMARY OF ITS CONTENTS

The first canto

In the beginning the poet first sings the praises of his beloved god Shrīkrishna and then Sarasvatī and Ganēsh. He then describes Jodhpur city and its ruler Mahārājā Jasvantsingh I, son and successor of Rājā Gajsingh, whose principal queen was of the Yādava clan. The poet then mentions the reign of Emperor Aurangzēb, son of Emperor Shāhjahān, on whose command Muhammad Amin, son of Amīr-ul (Umrā) and grand son of Mīrjumlā left Kābul and reached the pass named Tund-gulām, where he was plundered by the Pathāns. The defeated Nawāb then requested Mahārājā Jasvant for help, which was rendered by punishing the enemy and recovering the captive wife and daughter of the Nawāb. The Mahārājā then returned to Peshāwar and encamped there.[2]

The second canto

This 'Sarga' begins with the conversation between the sage Nārad and god Indra in which the former relates the mis-deeds of Emperor Aurangzēb and informs the latter

[2] Perhaps this event relates to the attack of Pathāns on Shujā-at-khān near the river Gandāb, which took place in 1730 V. S. (1674 A.D.).

that as Mahārājā Jasvantsingh, the ruler of Mārwār (from whom only the Emperor is afraid) has reached the evening of his life, so the people will have to suffer still more at the hands of the Emperor after his passing away.

Indra then holds a conference with the other gods and accompanied by them approaches Brahmā, who having heard them leads them to Vishnu and requests him to give protection. Vishnu then asks Brahmā to instruct Indra to take birth as a son of Mahārājā Jasvant for the protection of Dharma. On receiving this instruction, Indra goes to the goddess Hingulāj and sings her praises for his success in his mission and the goddess gives him her blessings. Indra, in disguise of a hermit, then goes to Jasvant.

The third canto

Mahārājā Jasvant had also married a queen of the Narukā clan, but when he did not beget a son[3] uptil his old age in order to succeed him, he was very much worried. One day Vishnu appeared in his dream and granted him a boon that two sons one from the Jādaman queen and the other from the queen of the Narukā clan will be born to him. But the latter will be short-lived.

The fourth canto

When Mahārājā Jasvant's principal queen Jādmanji showed signs of pregnancy, the Mahārājā was rejoiced and fed a number of Sanyāsis, Brāhmans etc.

After reassembling in heaven the gods approached Brahmā and informed him that Indra has already gone to Earth, leaving instructions for them to follow him there, so he should appoint some one to look after heaven. In reply Brahmā told them that they should wait for three months and after that bring Jasvant here in heaven who will take the place of Indra. Accordingly when the

[3] Mahārājā Jasvant had 2 sons, but both of them died in his life time.

Mahārājā left this mortal world, his principal queen wanted to burn herself with her husband on the funeral pyre. Coming to know of her intention, Udayasingh, son of Lakhdhīr, made an earnest appeal to her in the name of her unborn son to refrain from such an act which was at last accepted and the cremation ceremony of the deceased Mahārājā was duly performed. Then the gods took the Mahārājā to heaven. Kāyasth Harikrishna sent a messenger, named Rāghavdās, with the turban of the Mahārājā to Jodhpur, who left the place on a swift going camel. The holy ashes of the Mahārājā were sent with two Brahmans to be immersed in the Ganges and a platform was erected on the cremation ground. Crossing the river Indus, the Sardars halted at Lāhore, as the Narūkī queen also was *enceinte.*

The fifth canto

When the messenger arrived at Jodhpur all were grieved to receive the turban of the late Mahārājā. His Chandrāvat queen along with 14 others, who were very dear to the Mahārājā, burnt themselves at Mandōre with the turban. When the Mahārājā and his Chandrāvat queen, with their followers, reached heaven, god Brahmā visited the place and seated Mahārājā Jaswant and his queen on the throne of Indra.

Kāyastha Kēsarīsingh assumed charge of the Mārwār administration, and after conferring with the state officials and Sardārs went to Mērtā. Sōnag, the brave Chāmpāvat, son of Viṭṭhaldās, arrived at Jodhpur with his warriors. Ragunāthsingh, son of Bhāti Surtān, Bhāti Rām, Narsinghdās, son of Udāvat Dayāldās, Rājsingh, son of Balrām, Rūpsingh, son of Udāvat Prayāgdās, and his younger brother Krishnasingh as well as some other well-known Rajputs of other clans also arrived at Mērtā with Kēsarīsingh.

When Emperor Aurangzēb received the news of the death of the Mahārājā through the letter of Mīrkhān, then stationed at Kābul, he was much gratified. Kāyasth Shyāmdās, the ambassador of the Mahārājā at the Mughal court, on receiving this news of the demise of Mahārājā Jasvant, also went to the Emperor and conveyed it to him, and further informed him that the two queens, who were accompanying the Mahārājā were pregnant. This latter part of the news gave a shock to the Emperor. He secretly arranged to send one of his Gurj-bardārs and his wife to inquire into the truth of the news. Accordingly they joined service with the Mahārājā's party, then stationed at Lāhore. The Emperor also sent instructions to Ikhtiyārkhān at Ajmēr to take possession of Mārwār.

Receiving these orders, Ikhtiyārkhān marched against Mērtā, but when he saw the Rājputs ready to fight, he encamped on the bank of a tank outside the city and sent a letter to the Emperor, informing him about the situation there. When this letter reached Delhi and read to the Emperor by Nawāb Sarbulandkhān, the former got enraged and accompanied by 22 nobles moved towards Mārwār to subjugate it. Bahādurkhān[4] was given command of the Imperial army. When this news became known to the Rajputs, some of them wanted to give a battle to the Emperor, but Raghunāthsingh, after consultation with the minister, suggested to wait till the birth of the Rājkumār and the arrival of the party (from Lāhore). He further added that with the birth of the Rājkumār the country will automatically come under them.

As this wise suggestion was approved of by all of them they sent Bhāti Rām to the Emperor for negotiations. He was accompanied by 500 horse which included Rājsingh, son of Udāvat Rāmsingh, Narsinghdās, son of

[4] In Maāsir-i-Ālamgīrī perhaps he is mentioned by the title of Khān-i-Jahān Bahādur.

Udāvat Dayāldās, Rūpsingh and his younger brother Krishnasingh, sons of Udāvat Prayagadās and some other famous nobles present there. Bhāti Rām met Bahādurkhān and after talking over the matter handed over Mārwār to him. After this settlement Bahādurkhān arrived at Mērtā and, leaving Sheikh Sādullā there, himself went to Pīpār. He also demolished a number of temples all over Mārwār.

The sixth canto

One day when the Jādman queen of Mahārājā Jasvant was feeling uneasy, she was blessed by goddess Hingulāj in her dream and accordingly on the 4th day of the dark half of Chaitra V. S. 1735 (19th February 1679 A.D.) a son was born to her at Lāhore, who was named Mahārājā Ajitsingh. After about 48 minutes, the Narūkī queen also gave birth to a son (Dalthambhan). Every member of the party was rejoiced at these births.

At the same time Chāndāvat Mōhkamsingh's wife named Vaheli also gave birth to a daughter. Harikrishnadas, the minister of the late Maharaja, despatched a messenger with a letter who, arriving at Pipar, delivered it to the Rājput nobles and conveyed the news of the birth of the Mahārājā. Here the chief minister Kēsarisingh and Raghunāthsingh Bhāti were much delighted to hear the news and gave cash, ornaments and robe to the messenger. Nawāb Bahādurkhān also gave 50 gold Mohars to the messenger Rāghav, and soon after left the place for Jodhpur and encamped at Shēkhāvatji's tank. At that time Jodhpur was guarded by Chāmpāvat Sōnag, son of Viṭṭhaldās, a well-known warrior. When the Nawāb came to know that Sōnag was prepared for battle, he called Bhātī Raghunāthsingh etc. and told them "Inspite of your concluding a treaty with me, it will be of no avail unless it is accepted by Sōnag. Therefore, please ask

Sōnag to accept it". Though they assured the Nawāb that Sōnag was also one of their colleagues, yet he insisted to see him personally. When asked to do so, Sōnag refused to go to the Nawāb and accept the treaty, but afterwards, when pressed by the Rajput nobles, agreed to it. The Nawāb, out of regard for the grandson of Chāmpāvat Ballūjī, the famous warrior rose to receive Sōnag and paid him due respects.

Sōnag gave a challenge to the Nawāb to meet him in battle, but the latter refused to accept it and on his (Sōnag's) leaving him, sent a robe of honour which Sōnag declined to accept. After this the Nawāb appointed Tāhirbegh to look after Jodhpur and advised the Rājput nobles to accompany him to Delhi for requesting the Emperor to return Mārwār to the newly-born Mahārājā which the Rājputs agreed. The Nawāb sent Kōchakbegh to occupy Siwānā. He also deputed Mohamedan officers at Sōjat, Jaitāran etc, and thus brought the whole of Mārwār under the sway of Emperor Aurangzēb. Bhātī Raghunāthsingh, calling the minister and the Sardar in conference, informed them that Bhātī Rām and Chāmpāvat Sōnag with his followers were to remain at Jodhpur and he with the minister and other nobles was to proceed with the Nawāb to petition the Emperor (for the restoration of the country).

The Nawāb then proceeded to Ajmēr and there after, intimating the Emperor with the situation, submitted the request of the Rājputs to him. The Emperor then started for Delhi, and in the mean-while the nobles of Mahārājā Jasvantsingh I also arrived there (from Lahore) with his posthumous sons and the dowager queens. The Emperor encamped them outside the city on the bank of the Jumnā. At this time Indrasingh[5] requested the Emperor to detain

5 He was the grandson of the well-known Rāthor Hero Amarsingh of the Agra fame.

the queens of Mahārājā Jasvant, along with their sons, as they had considerable treasure in their possession. The Emperor made inquiries from the 'Gurja-Bardār', whom he had deputed to keep an eye over the events and he related to him all about the births of Jasvant's sons. The Emperor then consulted Abdulwahāb, who advised him to impose 'Jaziā' on the Hindus and construct mosques on the sites of temples which he accepted. After this Emperor Aurangzēb, addressing the Rājput nobles, said to them "As Mahārājā's sons are of tender age, they along with their mothers should reside in the Salīmkōt for considerable time. I will allot extensive lands to each of you and so you too should reside here and take service under me. When these boys will come of age, their country will be restored to them." But the Sardārs, after consultations, requested the Emperor to grant Jodhpur to the sons of the late Mahārājā, so that they may live there with their mothers while they themselves were ready to comply with his orders. The Emperor then tried to win them over individually, but when he failed to do so he said to Kēsarīsingh "As you are the minister of the late Mahārājā you have got with you his vast treasures and if you hand over the same to me I will promote you to a higher rank" But Kēsrīsingh totally denied the existence of any treasure. The Emperor therefore got enraged and imprisoned him in Salīmkōt.

At that time Indrasingh intimated to the Emperor that if he be given possession of Jodhpur he was prepared to embrace Islām. Thereon the Emperor granted Jodhpur to him, and commanded the Rājput Sardārs to send both the queens along with their sons to Salīmkōt and to join the Imperial service. Coming to know of the decision of the Emperor, Kēsarīsingh left this mortal world by fasting himself to death. His corpse was handed over to his relatives by the Emperor's order, which they cremated. Ac-

cording to the plan arrived at the burning ground, all the Sardars assembled next morning at one place where Raghunāthsingh Bhāti, son of Surtān, told Ranchhōdās that the Emperor would not allow the queens and their sons to leave Delhi, therefore, some of them should take the family member of all of them to Mārwār and there try to oust the Imperial officers from their mother-land, and the remaining should stay in Delhi to resist the Imperial designs. Accordingly, after obtaining the permission of the Emperor, they left for their country, leaving behind 300 Sardārs in Delhi. At that time the Narūki queen's son Dalthambhan suddenly expired, and Chāndāvat Mōkhamsingh's wife, Vāhelī secretly exchanged the infant Mahārājā Ajitsingh with her infant daughter and brought him safely to Mārwār. Khichi Mukanddas accompanied her.

The seventh canto

Queen Jādman secured a child whom she pretended to be her own. Harisingh, son of Chāndāvat Mohkamsingh, who was also accompanying his mother, after staying at Balūndā for some days, advised Mukunddās that as they were surrounded by the Mughal garrisons stationed at Jaitaran, Merta, Bilara and Sojat so it was not safe to keep the Mahārājā there. He should, therefore take him to the territory of the Devarās lying at the foot of Mount Ābu. Mukunddās acted accordingly and he with the infant Mahārājā went in concealment.

At Delhi the two queens of the late Mahārājā Jasvant, as well as their 300 Sardars, were watching the development there. Some time afterwards the Emperor asked the nobles to send the queens to Salīmkōt, but this met with their refusal. The Emperor then ordered Sidi Folādkhān to bring the queens forcibly along with their sons. When he arrived at the Rāthōr camp, Jodhā Ranchōrdās warned him to refrain from such a foolish act, whereon he sur-

rounded the camp with his soldiers and informed the Emperor of the situation. The Emperor thereon ordered Khwaja-Mir and Nawāb Sarbuland to carry out his command. When they reached the bank of the Jumna, fighting ensued and both the queens too, mounting on their chargers, joined the Rājputs. After killing 8 Mughals the queens fell fighting in the field and their bodies were immersed in the Jumna, by the Rajputs. Raghunāthsingh Bhāti, son of Surtān, after killing Taurābkhān and Muzaffarkhān and a number of others severely wounded Nawāb Muhammadkhān, but was himself killed while fighting Sarbulandkhān. Udayabhān, son of Bhāti Kesarisngh, Jagannāth, son of Bhāti Viṭṭhaldās, Girdhardās, son of Bhāti Haridās, Dhanrāj, son of Bikā, Dvārkādās, son of Bhān and Sagatsingh son of Kalyāndās, also fell after laying low a large number of enemies. Thus in all nine Bhāti nobles sacrificed themselves in this battle.

Ranchhōrdās, son of Jodhā Govinddās, after killing Yusufkhān, was slain by the latter's younger brother Mahamudkhān. Viṭṭhaldās, son of Jodhā Bihāridās, Rāmsingh, son of Shyāmsingh, Mahāsingh, son of Jagannāth, Prithvīrāj, son of Vīramdēv, Dīpsingh, son of Kēshavdās, and Jagatsingh, son of Ratansingh also fell in this battle. Chandrabhān, son of Dvarkadas, slew Nawāb Sharīfkhān but was himself slain while fighting with Hāmidkhān Kumbhakarana, son of Kīrtīsingh also fell after a hard fight. Thus in all 9 Jōdhāsardars were killed in the cause of their ruler.

Among the Kumpāvats, Mahāsingh, son of Tējsingh, Junjhārsingh, son of Rājsingh, Hindusingh, son of Sujānsingh, Mahāsingh, son of Narsingh, and Mōhansingh, son of Dhanrāj gave their lives in this fight. Among the Mērtiyās, Krishnasingh, son of Chāndsingh and Bhīm, son of Kesarkhān, both fell in the field.

Among the Udāvats, Bhārmal, son of Dalpat, Govinddās, son of Manōhardās, Raghunāth, son of Sūrajmal, Karnasingh, son of Bāghsingh, Goverdhan, son of Manrām and Jasrāj, son of Ajabsingh, these six nobles died in this battle after a brave fight. Further Bhairūnsingh, son of Khētsī (Jaitmālot), Udayasingh, son of Jagannāth, Dūngarsingh, son of Ladkhān and Pūranmal, son of Jaitmāl, were also killed.

Among other clans Nāharkhan, son of Chāmpāvat Mathurādās, Sundardās, son of Bhōjvamshi Haridās, Lakshmandās, son of Gahlōt Nāthūsingh, Akhairāj, son of Dūngarsingh, Rājsingh, son of Jagannāth, Sōbhāvat Jōgīdās and Kāyastha Harirām and Dīprāi, were also slain.

Karnōt Durgādās, son of Āskaran, killed Sayyad Hātimkhān as well as his three brothers and after routing Nawāb Khwaja Mīr proceeded towards Mārwār. Mōhamsingh, son of Chāndāvat Jagatsingh, fell wounded while fighting Nawāb Hāmidkhān, but was removed by one of the servants of his relatives and recovered from the wounds in due course.

Rupsingh, son of Ranchhōdās, Prayāgdās, son of Dūngarsingh, Dūdāsingh, son of Rajsingh, Chāmpāvat Mahāsingh and Bhōjasingh, son of Bīdāvat Jagmāl, reached their homes after being wounded in the fight.

When the news of this destruction of the Imperial army reached the Emperor he was much dejected. At that time Indrasingh again approached the Emperor and repeated the same request that if he be given Jodhpur, he would embrace Islām and would kill all the warriors of the late Mahārājā Jasvantsingh. This request was again accepted by the Emperor, and Indrasingh left for Mārwār.

The eighth canto

From the starting of the demolition of temples in Mārwār, Rājsingh, son of (Mādhavdāsōt) Mērtiyā Prātāpsingh, having vowed not to eat corn and sleep on the cot until he demolished the mosques and achieved a victory over the Muslims, lived only on milk and slept on the floor. He, with his kinsmen and followers, started towards Mērtā, where (Sheikh) Sādullākhān and his newphew Wāsil Mōhammad were stationed. In compliance with the Emperor's order Kēshavdāsot Mērtiyā Prithvīsingh was also encamped there on the bank of Bebchā tank. Hearing this news the Seikh called Prithvīsingh and accompanied by him encamped outside the city. Rājsingh, leaving the village Sātalvās, also arrived at Mērtā and firing opened from both sides. At the end of the day the Skeih informed Prithvīsingh that he was going to Mālkōt and he (Prithvīsingh) should take care of the city. Accordingly Prithvīsingh returned to the city and stayed at the palace. Putting his artillary in position the Sheikh opened fire from Mālkōt. Rājsingh laid seige to Mālkōt and awaited the arrival of Prithvīsingh. The battle ensued on his arrival. Shūrsingh, son of Jagamālot Pratāpsingh, escaladed Mālkōt from the rear and attempted to kill the Sheikh, but on his showing submission he spared his life and returned with a booty of Rs. 5000/-. Bāghsingh, son of Chāndāvat Murārisingh, burnt the gate of Mālkōt. Ajabsingh, son of Chāmpāvat Biṭṭhaldās, gained entrance to the fort from the south and plundered it. At last the Rājput Sardārs captured the Sheikh and brought him before Rājsingh, who imprisoned him in a camp. He then demolished the mosque in Mērtā and reestablished the worship of the Hindu deities. At this time the messenger brought news of the battle between Mahārājā Jasvantsingh's warriors and the Mughals at Ḍelhi. Whereupon Sōnagsingh and Bhāti Rām forced

Tāhirkhān to quit Mārwār and assumed charge of the administration. Dhavēchā Surtānsingh captured the fort of Siwānā after killing Kōchakbēgh. When this news reached Nawāb Tahavvarkhān at Ajmer, he collected a large force and encamped at Pushkar. Rājsingh, after occupying Mērtā, also reached there. In the battle which ensued Gōkuldās, son of Pratāpsingh, killed Mohammad Alī but was himself slain while fighting with his three brothers. Hāthīsingh, son of Gōkuldās, was also killed. Rūpsingh, son of Pratāpsingh, fell down after killing Nāharkhān, the Fauj-bakhshī. Jagatsingh, son of Rāmchandra, was also slain after a brave fight. Chatursingh, son of Rāmsingh, and Sayyad Shamsuddīn were killed while fighting with each other. Sudarshansingh and Ānandarām, sons of Harīndrasingh, Kēsarīsingh, son of Achalsingh, Himmatsingh, son of Udāvat Parasrām, Chaturbhuj, son of Jaitmālot Shāmdās, Mahāsingh son of Chāmpāwat Kēsarīsingh, Rāmchandra, son of Bhīnvāvat Karamchandra, Krishnasingh, son of Chāndāvat Nāthsingh, and Khangārōt Nāthsingh also were among the slain. Rājsingh, son of Pratāpsingh, fought valiantly and while he was in search of Tahavvarkhān he killed Muzaffarkhān, but was himself slain by Tahavvarkhān later. Thus a good number of Mādhōsinghōt Mērtiā Sardārs sacrificed themselves in the battle at Pushkar.

The ninth canto

After receiving the sovereignty of Mārwār from the Emperor, Indrasingh arrived at Nāgaur. Hearing of his arrival, the Sardārs at Jodhpur decided not to fight Indrasingh, as he was also a great grandson of late Mahārājā Gajsingh. They considered it a mischievous move on the part of the Emperor for causing destruction of their own kinsmen. Accordingly Sōnag, etc. handed over the fort of Jodhpur to Indrasingh on his arrival and dispersed to

their homes. But Bhātī Rām remained behind at Jodhpur with his retainers. Tahavvarkhān sent a letter to the Emperor from Ajmēr, informing him about the situation prevailing there. This was read to the Emperor by Sarbuland. He wrote therein that Rājsingh, after killing Sādullā Khan and capturing Mertā, attacked him at Pushkar but was himself slain. Being single-handed he could not resist Rājputs further. This enraged the Emperor and he himself marched towards Ajmer, at the head of a large army, with his four sons.

Hearing of the arrival of the Emperor at Ajmēr, Bhātī Rām secretly sent a letter to Bahādurkhan, requesting him for help. This letter was presented to the Emperor by the above named Khān, and a reply was duly sent to him. But the representative of Indrasingh, who was at the Mughal Court, intimated this secret exchange of letters to his master. Thereupon, as desired by Indrasingh, his servant Krishnasingh, accompanied by a descendent of Kēsarisingh, made a surprise attack on Bhāti Rām's house, in the early hours of the morning, when his servants had gone to Sūrsāgar. Bhāti Rām was killed after a hard struggle. When one of his retainers named Kāliā Vikramsingh, received this news, he attacked the enemy, but was killed after a severe fight. The servants of Indrasingh sent the head of Bhāti Rām to their master who forwarded the same to the Emperor. The Emperor appreciated this service of Indrasingh.

Durgādās and Sōnag, under the banner of Mahārājā Ajitsingh, first laid seige to Jālōre and after collecting punitive tax from the Bihāri Paṭhāns, went towards Bilāṛā. As soon as this news reached Indrasingh, he gave them pursuit. When they both came to Khetāsar, Indrasingh opened fire on them. Durgādās and Sōnag separated their retainers. In the battle Harināthsingh and Hari rāmsingh, two of the warriors of Indrasingh, came for-

ward, whereupon Bhīmsingh, a warrior of Durgādās, offered himself to face them, but was killed. Seeing this Gopināth, son of Bhimsingh, charged at them and severed their heads. After this two Mērtiā Sardārs, named Krishnasingh and Udayasingh, came forward from Indrasingh's side, who were opposed by Bālāvat Khangār, a warrior of Durgādās, who was soon slain. He was followed by Dhavēchā Gōvindsingh and Bhāvsingh, but they too were laid low. At this Durgādās himself came forward and after killing both of his adversaries, also severed the heads of Mērtiā Shūrsingh and Nābhsingh who tried to oppose him. He then approached Indrasingh. In the meantime, Sōnag, son of Biṭṭhaldās, looted Indrasingh's military equipment and went away. When he was pursued by Indrasingh's retainers, he abused Krishnasingh (Prayāgdāsōt) Mērtiā, who was one of the pursuers, for his infidelity to his master Ajitsingh, and killed him. On his death Rājsingh, son of (Ishardāsōt) Shyāmsingh, stepped forward, but was confronted by Chāmpāvat Sāhibsingh, both of whom fell dead on the spot. Sōnag then advanced towards Indrasingh, who was at that time engaged with Durgādās. But as he did not not think it proper to attack a scion of the royal house he and Duragdas returned to their camp near Khetāsar tank after sunset. As no water was available in the neighbourhood except at Khetāsar tank, Indrasingh sent his bard Goverdhan to Durgādās and Sōnag and, assuring them of his unwillingness for further fight, requested them for permission to obtain water from the tank. Accordingly both of them, accepted this request and left the place with their warriors.

The tenth canto

Durgādās and Sōnagsingh arrived at Chērāī from Khetāsar, and there they decided to recapture Jodhpur.

Next day when Indrasingh reached Bālarwā, he came to know of the above decision, and after getting it confirmed by his secret agent, he sent Udayasingh, son of Chāmpāvat Lakhadhin and Kumpāvat Pratāpsingh, son of Sudarshan, to win them over to his side by promising them influence and a handsome Jāgīr. But they turned down his proposals put before them by Pratāpsingh. At the same time they won over Udayasingh to their side. On his return, Pratāpsingh informed Indrasingh of the result of his mission, who at the dead of night left Balarva and entered Jodhpur. Here the Emperor's representative, after hearing the facts from Indrasingh, intimated them to the Emperor and, as desired by Indrasingh, requested him for help. The Emperor despatched Nawāb Mukarrabkhān with an army for the purpose. In the meantime the Rājpūts beseiged the fort of Jodhpur, but when they received information of the arrival of the Mughal forces they raised the seige and left the place. On the arrival of the Nawāb, Indrasingh joined him in pursuit of the faithful Rāthōrs, but returned to Jodhpur after two or three marches. Though the Nawāb pursued them for some time more, yet when finding himself unsuccessful to overtake them he returned to the Emperor. The Rājpūts then left for Mewār and continued to ravage Mārwār from there. The Rāṇā too aided them in their activities. The Mughal officer, stationed at Sojat, sent news to the Emperor about their depredations, whereupon Emperor Aurangzēb decided to crush them and appointed prince Akbar for the task. He also deputed 22 Nawābs under his command as well as a large army to acecomplish the task. Prince Akbar marched towards Mārwār laying waste the villages on the way, while the Rāthōrs retired to Nādōl and took refuge in the hills.

When Prince Akbar reached Gōdwāṛ, his spies informed him of the presence of the Rāthōrs at Nādōl, so he

appointed Tahavvarkhān to punish them. As soon as the Rāthōrs came to know of the Khān's advance, they came out of the hills and attacked him in the way. In this battle, Surajmal, son of Udāvat Bhīm singh was killed, Rāmsingh, son of Jaitāvat Mukanddās slew Khwājā Mohammad, but was himself slain later. Sōnag charged so furiously at the Mughal army, that many Mughal soldiers as well as Nawāb Rashīdkhān had to flee before him. Seeing Durgādās charging violently at them, the Mughal Fazilkhān came out to engage him, but had to pay with his life. Thereupon Tahavvarkhān stepped out to measure swords with them. Sonag also reached there, but the trunk of Tahavvarkhān's elephant was severed in the fight, which led to his flight, and this resulted in the utter rout of the Imperial forces.

The Rāthōrs then proceeded to Bītanī and after ravaging the adjoining country arrived at Mērtā. From Mērtā they left for Dīdwānā and further moved on to Phalōdī, and finally returned to Gōdwāṛ.

The eleventh canto

When Emperor Aurangzēb received news of the rout of Tahavvarkhān and plunder of Mērtā, Dīdwānā etc., he got much exasperated and, consulting his officers, sent troops to re-inforce Prince Akbar's army. Some time afterwards, Prince Akbar wished to conclude a treaty with the Rāthōrs, so, after conferring with Tahavvarkhan, sent Tājmohammad to the Rāthōr camp. The latter acquainted them with the designs of Prince Akbar to usurp his father's throne with their assistance. The Rāthōrs agreed to this proposal and accordingly joined the prince and declared him as the new emperor.

When the Emperor Aurangzēb got news of this desertion of Prince Akbar to the Rāthōr camp he was stunned, and to meet this new development he, in company of

his minister Āstikhān and others encamped at Dyōrāi. Akbar too came forward with his helpers to face his sire and took his position at Dumārā. Aurangzēb contrived to call Tahavvarkhān to his camp in the dead of night, and when the spies bore this news to the Rāthōrs they were perplexed, and suspecting some foul play deserted Akbar. Tahavvarkhān reached the Imperial camp, but, when he was asked to deposit his arms at the gate, he rufused to comply with the order and was assassinated by the Emperor's command. Akbar was much perturbed at this new turn of affairs and leaving his camp, went over to the Rājpūts.

The Emperor sent Bahādurkhān to pursue him. The Rāthōrs struck their camp and proceeded to Jālōre, but when they were informed that Bahādurkhān was still in their pursuit, they plundered the city and moved towards Sānchōre. Here too the Mughals hotly pursued them, so they, along with Akbar, decided to meet them in battle. In this battle Sahdēv, a man of the priestly class and two Kayasths named Mukundas and Abhaya were killed. Cutting their way through the enemy the Rājpūts reached Sirōhī. Here a messenger of Prince Ālam came to Prince Akbar and apprised him of his brother's (Ālam's) intervention to take him back to his father. Akbar held counsel with the Rājpūts and sent Harīsingh, son of Chāndāvat Mōhkamsingh, to Prince Ālam, where he was awarded a robe of honour and 4,000 gold mohurs by Prince Ālam. Harīsingh, on his return, handed over the whole of the money to the Sardārs, who then proceeded to Ābū. There they consulted Sōnag and after putting him (Sōnag) incharge of the affairs dispersed to their homes.

When Indrasingh came to know about all this happening he went to Bahāddurkhān at Jodhpur and acquainted him with this new turn of events. But when the Emperor was informed of his (Indrásing's) arrival at Jodh-

pur, he called him in his presence, and reproached him for the failure of his mission and deprived him of his grant of Jodhpur. The Emperor then appointed Nawāb Ināyatkhān administrator of Jodhpur, who deputed his representative Qāsimkhān to guide the affairs. Accordingly Qāsimkhān occupied Jodhpur and deputed his men in all the districts. When Prince Akbar arrived at Pālanpur via Sirōhī, the Rāthōr Sardārs joined him and after collecting punitive tax there went to Thirād via Baṛgāon. When they were informed of the arrival of Bahādurkhān, Durgādās and Akbar marched to Siwānā and after giving a battle to the Mughal army there they went to Sirōhī. Here Durgādās appointed Sōnag as sole incharge of the affairs of Mārwār, and himself, accompanied by Akbar, and a small contingent of his followers, proceeded to Mewār. From Mewār, after gaining monetary aid from the Mahārānā, Durgādās crossed the Nurbudā, and arrived at the court of Shambhājī, son of Shivājī. Shambhāji at first got un-nerved by their arrival, but, when his court poet Kailash reminded him of his duties to such distinguished guests, he welcomed them.

When the Emperor came to know that Prince Akbar and Durgādās had gone to Shambhājī, he left behind his grandson Prince Azīm and Nawāb Āstikhān, and himself left for the Deccan. Thus the Imperial pressure against the Mahārānā was also reduced.

In the course of his campaign for collecting money Sōnag, accompanied by Kēshavdāsōt Mērtiā Mōhkamsingh reached Pūnjaltasar where Āstikhān expressed a desire to restore their country to them and conclude a treaty. But during these negotiations, Sōnag expired suddenly and the matter remained un-settled.

After the death of Sōnag, his brother Ajabsingh took over the lead of the Rāthōrs, and collected taxes from Jhārōd, Khākhōlī and Dīdwānā. At the last named place

they got a handsome amount from Dīndārkhān. As Ikhtiyārkhān was pursuing them, they went to Kasūmbī, where their strength numbered 25,000. Thence-forward they moved to Mōdrān. On the 14th day of the dark half of Kartika, V.S. 1727 (2nd October 1670 A. D.) they sacked Mērtā and went to Indāvarī. Gadādhar, a Parik Brahman, saved Dāngāwās from plunder. After the Rāthōrs left Dāngāwās, Ikhtiyārkhān arrived and encamped there. When the Rāthōrs were informed of this event by a messenger of Gadādhar, they proceeded further on, but Ikhtiyarkhan over-took them at Dīgrānā. In a clash with the Mughals here Ajabsingh was killed, but Mōhkamsingh, though wounded, was able to cut his way through the enemy. Chāmpāwat Sabalsingh killed Sardārkhān, and his four brothers, Kālukhān, Bahlōlkhān, Dōstkhān and Mohammadkhān, but in the end was himself slain. Ajabsingh, son of Chāmpāvat Mahēshdās, also fell dead on the field. Ānandsingh, son of Mērtiā Bhīmsingh, and Harīsingh, son of Chāndāvat Mōhkamsingh, fought bravely.

After the death of Ajabsingh, Udayasingh, son of Chāmpāvat Dhīrsingh, took the command in his hand and looted Jālore. Hādā Durjansingh too joined him there. Then they went to Māndal and plundered Sarvār, Tōdā, and Mahankal.

Udāvat Jagrāmsingh, with a band of his followers, attacked the fort of Jaitāran, the residence of the Imperial Governor Nūrkhān, slew all the inmates and plundered it. When Ināyatkhān was governing Jodhpur, Ajmēr and Mērtā, the Rāthōrs devastated the whole of the country and Bijayasingh, son of Champavat Sabalsingh, also took an active part in it.

The twelfth canto

Out of the three sons of Nawāb Ināyatkhān, the eldest Fazil Alī lived at Ajmēr; the second one named Nūr 'Ali, was incharge of the affairs in Mārwār, and youngest Mohammad Alī was residing at Mērtā. On the other hand Udayasingh, son of Jōdhā Mukunddās, with his Rājpūt and Bhīl followers at Bhādrājūn, defied the authority of the Nawāb, so Nūr 'Alī and Mohammad Alī marched to chastise him. When this news reached Udayasingh, his Bhīls took up their position on the hills. At the time of passing of Mughals through these hills, his Rājpūts charged them in the front, while his Bhīls assailed them from the hills. This resulted in the utter defeat of the Mughal forces. Leaving behind a large number of dead, both the brothers were forced to fly with the remnant of their army to their father at Jodhpur.

At the court of the Imperial noble Amīr-ul-Umrā Mīrkhān at Kabul, Nawāb Purdilkhān had once boasted to subdue Mārwār provided the Emperor appointed him to accomplish the task. When Mīrkhān apprised the Emperor of this boast of Purdilkhān, he accepted his request and in addition promised him the governorship of the province if he succeeded in his efforts. Accordingly, at the head of 2500 trusted wariors, Purdilkhan arrived at Jodhpur and there he gathered information from Ināyatkhān. He was made aware that in some towns the Imperial orders were obeyed but in places which were accessible with difficulty no one cared for them. Purdilkhān laughed at this (Ināyatkhān's) incapacity in enforcing the Imperial orders, and further asked him to name places where he would personally go and bring the defiers to book. Where-upon Ināyatkhān suggested Bālōtrā, a village near Kānānā.

Purdilkhān left Jodhpur and encamped at Kānānā. Here he came to know that the followers of Mahārājā

Ajitsingh usually swoop down upon the treasures which passed from Gujrāt to Delhi. When his activities were known to Bālā-Rāo Akhairāj, Pābūsingh, son of Bālā Chandrasingh, Laxmīdās, son of Karmsōt Pattā, and Akhairāj, son of Chāmpāwat Viṭṭhaldās, they determined to make short work of him. Accordingly Bālā Akhairāj, with one party of his followers lay in ambush while all the others pretended to leave the place with their cows. Seeing the enemy slipping out of their hands, Purdilkhān and his nephew Nāharkhān unsuspectingly pursued them one after the other. Seizing the opportunity Bālā Akhairāj came out of his hiding place and killed Purdilkhān in a battle with a number of his followers. As soon as Nāharkhān came to know of this mishap, he came to avenge his uncle, but at that moment the Dhavēchās too came out of the hills and joined the fray. This resulted in the utter destruction of the Mughals, and their camp was sacked by the victors.

The thirteenth canto

After a sojourn in the Deccan for a long period, Prince 'Akbar expressed a desire to retun to Mārwār, and the same was conveyed to Shambhājī by Durgādās, through his court poet Kalash. Shambhājī honoured the Prince as well as Durgādās with robes of honour and many other valuable presents, and sent with them, as an escort, a detatchment of army under the command of Ganpatī, son of the Shrī Kavī. When the party arrived at Sālhēr Mālhēhr, Nawāb Mukarrabkhān, along with Rājā Indunāg, attacked them. The Maharaṭṭā escort took to their heels, but Durgādās and his handful of retainers held the ground, and succeeded in defeating the attackers.

Akbar, being afraid of falling into the hands of the Imperial army, hesitated to proceed further unless escorted by a strong detachment of the brave Rāthōrs, so he went

back to Shambhājī, and from there he sailed to Habsh, where king Abbās was reigning at the time. After the departure of Akbar, Durgādās proceeded further with his followers and crossing the Nurbadā arrived at Jāvad where he held a Durbar in a crimson tent, seating a Mohemadan resembling Prince Akbar on the seat of honour. After leaving Jāvad he came to Mālpurā and, slaying the Mughal officer there, proceeded further, plundering Rēwārī Rōhtak etc, and at last reached Mārwār.

When the arrival of Durgādās became known to Chāmpāvat Udayasingh, he went towards Sirōhī and asked Khīchī Mukunddās for a look at the infant Mahārājā. Khīchī Mukunddās first pleaded ignorance of the whereabouts of the Mahārājā, but when pressed too much by Udayasingh and given temptation of a good reward, he at last yielded to his entreaties.

Hearing about the coming out of the infant Mahārājā from his hiding place, many Sardārs of the neighbouring districts flocked there to pay their homage to their master. The Mahārājā afterwards made a tour of the country for collecting men and money, and then encamped at Pīplōd.

Ināyatkhān sent information to the Emperor of the coming out of the Mahārājā. The Emperor bade him to capture him, but Ināyatkhān could not succeed in his attempt. A few days later, Ināyatkhān went to the grave, on account of a carbuncle on his back, and his post passed over to Shujāatkhān, who was then at Gujrāt. Accordingly he arrived there (in Mārwār) and put Kāzimkhān in-charge of the administration of Jodhpur, and Mōhkamsingh, son of Indrasingh to that of Mērtā and then returned to Gujrāt. Sōjat and Jaitāran were under the sway of the Sayyads. On the arrival of Mōhkamsingh at Mērtā, Mohammad-Alī (son of Ināyatkhān) quitted the place.

The fourteenth canto

When Mohammad-Alī, son of Ināyatkhān, with his family left Mērtā, Junjhārsingh, son of Chāndāvat Hari-rām informed Sūrajmal, son of Chāndāvat Murārī about his departure and requested him to punish him for his various misdeeds committed by him in the past.

Once this Mohammad-Alī treacherously attacked Chāndāvat Prithvīsingh, Thakur of Kōsānā and murdered him and his retainers in the early hours of the morning while they were asleep, on their return from Mūngdaṛā. Again, when he came to know that some young ladies had assembled at the house of Chāndāvat Jaitsingh at Dōhā, he suddenly surrounded these damsels, but Jaitsingh put all of them to the sword in order to save their honour and then himself fell fighting with him. A third time, he artfully managed to gain the confidence of Kāshavdāsot Mērtiā Mohkamsingh, through his (Mohammad-Alī's) brother-in-law, Visālatkhān who was at Pīpār, and when he (Mōhkamsingh) was quite unsuspecting, he got him murdered in his own house at Mērtā by his own servant, where he was invited to accompany him on a lion's hunt.

Surajmal then invited Harnāth, son of Jōdhā Chandrabhān, to come to his aid. On his arrival they both went to Mērtiā Gōkulsingh at Jāwlā, and requested him for his assistance. Whereupon Gōkulsingh invited his kins-men, including Bhāysingh, his nephew. Akhaisingh, Dhīrsingh, son of Kēshavdāsōt Kalyānsingh, and many other Mērtiā Sardārs. They fell upon him in the way. In the battle which ensued, Harnāth, Bhāv-singh, Nāthsingh, son of Kumbhkarnōt Jōdhā and Sūrajmal displayed great heroism , Gōkuldās, son of Sultānōt Achalsingh, killed Farrukhbēgh, and the son of Achalsingh severed the head of Khurrambēgh, nephew of Furrukhbēgh. Seeing the tide turning against him, Mohammad-Alī left the field in a panic, leaving behind

even his family members, and entered the village Rainwālī and sought the protection of the Kachhavāhā Thākur of that place. The victorious Rāthōrs distributed the booty among themselves.

The fifteenth canto

When Mahārājkumār Amarsingh arrived at Udaipur to usurp the throne of Mēwār, Rānā Jaisingh fled to Ghānērāo. There, in order to safeguard his position, he asked Mērtiā Gōpīnāth, the Thākur of the place, to secure for him the help of Mahārājā Ajitsingh. Thākur Gōpīnāth advised him first to marry his daughter to Mahārājā Ajitsingh, and then on the strength of the new alliance, to seek his help there-after. The Mahārānā then sent a letter proposing betrothal[6] of his daughter to Mahārājā Ajitsingh, and solicited his help. The Mahārājā therefore deputed Udayasingh and Durgādās with a band of warriors to render assistance to the Mahārānā. At Ghānērāo they both met the Mahārānā, and then sent a letter to the Mahārājkumār (Amarsingh), advising him to refrain from such activities, which, if not checked, would lead to dire consequences. Thereupon the Mahārājkumār visited Ghānērāo, and the matter was amicably settled between them, and, at the behest of the Mahārānā, the prince went to reside at Rājsamand and the Mahārānā returned to Udaipur. This amicable settlement of the Mahārānā's family feud gave fresh cause of anxiety to the Emperor.

Nawāb Shujāatkhān sent for Nawāb Kāzimakhān and he, after deputing Lashkarīkhān of Sōjat to Jodhpur in his place, proceeded to Gujrāt. At that time Mahārājā Ajitsingh was residing in the mountains at Piplōd (Chhappan-kē-Pahāṛ). Once he, accompanied by Chāmpāvat

[6] She was the daughter of Gajsingh, the brother of Mahārāṇā Jaisingh.

Udayasingh, left the hills at the head of Chāmpāvats and Mādhavdāsōt Mērtiās, and arrived in Godwar, collecting taxes on the way. When Lashkarīkhān came to know of this, he advanced to chastise them. In the battle, which ensued, the Rāthōrs carried the day and Lashkarīkhān was obliged to quit the field and fly back to Jodhpur. On hearing this news, Shujāatkhān reverted Kāzimkhān back to Jodhpur, and on his arrival from Ahmedabad, Laskarīkhān returned to Sōjat.

Once when the Mahārājā was in Gōdwār, Prince Amarsingh again raised the banner of revolt against the Mahārānā. Thereupon the Mahārānā apprised Mahārāja Ajitsingh of the situation and invited him to accept his daughter in marriage who was betrothed to him some time back.

The Mahārājā was received with due honour by the Mahārānā on his arrival. Prince Amarsingh, who was then plotting to imprison his father, had to give up his designs and halted at Dēbārī, on coming to know that Mahārājā Ajitsingh, with his Mādhavadāsōt Mērtiyās, was already there. Hearing of this action, the Mahārājā sent for him, but he left for Rājsamand without seeing him. The marriage ceremony of the Mahārājā was performed with the daughter of the Mahārānā with due religious rites, after which he was invited by the ruler of Devalia-Pratāpgaṛh, where too he married the daughter of the ruler of that place. He then returned to Pīplōd via Udaipur.

Shujāatkhān, who at heart was a well wisher of the Mahārājā, when informed of these matrimonial alliances by Kāzimkhān, transmitted the same to the Emperor. He at the same time recommended for the bestowal of the district of Jālore on Mahārājā Ajit, proposing that this act would make safe the imperial route from Gujrat, which was then quite unsafe on account of the depredations of

the Rājpūts. The Emperor gave his assent to the proposal, and informed the Mahārājā of the same. Whereupon the latter occupied Jālōre and settled there with his minister Udayasingh Chāmpāvat and other Sardārs of the Chāmpāvat and Mādhavdāsōt (Mērtiyā) clans. Here he received a proposal from Rāwal Amarsingh of Jaisalmēr to accept his daughter in marriage.

The sixteenth canto

On the Mahārājā's arrival at Jaisalmēr Rawal Amarsingh received him with befitting honour and after celebrating the marriage, the Mahārājā returned to Jālōr. Soon afterwards Jhālā Chandrasēn of Hālōd, Chauhān Fatehsingh and Chauhān Chaturbhuj presented their daughters in marriage to the Mahārājā. He also married the daughters of Bhātī Dalsāh of Dērāwar and Rāṇā Sahasmal Chauhān of Sānchōr. At that the Government of Jālōre was left in the hands of his minister Udayasingh, son of Shāmpāvat Dhīrsingh, who conducted it with the cooperation of the Sardārs of the Jaitāvat, Mērtiā, Kūmpāvat, Jhālā, Udāvat, Chāndāvat, Dhavēchā, Chauhān, Jaitmālōt, Bālāvat, Māndalōt, Kachhavāhā and Khīchī clans.

Due to the death of Shujāatkhān at Gujrāt, the Emperor deputed Prince Āzam as Governor in his place.

On Saturday the 14th day of the bright half of Mārgashīrsha V. S. 1759, (29th October 1702 A. D.) Rājan, the daughter of Chauhān Chaturbhuj, gave birth to Mahārājkumār Abhayasingh (the Heir-apparent). There were great rejoicings in the court of that occasion.

At that time there were three factions among the Mahārājā's retainers, one was headed by the minister (Udayasingh), the second had a direct approach to the Mahārājā and the third one (including the Mādavadāsot Mērtiās) was neutral. Kuṣhalsingh, son of Achalsingh, a

loyal Sardar, and some other Sardārs too, left for their homes, after obtaining permission of the Mahārājā.

Mōhkamsingh, son of Indrasingh, won over Jaitāvat Durjansingh, the Thākur of Bagrī, to his side and sent him to Jālore. While in the service of the Mahārājā there, he conspired with Chāmpāvat Udayasingh's party, and then Udayasingh and himself both secretly invited Mōhkamsingh to invade Jālōre. Mōhkamsingh left his place without disclosing his destination to his followers. But when he led his party to the south west, some suspected his designs upon Jālōre.

Jūnjhārsingh, son of Achalsingh, dispatched a messenger to convey this information to his brother at Chāndārūn, who, on receipt of this news, instantly left the place and, taking Bijayasingh from Balūndā with him, proceeded post haste to Jālōre. When the Mahārājā received intelligence about Mōhkamsingh, with a Moghul army, approaching Jālōre, he commanded his minister Udayasingh to prepare for battle against him but the minister turned a deaf ear to his order. Seeking an opportunity, Chāmpāvat Tējsingh informed the Mahārājā about the treachery of his own followers and insisted upon him the necessity of leaving the place at once, which he did reluctantly.

Udayasingh and Durjansingh openly sided with Mōhmaksingh, and entered Jālōre. When Mērtiā Kushalsingh, Chūndāvat Bijayasingh, Jagrām and Jōdhā Bihārīdās of Bhādrājūn came to the Mahārājā's assistance with their warriors, the Mahārājā marched on to Jālōre. When Mōhkamsingh was apprised of this, he, along with Udayasingh and Durjansingh, left Jālōre and halted at Samdarī. But as the Mahārājā chased them there, so Mōhkamsingh fled to Dūnāṛā. The Mahārājā looted his camp, at Samdarī and returned to Jālōre, while Mōhkamsingh hurried on to Mērtā. As soon as Jāfarkhān came

to know about this affair he dismissed Mōhkamsingh and deputed another man in his place. Thereafter Mōhkamsingh, with his clique, retired to Nāgaur.

The seventeenth canto

On monday the seventh of the dark half of Bhādrapad V. S. 1763 (19th August 1706 A. D.) the same queen Rājān gave birth to Mahārājkumār Bakhatsingh. After this event, the Mahārājā set out for new conquest, and exacted tribute from the Chauhāns of Rōhīchā. On hearing the news of the passing away of Emperor Aurangzēb, the Mahārājā consulted his chief minister Viṭṭhaldās and marched on to Jodhpur. Jāfarkhān tried to check his advance, but failed to do so and had to flee. On Thrusday the 5th of the dark half of Chaitra (12th march 1707 A. D.) the Mahārājā made his triumphant entry in Jodhpur and was welcomed by his subjects amid great rejoicings. Next day Kushalsingh, along with his Mādhavdāsōt Mērṭiyās subjugated Mērtā, and in the same way many other districts of Mārwār came under the sway of Mahārājā Ajit.

At that time a pretender posing himself as Dalthambhan, occupied Sōjat, but was attacked and killed (?) by the Mahārājā's order and Sōjat was annexed too.

On Friday the 5th of the bright half of Āshādh, V. S. 1765 (11th June 1708 A.D.) the Mahārājā was blessed with a third son by his Chauhān Rānī, the daughter of Fatehsingh of Sānchōre..

Emperor Aurangzēb had three sons, viz. Bahādurshāh, Āzam and Kāmbaksh. The eldest of them was at Kābul, while the youngest was at Vijayapur (Bījāpur) with his father. Āzam declared himself Emperor and proceeded towards Āgrā from the Deccan. But he was slain along with his sons at Āgrā, by his elder brother Bahādurshāh, who in his turn afterwards proclaimed

himself as Emperor. Thereafter he marched towards Mārwār from Ambāwatī, accompanied by the Kachhvāhā ruler (of Jaipur) and sent an able general Mehrābkhān in advance.

On Mehrābkhān's arrival at Pīpār, a treaty was concluded with him, after which the Mahārājā went to the Emperor's camp with Mehrābkhān, where he was received with due honour. The Mahārājā then accompanied the Emperor to the Deccan, and in his absence Mehrābkhān invested Jodhpur. When Mahārājā Ajitsingh came to know of this plot, he deserted the Emperor at Khāchrōd and hurried back to Jodhpur, via Mēwār and Gōdwāṛ, and retook Jodhpur from the Mughals. He further seized Ajmēr, invaded Sāmbhar, and defeated Ahmad-Alī (the Mughal officer of the place). Hearing of this reversal, Ghairat, Husain and Hasankhān, the three Sayyad officers of Nārnaul, with their seven thousand followers, hurried to the help of Ahmed-Alī, who had in the meanwhile shut himself up in the fort. In the battle which ensued, Bhīmsingh, son of Kūmpāvat Sabalsingh, charged at Hasankhān who was seated on an elephant and succeeded in cutting off his head. But after that, being surrounded on all sides by the Sayyad's followers, he sold his life very dearly. Udāvat Nāharsingh also fell in the field after slaying a number of Sayyads. Besides this, many other warriors of Jodhā, Chāmpāvat Kūmpāvat, Mērtiā, Chāndāvat, Chauhān, Bālā, Jaitmālōt, Māndlōt, Karamsōt, Dhavēchā, Uhar, Ishardāsōt and Jaitāvat clans also fought valiantly. Thus Sāmbhar was taken.

The eighteenth canto

From Sāmbhar, Mahārājā Ajitsingh proceeded to Nāgaur to avenge on Mōhkamsingh, son of Indrasingh. Hearing of the approach of the Mahārājā, Mōhkamsingh fled to Lāḍnū. The Mahārājā encamped at Mūndwā and

his Sardārs raided the villages in the vicinity of Nāgaur. But Indrasingh dared not come out and took refuge in the fort with his family. Seeing the situation, Indrasingh's mother first explained to him the various duties of a king and his officers, and then taking with her eldest grandson went to the camp of Mahārājā Ajitsingh at Mūndawā, and pleaded for her son's pardon. The Mahārājā granted her request on condition of his (Indrasingh's) accepting his (Mahārājā's) allegiance and promise to attend on him when-ever called. The Mahārājā then returned to Jōdhpur.

The nineteenth canto

On the eleventh day of the dark half of Āshvin, V.S. 1766 (18th September 1709 A.D.) a fourth son was born to the Mahārājā, from his Bhatiyani queen Lālān, daughter of Bhāṭi Amarsingh.

At one time the Mahārājā attacked Ajmēr where the Mādhavadāsōt Mērtiās showed great heroism. After concluding a treaty there, the Mahārājā proceeded to Dēvaliyā and married the daughter of the ruler of that place, and then returned to Jodhpur.

Some time afterwards, the Muslim officers at Ajmēr petitioned the Emperor against the Mahārājā, complaining that he had killed the Sayyads, occupied Sāmbhar, collected taxes from Dīdwānā, and was a source of constant terror to them. They, therefore, requested him for immediate help. The Emperor, after doing away with his younger brother Kambakhsha, then at Bhāgnagar (Deccan), turned on, with all his fury, against Mārwār. When Mahārājā Ajit received intelligence that the Emperor had crossed the Nurbadā, he began his preparations, and invited Indrasingh to join him. But Indrasingh refused to comply with his orders on the pretext that he was an Imperial noble. So Mahārājā Ajitsingh attacked Nāgaur, and

Indrasingh was obliged to regret for his lapse and begged for pardon. Indrasingh further expressed his inability to accompany the Mahārājā on an excuse of ill-health, and offered to take his son in his place. The Mahārājā gave his assent to this request and, taking his son with him from Dīdwānā, arrived at Sāmbhar. His warriors then captured the town of Mārōṭh. Soon afterwards a treaty was concluded between the Emperor and the Mahārājā through Mahābatkhān, son of Khānkhānān, and Rājā Chatrasāl of Todangh[7](?). The Mahārājā afterwards went to the Emperor, where the Khānkhānān and Prince Azīm came out to receive him and then escorted him to the Emperor. The Emperor honoured him with many valuable presents and, permitting him to leave for his capital, himself left for Lāhōre.

The Mahārājā returned to Mērtā, via Puskhar. There a Jain seth, named Kushalsingh, son of Vimaldās and grandson of Harakh (Harakhachand), invited him for dinner at his house. The Mahārājā granted his request and returned to Jōdhpur.

On Saturday the 15th of the dark half of Shrāvan V.S. 1767 (15th July 1710 A.D.) the Chauhān Rānī of the Mahārājā, daughter of Fatehsingh, gave birth to Prince Rāisingh.

The Mahārājā once set out for further conquests at the head of his mighty army and Gaur Kēsrīsingh, the ruler of Rājgarh gave his daughter in marriage to the Mahārājā at his capital and further joined him in his march. When the Mahārājā reached Pāṭan, he married there the daughter of Tunvar Bakshrām, the ruler, who too accompanied on his campaign of conquest. From this place he went to Delhi, which was looked after by Nawāb Abbāskhān. He exhorted tax from the place and after-

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[7] Bundēlā Chhatrasāl.

wards left for a pilgrimage to Kurukshētra and Parashurām, etc., the sacred places of the Hindus. After a visit of these sacred places, he came to Sādhōr, where too he levied taxes on the Sayyads and halted there for some months for rest. He then proceeded to Hardwār. On receiving a report from Indrasingh about the inhuman atrocities committed by Tahavvar-Alī in Mārwār, he left the place post-haste and arrived at Mārōth. Tahavvar-Alī who was at Gōṭh-Mānglod, fled to Ajmēr. After visiting Pushkar and Mērtā, when the Mahārājā was nearing Jodhpur, he received the news of the death of Bahādurshāh, and the capture of the throne by his son, Mōizuddīn, by the murder of all his brothers. The Mahārājā then arrived at Jodhpur.

The twentieth canto

As Emperor Moizuddīn was displeased with Rājā Rājsingh of Rūpnagar, so he (the Rājā) returned to his capital, and sought the protection of the Mahārājā which was gladly promised. Once, when the Mahārājā was contemplating to start on a campaign of conquest, he sent for Rājā Rājsingh, but the latter paid no heed to his call. Whereupon the Mahārājā marched against him, and on the way captured Bāndarwārā from Sūrajmal and Bhināi from Jagatsingh. He also took possession of Bijaigarh, and took levy from Nāharsingh of Deogaṛh. Further he seized Kishangarh and besieged Rūpnagar.

The Rājā of Rūpnagar made use of the guns (left there by Prince Azīm (Azīmusshān) against the besieging army, but, when he saw that they were of no effect, he personally approached the Mahārājā and begged for pardon. The Mahārājā forgave him and took him with himself to Sāmbhar where he pitched his camp. The Kachhvāhā Jayasingh of (Amber) and Udayasingh of Khandālā also joined him with their forces. Rāo Manō-

hardās Shēkhāvat also went there and offered his daughter in marriage to the Mahārājā. When the Emperor was informed of this gathering of the Rājpūts, he came down to Delhi from Lāhore. At the latter place he received information about the march of the son of Azīm (Farrukhasi yar) from Hājīpur against him. He, therefore, signed a treaty with the Mahārājā, and there upon the rulers assembled at Sāmbhar left for their own capitals and the Mahārājā also returned to Jodhpur.

Emperor Muizuddīn arrived at Agra and was killed in the battle, which was fought between him and his nephew (Farrukhasiyar) who usurped the throne. Mōhkamsingh, son of Indrasingh, also accepted service at Delhi, and there he began to utilise his evil genius in inciting the Emperor against the Mahārājā. Thereupon the Mahārājā, in consultation with Vyās Dīpchand, deputed Bhātī Amarsingh to Delhi to do away with Mōhkamsingh. Amarsingh killed him in broad daylight in the midst of a thoroughfare and safely returned to his master. Durjansingh, the Thākur of Bagrī (who was also a party to Mōhkamsingh), fearing the same consequences fled to the Deccan and lived there in concealment.

After this event a ceremony, in which the Mahārājā was weighed (Tulā Dān) in precious articles, was performed outside the city of Jodhpur. Once the Mahārājā left for Mērtā and passed the winter there. Here he called Indrasingh to his camp, but the latter did not comply with his order, and fled to the Sayyads (at Delhi). Rājā Rājsingh also went to Delhi to join the Emperor. The Emperor, in consultation with (Sayyad) Kutub-ul-Mulk and Amīr-ul-Umrā (Hussain Alī Khān) sent the latter with an army to Mārwār, to win over the Mahārājā to his side.

The twenty-first canto

When Sayyad Amīr-ul-Umrā arrived at Manōharpur, the Mahārājā consulted Raghunāth, his chief Minister, about the Sayyad's intentions, and sent Khīnvsī to the Nawāb (Amīr-ul-Umrā). He then pitched his camp at Rāīkābāgh. When the Sayyad reached Būndhiāvās, Khīnvsī, who also arrived there, had an interview with him. From Būndhīāvās he (Sayyad) came down to Mērtā. In the course of this happening, Mīr Jumlā poisoned the ears of the Emperor at Delhi against the Sayyad brothers and the Emperor arranged for the assasination of Sayyad Kutub-ul-Mulk, but the plot failed. Kutub-ul-Mulk, at once made his brother Amīr-ul-Umrā (in Mārwār) aware of this new turns of affairs. He therefore hastily concluded a treaty with the Mahārājā, Khīnvsī acting as intermediary. The Sayyad requested the Mahārājā to send Prince Abhayasingh with him to Delhi. The Mahārājā, on concurrence of his minister Raghunāth, sent his heir apparent with the Sayyad to Delhi accompanied by Khīnvsī and a strong body-guard of Rājput warriors. On arrival of the prince at the court, a welcome befitting his rank was accorded to him.

At one time the Emperor commanded Amīr-ul-Umrā to proceed to the Deccan. While he was busy preparing for this long journey, the Emperor again plotted for his brother's life, but again failed. The Sayyad brothers, aided by Abhayasingh, prepared to turn against the Emperor. Feeling himself unsafe, he sent his mother to appease them, and peace was patched up. Amīr-ul-Umrā then left for the Deccan, while the Mahārājkumār returned to Jodhpur, and narrated to his father the happenings at Delhi.

The twenty-second canto

While starting for the Gujrat campaign, the Mahārājā made his first halt at Vyāsjī's stepwell, six miles away from the capital. One night here, while the Mahārājā was asleep, a rogue elephant turned amuck and entered the Zenānā camp, but was soon killed by the Mahārājā with three thrusts of his sword. The Mahārājā then left for Bhīnmāl, via Jālōre and encamped (for a few days) at Yaksha Kund. An idea struck him there that he should first do away with Jaitāvat Durjansingh. The latter conspiring with Mōhkamsingh incited him to attack Jālōre. But when Mōhkamsingh could not gain success, he fled with him to Delhi and took up Imperial service. Further, after the assasination of Mōhkamsingh, he disappeared from Delhi. For this task he (again) consulted Vyās Dīpchand, and on his recommendation he (the Mahārājā) entrusted this task to Harisingh, son of Champavat Jasvantsingh, and Khētsī, son of Bhātī Harīsingh.

The Mahārājā then left Bhīnmāl and went to Vāth via Bargāon. From this place he dispatched his army against Deoṛā Sagatsingh of Abu, and compelled him to accept his allegience. When he reached Pālanpur, Kasmal Khān (Fīrōz Khān), the ruler of the place, received him with due honours. He then subdued Rānā Panchāyan of Bāorī. Passing via Kōlīwāṛā and realising taxes from the villages on the way, he came to Anhilpātan, and, after leaving his minister there, ordered Anupsingh, his minister's son, to subdue Mālgaṛh, which he duly carried out, after defeating the Kōlīs. When the Mahārājā arrived at Ahmedābād, he appointed Anūpsingh to look after Gujrāt. He also sent his officers to Sōraṭh, Bharōach, Iḍar, Mōdāsā and Anhilpātan. Thus he appointed the Sardārs of Mārwār as officers from Tōdā to Dwārkā. Further, at the head of an army, he sent Bijayarāj to subjugate the adjacent districts.

The twenty-third canto

Bijayarāj, who was deputed by the Mahārājā to subdue the surrounding country, successfully carried out his task and arrived at Rājpīplā. Premsī, younger brother of Bijayarāj, who was incharge of the government at Mērṭā, invaded Nāgour. Indrasingh tried to oppose him. But as his own nobles were secretly won over by the Mahārājā, he was forced to surrender to the Mahārājā and obtained his permission to go to Kāslī.

Here, at the dead of night, Mōhansingh, the second son of Indrasingh, was killed by Durjansāl, follower of the Mahārājā. This sad event so much frightened Indrasingh that he fled to Khandēlā, and from thence went to Ambāvatī (Delhi). Here he sought shelter from Emperor Farrukhsiyar through Chinqalichkhān, son of Ghāzī-ud-dīn-khān but this was not given.

Jām Tāmchī, grandson of Jārēchā Jām Lākhā, was the ruler of Nawānagar at that time. As Lākhā's daughter had been betrothed to Mahārājā Ajitsingh, so Māji Jhāli, grandmother of Jām Tāmchī, with her grandson, came to Ahmedābād and porformed the marriage ceremony there.

Prithvīrāj, a descendant of Ban Rāo, and ruler of Anhilpur (Gujrat), also gave his daughter in marriage to the Mahārājā at Ahmedabad. After some days, the Mahārājā, along with his family, went to Dwārkā on pilgrimage, leaving behind at Ahmedabad Bhandārī Raghunāth as his deputy. On their way, when the party reached Halwad, the Mahārājā was entertained by Jashōjī, the ruler of the place. There, in the darkness of night, the camels of the marchants, who were accompanying the party for the supply of provisions, were stolen away, but when this was brought to the notice of the ruler of Halwad, he paid no attention to it. Thereupon the Mahārājā attacked his fort, and the ruler fled to Nawānagar, where too he was given pursuit. After a feeble resistance the Jām was also oblig-

ed to sue for peace, through the mediation of his grandmother. The Mahārājā thereafter went to Dwārkā. Hearing of his arrival there, Bhōjrāj the Bādhēlā Rāthōr ruler of Rāmrā, visited him and gave him an entertainment. From Dwārkā the Mahārājā went to Shankhōddhār.

The twenty-fourth canto

At Dwārkā Mērtiā Kalyānsingh, son of Rājsingh, and a trusted warrior of the Mahārājā died, leaving four sons behind him. His wife, who was of the Kachhvāhā clan, burnt herself on his funeral pyre. The Mahārājā granted the Jāgīr of Kalyānsingh to his eldest son Padmasingh. He then left Dwārkā and came to Ahmedabad via Nawānagar.

After bringing all the turbulent chiefs to their senses, and putting the administration on a firm footing there, the Mahārājā sent Harīsingh to Būndī, with a contingent, in quest of the alleged Dalthamban. But, when no trace of him (Dalthamban) was found there, he (Harīsingh) moved on to Mālwā. But here too he could not find him. When the party was further proceeding onwards keeping Ujjain on their left, they came to know that Dalthamban, son of the late Mahārājā Jasvant, was formerly residing at Ujjain, but now he lived in a far off place having support of the Rōhillā Pathāns. The party then arrived at Bhōnrāsā, where they were warmly received by Shēkhāvat Bhāvsingh. The party was informed here by their host that their prey was at that time residing with Durjansingh at Dēvgaṛh. He further added that the villain had lived with him some time back, but as he did not desist from committing nefarious activities, so he had to turn him out by force. He (Dalthamban) then entreated Durjansingh to support his case but the latter told him the following in plain words :—

"I know that you are not the true Dalthamban, as

that prince died in his infancy at Delhi. I am also aware that under this pretended name you once occupied Sojat, but were dispossessed of the place by the Mahārājā. Still it is good for both of us to escape together." In order to satisfy his (Dalthamban's) curiosity created by the last words, he further added "I, once at the behest of Mōhkamsingh, son of Indrasingh, conspired with his (the Mahārājā's) minister against the Mahārājā, and when Mōhkamsingh was invited by us to Jālōre, the Mahārājā, with the help of his loyal sardars, gave us such a crushing defeat that Mōhkamsingh and myself had to flee for safety to Delhi, and since the murder of Mōhkamsingh in Delhi in broad daylight, I am wandering from place to place". After this plain conversation they left for Dēvgarh. Harīsingh, accompanied by Bhāvasingh, then went in their pursuit to Dēvgarh. They came to know, on their way to Devgarh, that the culprits were at that moment living in the fortress of Karmākhēṛī, and that the Jaitāvat was advising him (Dalthamban) to quit that place too. Hearing this news the party entered the fortress of Karmākhēṛī and made shortwork of both of them. The party then returned to Ahmedabad, where they were amply rewarded by the Mahārājā. The Mahārājā then returned to Jodhpur.

The twenty-fifth canto

After spending some time at Jodhpur, the Mahārājā started on a pilgrimage to Pushkar via Mandōr, Nāgaur and Mêṛtā and, it being the month of Māgh, he remained there for some days. During this time acting on the ill advice of some instigators the Emperor plotted for the assasination of Sayyad Kutub-ul-Mulk in the fort, but the plans went wrong. Kutub-ul-mulk, becoming aware of the evil designs of the Emperor against him, left attending his court, and when he (Emperor) sent for him, he returned the

ministerial seal. The Emperor dared not offend him openly, so he composed the differences and secretly sent for Rājā Jayasingh of Dhūndhār (Jaipur) from Ujjain, to do away with the Sayyad. Rājā Jayasingh, on his arrival, advised the Emperor to win over Mahārājā Ajitsingh to his side first, so that they may carry out their designs without any hitch. Accordingly the Emperor wrote a letter to Mahārājā Ajitsingh and in the meantime Rājā Jayasingh used his good offices to gain the support of the Mughals. On getting scent of the plot the Sayyad too requested the Mahārājā for help. The Mahārājā leaving his queens at Jodhpur left for Delhi. Kutub-ul-mulk also wrote to his brother Amīr-ul-Umrā then in the Deccan, who too leaving his family at Aurangābād, hastened to his brother's help. The Mahārājā arrived at Sarāi Alīvardī and encamped there for some days.

The twenty-sixth canto

Hearing of the arrival of the Mahārājā near Delhi, the Emperor (Farrukhsīyar) was much delighted and sent Khān Daurān and Nawāb Shād Khān etc., to welcome him. The Mahārājā then entered Delhi in company of Khān Daurān, Aitiqād Khān etc., who were the prominent nobles of the court. On his way to the court the Mahārājā was met by Kutub-ul-Mulk, as per orders of the Emperor, and then escorted by him reached the Emperor's presence. The Emperor accorded him a warm welcome. Next morning, when he was shifting to his new camp on the bank of the Jumna, he arrived at the gate of Kutub-ul-Mulk's house, and halted there. Kutub-ul-Mulk rushed out of his house in delight to receive him and requested for help, which was promised. The Mahārājā then left for his new camp

The twenty-seventh canto

When the news of the meeting of the Mahārājā with the Sayyad became known to the Emperor, through his reporters, he was much perplexed and visited the camp of the Mahārājā, next day, with his armed soldiers. But this had no effect on the Mahārājā, and the Emperor returned to his place disheartened. He then had consultations with Nawāb Chinqalich Khān, etc. and going personally to Kutub-ul-mulk's residence came to terms with him. Taking the Sayyad with him he later arrived at the Mahārājā's camp and composed the differences with him (Mahārājā) too. After this event, whenever the Mahārājā and the Sayyad had an occasion to go to the Imperial court, which they attended together, he received them with due honours. After a few days he again plotted to have them assasinated by his assasins, but as they got scent of his plot in time, they left the place together and attended by their faithful followers, safely reached their residences. Some days afterwards Amīr-ul-Umrā Hasan Alī arrived at Delhi from the Deccan with his retinue. He along with his brother went to see the Mahārājā the next morning. There they (the Sayyads) recounted to the Mahārājā the promises made by Farrukhsīyar, when he was at Hājīpur and then at Patnā and owing to the capture of the throne of Delhi by Mōizuddīn, the enemy of his father, he was intending to escape to the other side of the Indus. At that critical hour they encouraged him and promised to render him help in securing the throne on condition that he would make Kutub-ul-Mulk his premier. But now when, after defeating Mōizuddīn at Agra, they had made the throne secure for him, he plotted to get them murdered and, added further, as to what good the Mahārājā could expect from such an Emperor. The Mahārājā was convinced by their talk and they both left satisfied by the success of their mission. The Emperor again tried to con-

ciliate the Sayyad brothers, through Khān Daurān. But when he could not succeed in doing so, he personally went to their residence. There the settlement was arrived at on condition that Kachhvāhā Jayasingh should leave for his country and that no one but the Sayyads' partisans should remain with the Emperor. There after the Emperor also gained the good will of the Mahārājā who then paid a return visit to him in company of the Sayyad brothers.

But the Emperor was again led astray by the rival party, and alarmed at the power of the Sayyads, he (the Emperor) concealed his armed Mughal warriors in his palace to kill the two Sayyads and the Mahārājā on their coming there. But the trio again escaped and leaving the fort had a conclave at the Mahārājā's camp, where they decided to get rid of such a fickle-minded Emperor. Accordingly Amīr-ul-Umrā was left behind in the camp, while Kutub-ul-Mulk and the Mahārājā attacked the fort and captured the Emperor alive. There-after the Mahārājā and the Sayyad brothers imprisoned the captive Emperor in a cage and taking out Rafī-uddarjāt from the prison seated him on the vacant throne. On receipt of this news Gāzi-ud-dīn Khān tried to liberate Farrukhsiyar, but had to flee before Amir-ul-Umrā's army. The new Emperor died after reigning for about six months and was succeeded by Rafi-ud-daulāh, who too was rotting in imprisonment. After a reign of few days' he too left this world. Then on the recommendation of Bhandari Khinvsi and Raghunath and with the concurrence of the Sayyad brothers the Mahārājā seated on the throne Muhammad Shah, the great grandson of Aurangzēb. This prince too was passing his days in prison at that time. On hearing of the installation of Muhammad Shāh on the throne Rājā Jayasingh proclaimed Nikōsiyar as Emperor at Agra, who was a son of prince Akbar and grandson of Aurangzēb.

When the Sayyad brothers conveyed this news to Emperor Muhammad Shāh, he in order to get rid of Nikōsiar confirmed the premiership of Kutub-ul-Mulk and bestowed the district of Ajmer and the province of Gujrat on the Mahārājā.

The twenty-eighth canto

Emperor Muhammad Shāh then left for Agra accompanied by the Mahārājā and the Sayyad brothers, and encamped at Hudwal-Palwal. After holding consultation with his supporters he sent Amīr-ul-Umrā in advance, who captured the fort and the city of Agra and made Nikōsiyar a prisoner. Thereafter Muhammad Shāh passed some days at Agra. From Agra the Mahārājā went on a pilgrimage to Muttra and Brindāban and then turned back to meet the Emperor. One day the Sayyad brothers complained to the Emperor that Rājā Jayasingh was the root cause of all the intrigues at the court and added that when prince Akbar revolted against Emperor Aurangzēb and the Emperor marched against him from Ajmer, the latter's son Nikōsiyar fled away from Dumāṛā. But when Akbar went in exile (to Habsh), Aurangzēb imprisoned his wives and his son (Nikōsiyar) at Agra. He further added that taking out this very Nikōsiyar from imprisonment he (Jayasingh) created this new trouble and to support Nikōsiyar, he himself advanced with his army upto Hindwānā. The Sayyads thus secured the permission of the Emperor to attack Dūndhāṛ (Ambēr) and the Emperor himself joined the compaign. But the Mahārājā on his return from Muttra gave a check to this affair. Thereupon the Sayyads and the Emperor returned to Delhi and the Mahārājā left for Jodhpur and wrote an assuring letter to Rājā Jayasingh to dispel his fears, and *on route* to Jodhpur took him with himself from Āmbēr. When he reached Manōharpur, Shēkhāvat Shaktasingh, the Rāo of

that place, married his daughter to the Mahārājā, who was previously betrothed to him. Then the Mahārājā arrived at Jōdhpur and Rājā Jayasingh was put up at Sūrsāgar as his guest.

The twenty-ninth canto

The Mahārājā gave his daughter in marriage to Rājā Jayasingh, at Jōdhpur, who was already bethrothed to him. At the time of the marriage ceremony the Rājā feared for his life, but when the Mahārājā joined the wedding party un-armed, his fears were dispelled. After the marriage Rājā Jayasingh continued to live at Sūrsāgar with his newly wedded queen. In the meantime the Emperor at Delhi sent for Chinqalichkhān, who was then at Ujjain; but, crossing the Narbadā, he went to the Deccan. Hearing of his action, the Emperor despatched Bhīmsēn the Mahārāo of Kōtāh with some Nawābs, after him. On their crossing the Narbada Chinkalich Khān gave them battle and all the Nawābs fell there. On receipt of the news of this reverse, the Emperor despatched Sayyad Ālam Alī, who reached the Ghāt, via Aurangābād. But he too was slain in the battle. There upon the Emperor accompanied by Kutub-ul-Mulk and Amīr-ul-Umrā marched against him in person. When the Emperor arrived at Sikari, Muhammad Amīn gave a secret advise to the Mughals to kill Amīr-ul-Umrā treacherously. Accordingly they coached a Muslim youth, who one day very respectfully presented a petition to Amīr-ul-Umrā, while he was returning from the Emperor's camp. When he was busy reading the contents of the petition, he taking his chance stabbed him in the abdomen with a dagger. The murderer was hacked to peices by the Sayyad's retainers, but the Sayyad's property was confiscated by the Emperor. Thereupon, leaving the Emperor, Kutub-ul-Mulk reached Delhi, and smashing the Imperial throne there distributed

the Imperial treasures among his followers. He then turned back to face the Emperor. He also gained the support of the Hindus. But when the two forces met in battle, the Sayyad's followers fled away and Kutub-ul-Mulk was made captive. The Emperor thereafter returned to Delhi. When Rājā Jayasingh became aware of these events, he took leave of the Mahārājā and after a stay of some days at Āmbēr reached Delhi. The Mahārājā too left Jodhpur and, after a half of eight months at Mēṛtā, proceeded to Ajmēr under the advice of Raghunāth (Bhandārī).

The thirtieth canto

The Mahārājā with his queen stayed in the palace built by Shāh Jahān, on the eastern bank of the Ānāsāgar lake at Ajmēr. He also invested the fort and evicted the Mohammedans from the city. Further, he sent his heir-apparent Mahārājkumār Abhayasingh, accompanied by Bhandārī Raghunāth, with a detachment of troops to Sāmbhar, who occupied the town. The Mahārājā also sent his forces to Dīdwānā, Tōdā and Jhāṛōd and brought them under his sway. Bhandārī Raghunāth also took possession of Amarsar. On receipt of this news the Emperor threw a challenge to his nobles to march against the Mahārājā, but they all refused. At last Muzaffar Alī agreed to shoulder the task and when he reached Manōharpur, Mahārājkumār Abhayasingh went to meet him in battle. But before his arrival there, the Nawāb fled away, and the Mahārājkumār returned to Sāmbhar. Here the Mahārājkumār received an order, through Bhandārī Raghunāth, in which he was commanded by the Mahārājā to plunder Nārnaul and then return to Sāmbhar, which were complied with by the Mahārājkumār. When the Emperor came to know of this affair, he thought it wiser to keep quiet. Some days afterwards Mahārājkumār Abhayasingh and Bhandārī

Bijaya Rāj plundered Shāhjahānpur and then returned to Sāmbhar. This created great alarm in the adjoining districts (of Shāhjahānpur). Hearing of such prowess of the Mahārājkumār, Rājā Jayasingh sent his minister Shrīchandra to the Mahārājā, who was then at Ajmēr, to re-establish friendly terms. But the Mahārājā refused to take the extended hand of friendship. He then again sent his noble Shāyamsingh and his minister Āpmal to accomplish this purpose. Khangārōt Kachhvāhā Shyāmsingh delivered the message of his master to the Mahārājā; and this time the Mahārājā accepted the request of Rājā Jayasingh with some reluctance. The Mahārājā then granted the 'Jāgīr' of Narānā to Surtānsingh, the eldest son of Shyāmsingh. The Mahārājā thereafter recalled Bhandārī Raghunāth from Sāmbhar and deputed him at Ajmēr.

One day Nāharkhān, an envoy of the Emperor, arrived at Ajmēr and during the course of talk used such insolent words in honour of the Mahārājā that he was ordered to leave the court. The Mahārājā's warriors avenged this insult by attacking him in his camp and killing him there. When the Emperor became aware of this happening, he again invited many of his nobles to march against the Mahārājā, but they all refused to do so, till at last Irādatkhān, the eldest son of Shāistakhān, agreed to undertake the task. After his departure the Emperor also sent Muhammad Bangash, who joined Irādatkhān in the way, and then they both reached Sarāi Alīvardīkhān. Hearing of the despatch of the Imperial forces against him, the Mahārājā, with the advice of his minister Raghunāth, sent his family to Jodhpur and then, taking his three eldest sons with him, marched to Sāmbhar. Dayā Bahādur, a well known Brāhman of Ayōdhyā, and Haidarqulī, the governor of Gujrāt, also joined Irādatkhān under the Emperor's orders. On the other side, Rājā Jayasingh secret-

ly offered the services of his army to help the Mahārājā. When the arrival of Irādatkhān at Rewārī became known to the Mahārājā, he also advanced upto Trivēṇī, a distance of twelve miles only from where the Mughal forces were encamped. When the Mahārājā advanced further from Trivēṇī, Rājā Jayasingh, with his own warriors, stepped in between the two armies and sent the Thākurs of Jhalāya, etc. to inform the Mahārājā that the Emperor had deputed him (Rājā Jayasingh) to lead the vanguard in order to conclude a treaty with him (the Mahārājā) and further requested that the Mahārājā should retreat to Trivēṇī to avoid bloodshed. They further made it clear that the Emperor's intention was that the Hindus may slaughter their own kinsmen. Whereupon the Mahārājā returned to Ajmēr, and ordered Udāvat Amarsingh, son of Kushalsingh, to garrison the fort. The Mughals, reaching Ajmer, tried their best to capture the fort by assault, but to no result. They then concluded a treaty through Rājā Jayasingh (son-in-law of the Mahārājā), and accordingly the fort was handed over to Rājā Jayasingh. Amarsingh left the fort reluctantly to join his master at Mērtā, and when he came down from the fort, he was highly honoured by Nowāb Irādatkhān, the Mughal commander. Thus the fort of Ajmēr came under the Mughals. Thereafter Rājā Jayasingh tried to take Mahārājkumār Abhayasingh to Delhi, but the Mahārājā did not agree to his request. The Mughals then proceeded to Rīyāṅ, via Budhwārā and pitched their camp there. Whereupon the Mahārājā sent the Mahārājkumār and Bhandārī Raghunāth to make a night attack on them. When the attacking party reached Dāngāvās, Rājā Jayasingh again used his influence and persuaded the Mahārājā to cancel his orders of the intended attack. The Rājā further sent a request to the Mahārājā, through his minister Shrīchandra, for sending the Mahārājkumār to him, as he was desirous to marry his daughter

to the Mahārājkumār. When the Mahārājkumār arrived at his camp, he (Rājā Jayasingh) introduced him to Irādatkhān, who paid a return visit to the Mahārājkumār the next morning. The Mughal army thereafter left Rīyāṅ for Ajmēr. Some days later, the Imperial forces left Ajmēr too, leaving behind Haidarqulīkhān in charge of the city, and proceeded to Delhi. When they reached Jōbnēr, Rājā Jayasingh wanted to take the Mahārājkumār to Āmbēr to marry his daughter to him, but the Mughal Officer insisted on taking him first to the Emperor at Delhi. The Mahārājkumār also approved of this idea. Rājā Jayasingh therefore left for Muttra, and the Mahārājkumār went to Delhi, where he was received with high honours.

The thirty-first canto

After sending the Mahārājkumār to Rājā Jayasingh for marrying his daughter, the Mahārājā came to Jōdhpur. Here after a period of about six and a half months, the Chauhān Thākur of Sāṅchōre arrived at Jōdhpur to give his daughter in marriage to the Mahārājā. This ceremony was performed on the 9th day of the bright half of Āshādh, V. S. 1781 (19th June 1724 A. D.). On the 12th day of the bright half of Āshādha ceremony called "Ratjagā" was celebrated and the Mahārājā went to sleep late in the night, which proved to be his eternal sleep. Anūpchand, son of Bhandārī Raghunāth, sent this sad news to the Mahārājkumār, who was then at Delhi, through a messenger, who reached there within days.

The body of the Mahārājā was cremated on the banks of the river Nāgādarī at Mandōr and the funeral pyre was lighted by his son Ānandsingh. Further 6 queens, 20 Pardāyats (concubines), 4 slave girls, 12 singing girls, 2 Pāsvāns, 5 dancing girls, 2 eunuches, 8 Ghōtābardār girls, 5 ordinary slave girls, and 1 Rāṭhōṛ girl burnt themselves with him on the funeral pyre.

The thirty-second canto

Mahārājkumār Ānandsingh, as also his younger brothers Rāyasingh and Kishōrsingh, did not return to the city after the cremation ceremony, but went on a voluntary exile. Jōdhā Mōhkamsingh also joined them and they all reached Gōdwāṛ. There Thākur Padmasingh received them with due honours and therefore they stayed at Ghāṇērāo. When Bhātī Amarsingh came to know about the death of the Mahārājā and of his daughter becoming suttee after him as also of the departure of her daughter's son Kishōrsingh from Jōdhpur, he wrote a letter to him (Kishōrsingh). Rājā Jayasingh had already, secured the grant of Tōdā in favour of Mahārājkumār Kishōrsingh, therefore at his (Jayasingh's) call, he (Kishōrsingh) left for Delhi after obtaining the permission of his brother.

When the messenger reached Delhi and delivered the sad message through Bhandārī Raghunāth, Mahārājkumār Abhayasingh performed all the religious rites. The Emperor paid him a condolence visit personally and there installed him on the Gadī of his father. He, at the same time, honoured him with the title of "Rāj Rājēshvar". After some months, the new Mahārājā (Abhayasingh) left Delhi for Muttra, where Rājā Jayasingh was deputed, and there he was married to the latter's daughter. After the marriage, the Mahārājā visited Brindāban, Gōverdhan, etc., holy places of the Hindūs, and then returned to Delhi.

THE AUTHOR OF THE MARATHI BHĀRATA—HIS AGE AND IMPORTANCE

BY

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Students of Marathi literature may be aware of the great work called *Bhārata* by the poet Candrātmajarudra. In the *Bhīṣma parva* of this work we have the following:

मज संस्कृतीं नादिं अभ्यास । कर्नाटक कवि कुमार व्यास ।
त्याचेनि आधारें ग्रंथविलास । प्रारंभिला या हेतु ॥[1]

Commenting on the above Jagannath Raghunath Ajagaonkar wrote in Marathi thus:—That there is a famous work in Kannaḍa called *Bhārata* by the poet Kumāravyāsa, and that upon this Kannaḍa work was based the Marathi *Bhārata*, since its author Candrātmajarudra did not know Sanskrit. But Ajagaonkar was not convinced by the honest confession of the Marathi poet that the latter did not know Sanskrit, and that, therefore, he had to rely upon the Kannaḍa poet Kumāravyāsa as his model. Ajagaonkar consoles us by saying that, notwithstanding the poet's own statement, it is evident from his *Bhīṣma-parva* that he knew Sanskrit very well, and that it was only his modesty that made Candrātmajarudra write that he did not know Sanskrit.[2] It is not unlikely that the latter part of the view is shared by most of the students of Marathi literature, especially when they find that one of their remarkable writers plainly confessed his indebtedness to a non-Marathi, and especially to a Kannaḍiga author. But unless more convincing proof is adduced to disprove Candrātmajarudra's own explicit statement, we have to agree to the view that the Kannaḍa work called *Bhārata* by the poet Kumāravyāsa was the model upon which the Marathi version by Candrātmajarudra was based.

[1] J. R. Ajagaonkar, *Mahārāṣṭra-kavi-caritra*, Part I, p. 37.
[2] Ibid., p. 37.

In the wide and glorious range of Kannaḍa literature, poet Kumāravyāsa occupies a unique place. A Brahmin by birth, he took his name as Nāraṇappa. He was a native of the village of Kōḷivāḍu near Gadag.[3] Popular tradition still current in the region around Gadag says that he was a devotee of the god Vīranārāyaṇa of Gadag. In addition to his masterpiece about which we shall say a few details, Kumāravyāsa wrote a smaller work called Airāvata, also in Kannaḍa.[4]

But his great ambition was to put into Kannaḍa the famous epic Mahābhārata. He wrote the first ten parvas of the Mahābhārata, and hoped to complete the Kannaḍa version of the epic in due course. To the ten *parvas* he had written he gave the name *Karnāṭaka-bhārata-kathā-mañjarī*. This is evident from the prose endings of the *parvas*. Written in *Bhāminī-śaṭpadī*, these ten *parvas* contain 152 sandhis, and 8,479 verses.[5]

The late Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhacharya of Mysore, who gives us these and other details about Kumāravyāsa, has amply shown that the poet lived in about A.D. 1430 at the court of the Vijayanagara monarch Deva Rāya II (A.D. 1416—A.D. 1446), under whose orders the work seems to have been written.[6] There is nothing to show that the date given to Kumāravyāsa by the late Rao Bahadur Narasimhacharya is unacceptable[7]. According to the same scholar, Kumāravyāsa ranks next only to the poet Lakmīśa, the author of the immortal *Jaiminībhārata* (*circa* A.D. 1700).[8]

The Marathi poet Candrātmajarudra, therefore, had taken as his moled one of the most famous works in Kan-

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3 & 4 *Karnāṭaka-kavicarite*, II, p. 64.

5 *Karnāṭaka-kavicarite*, II, pp. 66-67.

6 *Ibid.*

7 For the dates of King Deva Rāya II, see Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, p. 112.

8 *Karnātaka-kavicarite*, II, p. 67.

naḍa. From the explicit statement in his *Bhīṣma-parva*- त्याचेनि आधारें ग्रंथ विलास, I am constrained to conclude that, firstly, Candrātmajārudra could read the Kannaḍa work of Kumāravyāsa, and that he drew upon the latter's work, while preparing his own great Marathi version of the Mahābhārata. That is to say, Candrātmajarudra was indebted to the Kannaḍa poet Kumāravyāsa in more than one sense.

Now to the question of the age in which he lived. As yet this point seems to have been left unsettled.[9] In his *Bhīṣma-parva*, Candrātmajarudra writes thus:

तो कुलदेव संगमेश्वर । आदिगुरु परात्पर । कपिलासंगमीं ।
निरंतर । वास अनादि जयसि ॥ प्रत्यक्ष भासे कैलास परम ।
कृष्णा मलापहारीचा संगम । स्थान पवित्र उत्तमोत्तम शिवसार्वभौमजेस्थलीं ।[10]

Ajagaonkar has nothing to say concerning this verse, excepting the remark that the poet's family god was Mahādeva of Sangameśvara, at the confluence of the Kṛṣṇā and the Malaprabhā.[11]

Let us first note the place where the family deity of Candrātmajarudra was located. It was no other than the famous Sangameśvara on the confluence, as the poet tells us, of the two rivers mentioned above, in the Bijapur district. It was here centuries ago, as narrated in the *Basavapurāṇa*, that the great Lingāyat reformer Basava received inspiration from his favourite god Sangameśvara.[12] The family deity of the great Marathi poet, therefore, was also a Karnāṭaka deity.[13]

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[9] It is a pity that some modern works on Marathi literature are not available to me, while I am writing this paper. B.A.S.

[10] Ajagaonkar, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, VIII, p. 96; Wilson, *Mackenzie Collection*, pp. 309-310. Bhandarkar, *Early History of the Dekhan* (in the Bombay Gazetteer Series), p. 227.

[13] There is also a Sangameśvara in the Ratnagiri district, but it does not lie on the confluence of the Kṛṣṇā and the Malāprabhā.

As regards the age in which he lived, the last part of the above verse is significant:

स्थान पवित्र उत्तमोत्तम । शिवसार्व भौम जे स्थळीं

Ajagaonkar is silent about this very interesting statement. Who was the *Śiva-sārvabhauma* referred to by Candrātmajarudra? Notwithstanding the play upon the word Śiva, which is another name of Mahādeva, I think that the name Śiva-sārvabhauma refers to a ruler in whose reign the poet lived. There is hardly any sense in the poet's reference to god Mahādeva as a *sārvabhauma* (Emperor). The term evidently refers to Śivāji the Great, whose coronation, as is well known, took place on June the 6th 1674.[14] Śivāji continued to be Emperor till his death on the 4th April 1680.[15] That is to say, Śivāji was a *sārvabhauma* from 1674 till 1680. Since Candrātmajarudra does not refer to the death of *Śiva-sārvabhauma* (Sivaji the Emperor), we have to assume that his *Bhīṣma-parva* was composed in the year of Śivāji's coronation (1674)—a year of universal rejoicing throughout Hindu India; and that it heralded a new epoch in Marathi literature as Śivāji's coronation did in the political annals of the country. Candrātmajarudra, therefore, was a contemporary of Śivāji the Great, and along with another poet, Kavīndra Paramānanda, was one of the leading lights of the new Mahārāṣtra Empire.[16]

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[14] Sarkar, Jadunath, *Shivaji and his Times*, p. 217 ff (Calcutta, 1929); Smith, *Oxford History of India*, p. 429.

[15] Sarkar, *ibid.*, p. 339; Smith, *ibid.*, p. 430, and n. (1) for a discussion on the date of Sivaji's death.

[16] On Kavīndra Paramānanda, read G. S. Sardesai, Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission, XVI. Session, pp. 44, ff. Calcutta, 1939.

THE BATTLE OF RĀKṢASA BHUVAN

BY

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The battle of Rākṣasa Bhuvan may be included among one of the most decisive battles in Indian history. What the battle of Rākṣasa Taṅgaḍi was to the five Deccan Sultans, the battle of Rākṣasa Bhuvan may be said to have been to the Peshwas of the Marāṭha empire.

Introduction.

When Nizam Ali Khān, the Nizam of Hyderabad, decided to crush the Peshwa he waited before he launched an offensive which he desired to be final so that once the Peshwa was completely destroyed, there could be none to dispute with him the supremacy of the Deccan. He saw how those opportunities for which he was waiting were slowly making their appearance one by one. The unforeseen disaster of the Marāṭhas at Pāṇipat in the beginning of 1761 went a long way in diminishing the prestige of the Marāṭhas which had been enhanced by the two previous Peshwas and the Nizam was not unaware of this loss of prestige. He found that the Peshwa was humiliated and had evidently lost much of his power. Therefore the Nizam started operations against the Peshwa in 1761 but, as we shall presently see, the Marāṭha power was not to be crushed either so easily or so quickly, as the Nizam had imagined. In his ambitions the Nizam was favoured by Tāra Bāi who maintained her inveterate enmity against Bālāji Rāo and Sadāśiva Rāo in whose deaths she rejoiced. Among the Marāṭhās themselves there were not a few factions, the Brāhmaṇs of the Ghāṭs allied themselves with the Marāṭhas against the Brāhmaṇs of the Konkaṇ. The death of Bālāji Bājī Rāo gave an opportunity to Raghu-

nāth Rāo to assert his own power and in this confusion the Nizam thought that he could recover the estates which he had lost at Udgir. Mādhav Rāo Ballāḷ, the new Peshwa, was too young to be a person of any consequence at least from the Nizam's point of view. This was therefore the fittest opportunity for any attack on the Marāṭha empire and the Nizam paid little heed to any other consideration.[1]

The First Stage.—1761.

The Nizam had decided to launch his great offensive and set out to make elaborate preparations. His agent, Brijnāth, had a contingent of two thousand cavalry and two thousand infantry (*Gārdis*) and was reported about 14-3-1761 to be moving towards Salabat Jung. His object was to levy *Ghāsdāṇa* according to the reports of Dhoṇḍo Ākdev who was the *Tālukdār* of *Prānt* Guñjōti and Āḷandā. Outwardly of course, as Dhoṇḍo Rāma put it, Brijnāth was most friendly towards the adherents of the Peshwa and to use Dhoṇḍo's phrase he was hardly betraying what he was about to do. (*toṇḍāt sākar ghālito ki asī koṭe aṇḍēsī na kārī*).[2] In the ranks of the Nizam, the commander in charge of the forces (*laṣkar*) appears to have been Nawab Salabat Jung accoding to the news agent Kṛṣṇa Rao Govind.[3] About May 1761 movements began to quicken and action became imminent. Nawab Salabat-Jung and Basalat Jung encamped near Sāgar for about two months. Meanwhile an estrangement had taken place

[1] In this connection see Grant Duff, *A History of the Marāṭhās*, II, pp. 161—63; G. S. Sardesai, *Introduction, Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar*, Vol. 38, p. 1; C. A. Kincaid and D. B. Parasnis, *A History of the Marāṭha People*, II, pp. 80-81. Sardesai, *Marāṭhi Riyāsat*, II, pp. 397—407 R. N. Burway, *Life of Malhar Rao Holkar*, pp. 139—42. (1930).

[2] Unless otherwise mentioned the numbers in the ensuing foot-notes refer to the *Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar*, Vol. 38, No. 4, pp. 2-3.

[3] No. 5, p. 3.

between Mādhava Rāo Ballāḷ and his uncle Raghunāth Rāo *alias* Dādāsāheb who apparently left the Marāṭha camp in a huff so that he might hatch his own plans. About May 1761 a mutilated news-letter describes how Raghunāth Rāo had left Pañch-Mahāls for Bijāpūr, and as he traversed the same road which was taken by the Nizam and Salabat Jung on the way to Sāgar, it was stated that there was considerable spoliation of the countryside.[4]

What transpired at Sāgar we do not know, but we are informed that the Nizam commenced to organise his forces in order to lauch a decisive attack against the Peshwa, whom he wanted to crush utterly. From Sāgar the Nizam and Salabat Jung must have marched to Kulburga for, on 11-6-1761 Dhoṇḍo Rām, a servant of the Peshwa, heard that both of them met at Kulburga with a view to reach Koyilkōḍa and in fact reports had been received that both of them had marched from Kulburga to a place a league from Sēḍaṁba which was in the Peshwa's territory. Here they halted at one or two places.[5] This encroachment was a direct violation of the Peshwa's sovereignty and amounted to a decalartion of war by the Nizam against the Peshwa. Such an act was soon imitated by the lesser adherents of the Nizam like Abāji Nāik of Ferozābād, who plundered the lands belonging to Rāmacandra Jhādhav. The latter, on learning of this provocation, complained of this aggression to the Nizam and with his support theatened Abāji Nāik with a reprisal if he did not retrace his steps.[5] Most probably he did so for we do not hear of such a counter-attack by these again and the Nizam was left to mobilise his troops for the oncoming battle with the Peshwa. They representatives of the chiefs of Karnūl, Cuḍapah and Savaṇūr about 21-6-1761 were present at the

[4] No. 6, p. 4.
[5] No. 7, p. 5.
[6] No. 8, p. 6.

Nizam's capital. They are said to have represented to the Nizam their case, requesting him to excuse their faults and to grant their masters in future *jāgirs* and *mānsabs*. The Nizam agreed to these proposals but he ordered them to arrive at his capital with all their forces.[7]

Having made suitable preparations at home the Nizam now attempted to make negotiations with his neighbours. He despatched letters to small and big *Sardārs* and to the holders of *Sansthāns*, many of whom were pacified and replied accordingly, but the Nizam is said to have not given any decisive answer to any one of them (*Kōṇā yekās sāfḥ uttar dēt nāhīt*). Then he tried to effect an alliance with the English, to whom he agreed to despatch a *sanad* in which he acquiesced to cede a *jāgir* yielding Rs. 52,000 on condition that they supplied 2000 English soldiers and 12,000 *Gārdis*. The terms of this settlement were in the course of discussion. Murāri Rāo Ghorpaḍe, who had often represented his grievances to the Nizam, was informed by the latter to keep in readiness and to come to Hyderabed with all his forces. The Nizam was also attempting to make an alliance with Hanumant Rāo Nimbāḷkar, who, however, was also approached by Śāhaji Supekar, the *Pant Pradhān*, on behalf of the Peshwa. Now the Peshwa had also despatched Rājaśrī Lāla Nandrāmji to negotiate with Salabat Jung and Basalat Jung and all these events must have taken place about 21-6-1761.

The Battle of Bhāraśiva

Once these preparations were made little remained for the Nizam except to measure his strength with the Marāṭhas. On the 25th June 1761 the first symptom of the Nizam's aggression towards the Peshwa became apparent. In the *Kasha* of the Sāgar *Pargaṇa* near Śūrapura, Lāla

[7] No. 10, pp. 8-9.

Brijnāth, who has already been mentioned and an unnamed commander of the Peshwa, met in a minor combat. The latter had two to three thousand foot-soldiers, 1200 *Gārdis*, cannon, but had not been paid any expenses for the maintenance of troops and was ordered by Raghunāth Rāo to return after two months. So he was marching from the Pañchmahāls, through Abdulpūr and Śūrapur, crossing the southern bank of the Bhīmā. Here he was met by Lāla Brijnāth, who with 2000 infantry and 2000 *Gārdis*, was invading the Peshwa's territories, having plundered Āḷaṇda, Guñjoti, Naḷdurg and Akkalkōṭ, where he also levied tribute. In Akkalkōṭ *Pargaṇa* the town of Borgāṃ was looted and laid waste: about eight to nine hundred men were burnt and slain. The *Jamedār*, the *Sardeśmukh* and the *Dēśmukh*, who were present, were captured and taken away as prisoners, and one Narasō Rāyāji, who had gone to assist them, was burnt to death. Their horses were captured and taken away by the victors. That Lāla Brijnāth intended to attack Akkalkōṭ was communicated by its *Kāmavisdār* to the *Kāmavisdār* of the Peshwa and when Brijnāth heard about this he turned to attack Dhārasiva. The commander of the Peshwa in his turn despatched some of his forces to the aid of the Peshwa's *Kāmāvisdār* and then himself followed with his own army towards Dhāraśiva to meet Brijnāth who, on learning about this new move of his opponent, also hurried to Dhārāśiva. Here he was joined by Kṛṣṇa Rao Nimbāḷkar, Dhāraśivakar, and *Rājaśrī* Makarandsingh Nimbāḷkar and he consequently accumulated a host of about 2500 foot-soldiers and 4000 guns (*nāḷi*). Finally, in the town of Dhāraśiva, he was met by the forces of the Peshwa. They had descended to the foot of the ghāṭs near Dhārāśive and between the forces a daily battle commenced. At this moment news reached Raghunāth Rao, who was evidently at the Pañchmahāls that Lālā Brijnāth was engaged

in a combat with the Marāṭha army, and he at once despatched under Rāmacandra Gaṇesh a battation of five thousand men, who came and reached the top of the ghāṭs while the previous Marāṭha forces had halted at the bottom of the ghāṭs. These finally joined each other. Lāla Brijnāth had encamped in the town of Dhāraśiva which the combined forces of the Marāṭhās now attacked and ultimately beseiged him. They finally captured two *tōphā* (cannon) and two *Naubats* (kettle-drums) together with some camels. In this battle Kṛṣṇa Rāo Nimbāḷkar was speared to death. The town was besieged and bombarded and consequently Lālā Brijnāth came to terms. As there were few prospects of collecting any wealth or cash from him it was decided to take about 60 horses in lieu of the horses captured from Naraso Rāyāji together with two elephants, on the understanding that Lālā Brijnāth was to pay some cash later as a sort of fine. meanwhile arrangements were made for the payments of the expenses of the troops and then Rāmcaṇdra Ganesh proceeded to Poona.[8] Thus the first step in the battle of Rākṣasa Bhuvan began most inauspiciously for the Nizam with the utter rout of Lālā Brijnāth and his Marāṭha adherents.

His first move having failed the Nizam tried diplomacy. In the interval news was received in the Peshwa's camp that the Nizam was at Udgir and that the Nawabs Salabat Jung and Basalat Jung had arrived on the banks of the river Kṛṣṇā. Then the Nizam moved towards his capital while Salabat Jung disagreeing with Basalat Jung marched towards Yatgir. To him Raghunāth Rāo had despatched an agent (*Vakīl*) and made a pact with him. Then the Nizam from his capital advanced to some distance near Kulburga, where already both Salabat Jung and Raghunāth

[8] No. 12, pp. 10-11.

Rāo had arrived. There at Kulburga all of these met obviously with a view to effect some agreement.[9] From this move it is apparent that the Nizam had already realised that, if Raghunāth Rāo could be enticed to enter into a treaty with them, then the Peshwa could be destroyed sooner or later. Here too, as will be seen presently, his foresight betrayed him and his diplomacy failed.

Of course while juggling with diplomacy on one hand, the Nizam, on the other displayed his aggressiveness. Bhikāji Nāik Vākḍe from Karmāḷa informed Raghunāth Rāo on 18-7-1761 that he had heard that Malhar Rāo Jaswant's son Ānanda Rāo Jaywant Nimbāḷkar intented marching towards Tāmra near Biḍar with a force of 1000 cavelry, and that he had been preceded by Jagadev with about 700 cavalry. Venkaṭ Rāo Nimbāḷkar was expected to follow in two or three days. Once these left, the Nizam was also expected to arrive at Dhārūr and his troops would then follow. Meanwhile Jādhava Rāo had already captured the *thāṇas* of Āḷanda and Guñjōṭi which belonged to the Peshwa. Dhoṇḍo Ākadev had come to Naḷdurg and intended to capture early Citāpur, Pañchmahāls and other *thāṇas*. It was also reported that from the region of the Ganges (Godāvari) i.e., in the *prānt* of Nānded etc., Śivāji Keśav Jintīkar and Girmāji Khaṇḍe Rāo had been despatched by the Nizam with about 10,000 soldiers with a view to attack Poona, and that the this army had now arrived at Karmāḷa from where they were expected to move forward. Malhārao Jaswant had formerly brought from Pēḍgāon some cannon which were taken to Parāṇḍe to be mounted on the fort. His youngest son Govind Khijmat Rāo was reported about to be sent to the Peshwa but the reason was not known. The Nizam had instructed Nimbāḷkar to attack the neighbouring *thāṇās* belonging to the Peshwa. Consequently Jānoji Nimbāḷkar intended to

[9] No. 12, pp. 9—11.

march with this object with 1000 cavalry and 2000 infantry.[10] These were the designs of the Nizam and they reveal how his sole object was to destroy the power of the Peshwa.

During this period the Nizam was moving his camp with only one intention and that was to attack the Peshwa. On 19-7-1761 from Kulburga he moved to Sarḍeki on the Bhīmā.[11] At this place Bāji Rāo Ghōrpaḍe met him with about 4000 soldiers and he was entrusted with the administration of about 18 towns in the Dhārūr *Prānt*, which were conquered by Murād Khān and others.[12] Meanwhile the friction between Nizam Ali and Salabat Jung was increasing.[13] Again on or about 28-7-1761 Nizam Ali once more attempted to negotiate with the English (*Firaṅgiyās*) through the *Pāleyagāras* of Cuḍapah, Kurnūl and Savaṇūr.[14]

The Peshwa Assumes the Offensive.

On hearing all these tidings the Peshwa was not slow to take advantage of the situation and he quickly decided to assume the offensive. On 2-8-1761 he ordered a *Sardār* (unnamed) who was managing an estate yielding a revenue of Rs. 30,000 (as *Rasdā*) and who had maintained his promised troops according to agreement, to assemble a new army and to join him at once. He was further instucted that, if he could not fulfil this request, he was to report to the Peshwa with the troops at his command and if this strength was not up to the required number, he was to pay up the balance of the *Rasadā* into the Peshwa's treasury.[15]

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[10] No. 14, p. 13.
[11] No. 15, p. 14. The Nizam was at Kulburga on 21-6-1761 Cf. *ante*.
[12] No. 17, pp. 14-15.
[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.
[14] No. 18, p. 16.
[15] No. 19, pp. 16-17.

Just as the Nizam had one clear object in his mind of destroying the power of the Peshwa, the Peshwa too had one idea to reiterate to all his subordinates and that was that the Nizam had declared war against the Marāṭha State (*Moghlāni bighāḍ kēlā*). With this declaration he announced on 2-8-1761 that he had fixed the first of the dark half of *Śrāvaṇa* to march against the Nizam and requested Māvji Juzārpure to join him at once with his contingent at Poona. He was also warned that he would have to pay his dues to the Peshwa and he was ordered to get ready as soon as he received the letter from the Peshwa, because there would be little time left for returning home and collecting the dues. He was therefore requested to turn up quickly with his troops.[16] But when the Peshwa issued similar orders to some of his other subordinates, the Marāṭha fiscal system placed him in a very compromising situation. Govind Rāo Bābur, for example, who had served the Peshwa for about twenty-two years, and had served under the *Bāhusāheb* and fought on the field of Pāṇipat, on being ordered to join against the Nizam stated that he had to maintain a thousand horsemen and owed the Peshwa Rs. 60,000 in cash. But, as he had no finances to maintain this establishment, he observed that he was prepared to come, provided money to defray his debts was paid to him.[17] At this time in the month of August Trimbak Desāi informed the Peshwa that instructions had been issued to forts at Sarasgaḍh, Mirgaḍh, and Kothaḷā to be prepared against the advancing army of the Nizam.[18]

The Nizam was meanwhile every day advancing to meet the Peshwa who was now convinced that the former had declared war against the latter, and as he came skirmishes of corps took place between the forces of the two

[16] No. 21, pp. 18-19.
[17] No. 23, p. 20.
[18] *Ibid.*

rulers. On 24-8-1761 Bhikāji Nāik Vākḍe imparted to Raghunāth Rāo some interesting information. Jādhav Rāo, owing to the attacks on his own lands, went with about 1200 men to Naḷdūrg fort where he stayed for ten to twelve days and left that place with about 700 cavalry with the intention of attacking Akkalkōṭ, after wreaking havoc in that *Prānt*. Śāhaji Bhosle met Jādhav Rāo and in the ensuing battle the latter captured from the former about twenty horses. Śāhaji Bhosle was appparently worsted in this fight but he determined to recover the fort of Naḷdūrg which was captured through treachery by the former and with this intention he retreated (*Balkīs phirōn gēle*).[19] During this period the forces of the Nizam appear to have captured Ṭōke, Ellorā and other places from the Peshwa.[20]

It was quite natural for the Peshwa to issue orders to his feudatories to recover these places. On 14-9-1761 the Peshwa ordered Gaṇesh Viṭṭal (Wāghmāre ?) to recapture the above mentioned places. He states that he had already issued orders that the *thāṇa* of Verūl (Ellorā), as already instructed by him should be captured. He added that, as the Peshwa reached Ṭōke on crossing the Gangā (Gōdāvarī), he would attack the surrounding *thāṇas* one or two of which he would seize. After Gaṇesh Viṭṭal had attacked and captured the *thāṇas* of Ṭoke and Ellorā, the Peshwa stated that, as soon as he reached the town of Nagar (Ahmednagar), he would make some arrangement for meeting the expenditure of this captain.[21] This attempt to capture Ṭōke can be understood only if we analyse the activities of the Nizam at this time. On 28-11-1761 the Peshwa received the information that Kabīr Khān and Kādar Khān together with Khaṇḍgale under

[19] No. 20, pp. 17-18.
[20] No. 30, p. 35.
[21] No. 26, p. 22.

the Nizam's direction attacked Pravar Sangam and set fire once or twice to the town of Ṭōke after plundering it but they could not successfully destroy the whole town as Marāṭha troops were still guarding it.[22] The march of the Nizam nevertheless continued. Again on 29-11-1761 Jānoji Bhosle explained to Raghunāth Rāo the causes of his delay in meeting him as he had to avoid facing the Nizam's forces on the Ghāṭs, and he also found difficulty in sheltering his forces, which had much distance to march. It is interesting to note that according to him it was not proper for the Hindu *Dharma* to see that the Hindu temples were destroyed by the Nizam (*Mōgalāni devasthāne uddhvaṁsa kēlā hē Hindu dharmās ucit nāhi*). Moreover it was decided that a fight was to take place on Tuesday between them (*maṅgaḷavāri yuddha nemile āhe*) but he assured Raghunāth Rāo that he would cross the Karañje Ghāṭ, keep his army in or near about the town and meet him on Tuesday.[23] But whether this battle on Tuesday ever took place has not been recorded.

The battalions of the Peshwa were during this period constantly gathering strength, evidently to meet face to face in mortal combat the armies of the Nizam, which were strengthened by Marāṭha renegades, malcontents and rebels. Venkat Rāo Morēshvar informed Raghunāth Rāo on 16-11-1761 that Jānoji Bhosle had arrived at Rākṣasa Bhuvan, the place that was to vie with Rākṣasa Tangadi[24] in celebrity for all time. Here that *Sēn-Subha* had made his head-quarters: here by some secret path he had stored cannon and his establishment (*kabīle*) and he was about to march to meet Raghunāth Rāo. But, as he was unaware of

[22] No. 30, p. 35.
[23] No. 32, p. 26.
[24] On this great battle see Ferishta, *Rise of the Mohomedan Power in India*, III, pp. 126—131 (Briggs). Heras, *Āravīḍu Dynasty*, I, pp. 194—217; Saletore, *Social and Political Life in the Vijayanagara Empire*, I, pp. 135—39, 433-34.

the places where either the Nizam's or the Peshwa's armies were stationed, he desired to know by which route he was to come and reach him. Raghunāth Rāo's orders on this point were solicited.[25] From this news-letter it may be inferred that till 26-11-1761 neither the Peshwa nor the Nizam knew where the final combat between them was to take place, for one was evidently trying to evade the other while they simutaneously knew that the fatal day was not far off.

The Second Stage-Battle of Rahuti.

The Nizam however appears to have set his eyes on the destruction of Poona and as he advanced to achieve that end he became more aggressive and relentless. From Ṭōke and Pravar-Sangam, which, as has been seen, he partially succeeded in pillaging and burning, he appears to have moved towards Urli where he encamped towards the end of November, 1761. Here he was met by *Rājā* Viṭṭal Dās, Nawab Salabat Jung and Viṭṭal Sundar, his minister. Malhar Bāburāo related to the Peshwa that here the Nizam held a sort of court, where he was met by his *Sardārs* big and small. Malhār Rāo reported that on the previous night (unfortunately the letter is undated) Viṭṭal Sundar with about four thousand troops went into the neighbouring fields to loot the grain for his cavalry horses, and it appears there was an idea of sending the troops into the interior evidently for collecting further grain and fodder.[26]

The Peshwa was not unaware of the Nizam's march for he was keeping a careful watch on the latter's movements through his spies and his news-agents. The Nizam had attacked Jālnā but, according to Mahīpat Rāo on 1-12-1761, he was unable to despatch any forces to relieve this place because he had thought that Trimbak Khāṇḍe Rāo had

[25] No. 29, pp. 24-25.
[26] No. 33, pp. 26-27.

made arrangements to safe guard it. He therefore came first to Koregāon, then captured from Khaṅḍagale the *thāṇa* of Jharī, Asegāon, Parlaṇī, and others and established the supremacy of the Peshwa in the *Kasbās* of Selgar, Sonpet, Khēḍ and was contemplating the restoration of order in the other *jāgirs* and *mahāls* of the Peshwa.[27] From this news-letter it is clear that early in December 1761 the forces of the Peshwa were making slow yet steady progress in encroaching on the Nizam's territories. The other commander entrusted with this task of resisting the advance of the Nizam was Jīvan Rāo Keśav, who in a letter dated 20-12-1761 (?) stated that he had invaded both the towns in Paithaṇ and Jālnāpūr, and halted at Sankhēḍā to collect tribute. He also reported that from Jālnāpur he would go further ahead to Āmbaḍ which also he intended to capture. The next expedition in view was an advance into the Paḍtūr *Prāṇt*, and after attacking this region he intended to proceed into the *mahāls* which were already captured by the Peshwa.[28]

Like these commanders the other captains of the Peshwa were also instrumental in checking the onward march of the Nizam. Like Mahīpat Rāo Kavḍe, Madho Malhār assured Raghunāth Rāo that at Narsāpur, as Girmāji Khāṇḍe Rāo Kavḍe was in that *Prānt*, there was little fear about its security, especially as all the little and the great *Sardārs* had been warned about it. From Khaṇḍgale the *thāṇas* of Jharī, Asegāon, Parbhaṇī and other *Prānts* were already captured while the supremacy of the Peshwa had been established in the *Kasbās* of Sonpet, Khēḍ and Selgāon. From there be intended to go to Vasmate in the neighbourhood of which arrangements had to be made for safeguarding the Mahāls of the Peshwa.

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[27] No. 34, pp. 27-28.

[28] No. 46, pp. 36-37.

to be made for safeguarding the *Mahāls* of the Peshwa. Jālnā was rather far off and it was already in need of great assistance, having been attacked by the Nizam's forces but he contended that, if he went there presently, the security arrangements which he had made would not have been successful, as he was only firmly establishing his power in the thāṇās which he had already conquered. In these quarters where he was thus establising his power Khaṇdagaliya, Sargar and Khaṇḍērkar had completely destroyed all the *mahāls (jīv rāhu dilā nāhī*. It is interesting to note that these events are narrated in a letter dated 1-12-1761.[29]

Only four days later the news of the onward march of the Nizam was spreading terror into the hearts of the citizens of Poona, which was his objective. Hari Pant Phaḍke was informed probably of this state of affairs from the Peshwa's quarters. There was great commotion in the city on hearing this news of the approach of the Nizam. Many people had left the capital. Only the protection of empty houses remained, the rest had decamped to forts like Lohagaḍh, Rajamgaḍh, Visāpur, Sinhghaḍ (Sinhaghaḍ) Purandhar and other hill-forts. Salabat Jung was expected to make a dash for the city through the woods near about the metropolis by crossing the river Bhivarī. As many such rumours were rife, the people were greatly perturbed about this invasion.[30]

But nevertheless the Nizam was not tamely permitted to dash so easily to the gates of Poona. Of course the spies of the Nizam were not inactive for Śivarām Ānand, and news-bearers like Malhār Pant and Paraśrām Jōḍyā were arrested on suspicion but were released later according to a news-letter dated 7-12-1761.[31] Such news-agents prov-

[29] No. 35, pp. 27—29.

[30] No. 37, pp. 29-30.

[31] No. 38, pp. 30-31.

ed extremely helpful to the Peshwa for they could inform him about the movements of the Nizam. With the aid of such information the Peshwa could see that valuable treasures were removed from the Nizam's path. On 3-12-1761 Visāji Kṛṣṇa, instructed ten *Rauts* to help Lakṣmaṇ Kōnher in taking away the Peshwa's treasure (*Sarkārcā khajīnā*) down the ghāts through a path which was not frequented by the Nizam's forces to Nagar.[32] Again a few days later Mādhav Rāo Viśvanāth Pēṭhe wrote to the Peshwa that he had managed to despatch some valuable treasure safely to Purandhar where it was comparatively safe from the plunderers of the Nizam's camp owing to their increasing troubles and he promised to send the balance of about 60,000 cash in the shape of *Mōhars*, *hoṇs*, and rupees shortly to the Peshwa.[33] But it is interesting to note that, whenever the Nizam heard about such treasures, he halted and made a thorough search for them. He had heard that there was hidden such a treasure in the residence of the Sindhia at Śrīgoṇḍa and went there to search for it but this search proved abortive. This search was made about the 17th December 1761.[34]

As the Nizam proceeded his soldiers were attacked with great vigour and vigilance. A news-letter dated 14-12-1761 describes an encounter between the Peshwa's forces led by Śivāji Keśav and the Nizam's army led by Lakṣmaṇ Rāo Khaṇḍagale. On the Peshwa's side about twenty were wounded, fifteen killed outright, some notable *sardārs* (unnamed) mortally wounded, ten horses slain, and four or five wounded in the action. In the ranks of Khaṇḍagale fifteen soldiers were killed and twentyfive wounded. Among the soldiers under Dāji Nimbāḷkar some twelve

[32] No. 36, p. 29—32.

[33] No. 39, pp. 31-32.

[34] No. 44, pp. 35-36.

prominent persons died, while twenty were wounded. In the ranks of Hanmant Rāo Nimbālkar two notable persons known as Haibat Rāo Nalvadā and Danosingh perished. In all, among the followers of the Nizam, four hundred men were slain while a thousand were wounded. Two infantry men from Nizam Ali's own regiment were reported killed. Then the Peshwa's army went to Senksaḍa. This had been indeed a great victory for the Marāṭha arms: *moṭī mār dilhī.* This battle was evidently fought at Rahuti and commenced in the evening at about four-thirty. (*dīḍ prahār divas rāhatā āgāḍīs laḍāyīce tōṇḍ lāgale*).[35] Many were wounded and the Peshwa's artillery and bowmen appear to have wrought such great havoc that it could not expressed on paper: *apale tōphāce gōḷyāni va bāṇani phār satam kēlī te patri lihitā purvat nāhi*).[4] This statement implies that the Marāṭhas must have inflicted great losses on the forces of the Nizam.

Not only did the Peshwa attempt to harass the Nizam by attacking him as he advanced but he also tried to disturb his diplomatic relations by trying to win over some of his Hindu feudatories. Certain events assisted the Peshwa in achieving this object. It has already been noticed how a little prior to 28-11-1761 news was sent to the Peshwa about the burning and the plundering executed by the Nizam at Ṭōke and at Pravar-Sangam, but this news appears to have reached Udhāji Chāvaṇ after all nearly a month later, for in a letter received on 24-12-1761, he states how there all the temples were destroyed, the country was burnt and the Brāhmans molested. In this way a blight was cast on the Hindu *Dharma* (*devālaya ādikarūn gāṃo sarva jāḷilā va Brāhmaṇās upadrava kelā yāpramāṇe yani Hindu dharmāvar badanajar ṭhēvile āhe. Hindu*

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[35] No. 41, p. 33.

dharmācā ucchēda kelā). As Hindu Dharma was considered desecrated by this wanton destruction, he informed Raghunāth Pant Gosāvi that, if proper arrangements were made for his forces, he would join him early to fight the Nizam and his spoliators of the Hindu *Dharma*.[36] Again some of those who went over to the Nizam's side were also won over. Attempts were made towards 26-1-1761 to reclaim to the Peshwa's ranks from the Nizam's party Mīr Moghul and Rāmachandra Jādhav.[37] Towards the end of January in this year Gopāḷ Rāo Paṭwardhan and Mādhavarāo Rāstē in formed the Peshwa that, as a result of negotiations, Rāmacandra Jādhav deserted the Nizam and came over to the forces of the Peshwa with all his army (*phauja sudhā*).[38]

But these defections did not after all prevent the Nizam from either making headway with his ambitious advance or his continuous progress in his march on Poona. His possible march on Poona had, it has already been remarked, spread terror into the hearts of the citizens of that capital but the Nizam appears to have changed his mind. Rāgho Śankar, in a letter dated 13-2-1761, (?) states that having left Bhāgānagar (Hyderabad) the Nizam arrived at *Kasha* Kāremungi on the banks of the Vañjārā from where he went to a place which was seven *kōs* (leagues) distant from Bīḍar. The *Sardārs* had been instructed to arrive early at the confluence of this river, although previously arrangements had been made that they should all come to the ghāṭ near the specified place. But the Nizam was informed by Sher Jung II, Ghoḍo Rām and Moro Pant (the brother of Viṭṭal Sundar, the Minister of the Nizam—be

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36 No. 47, p. 38.

37 No. 55, pp 42-43.

38 No. 57, p. 44.

had another brother named (Cinto Pant)—casually that delay would be of no avail. Consequently they decided that it would be best to descend at the foot of the ghat near this confluence and meet in the Māhor *Prānt*. Then the question—if the Nizam reached the ghāṭs above the confluence of the river Vañjārā, leaving his forces behind, and did not reach there in time, what he could do by going there alone—was discussed by Rukhunuddaula and Jagannāth Pant. Besides several other plans were also discussed. Sarapha, the brother of Rukhnuddaula, was expected with his forces from Hyderabad and in view of this the Nīzam camped for four or five days on the Kāremuṇgi. Finally Saraph and Viṭṭal Sunder's brother Moro Pant came to Kāremuṇgi and from thence they reached a place which was about a league from Udgir. From there they expected to join Raghunātha Rāo.[39]

The Lull before the Storm: The Treaty of Pēḍgāon

Before the actual storm broke out, it may be noticed that there was the proverbial lull which may be said to have been symbolised by the treaty of Pēḍgāon between the Nizam and Raghunāth Rao. Mādhava Rāo, the Peshwa, had not yet asserted his rights and Raghunāth Rāo was *ipso facto* Peshwa. The Nizam had lost the allegiance of a stalwart leader like Rāmacandra Jādhav who came over to the Peshwa as has been related already but still, undeterred, the Nizam pressed on and was almost within reach for he had come as far as Urli. The Nizam was now in a definiely stronger position. A newsletter dated 12-7-1762 states that Nawab Salabat Jung had made over to his brother the entire charge of the State's administration.[40] The Peshwa was yet not

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[39] No. 76, p. 59.

[40] No. 64, pp. 50-51.

reconciled to his uncle Raghunāth Rāo, who decided to make a truce, for it can hardly be called a peace, which is known as the Treaty of Pēḍgāon. Grant Duff states that Raghunāth Rāo relinquished 27 lakhs out of the 62 lakhs granted by the treaty of Udgir.[41] An extant letter issued in February 1760, which enumerates the terms offered by the Peshwa to the Nizam after the latter's defeat at Udgir, makes no mention of such a grant in the terms of settlement. One of the first clauses is: *bārakṣācī jāgir āmace jāgir salagatīpaiki pāñc sā lakṣa hāl vasūli cāṅgalī yēṇe pramāṇe dyāvī.*[42] As no further payment is mentioned we may agree with Sardesai, Kincaid and Pārasnis that Raghunāth Rāo granted nothing, which really seems more probable in view of the circumstances in which the Nizam was then placed.

Raghunāth Rāo was constrained to make this peace with the Nizam for several reasons. Mādhav Rāo, the young Peshwa, was asserting his powers but this was resented by the powerful elders like Sakhārām Bāpu who resigned and on this score Mādhav Rāo requested *Trimbak* Rāo *Māmā* to act as *Diwān*. He accepted this post and in this responsibility he was assisted by Gōpāl Gōvind Paṭwardhan, the *Jāgirdhār* of Miraj, while Mādhav Rāo Peshwa appointed Bālāji Janārdhan Bhānu (much better known as Nāṇā Faḍnis) and Hari Pant Phaḍke as his Account Officers (*Kārkūns*).[43] Owing to this reshuffling of offices and flouting of what he considered his lawful authority, Raghunāth Rāo left Poona for Nasik from where he went to Aurangabad where he was befriended by its governor Murād Khān.[44] This view of Grant

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41 Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, I, p. 5.

42 *Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar*, Vol. 40, No. 128, pp. 123-24.

43 Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, II, pp. 169-70.

44 *Ibid.*, II, p. 168.

Duff appears to need some modification in view of a news-letter dated 4-9-1672 which states that Murād Khān from Aurangabad left for Nizampur and from thence went towards Lāsūr where Raghunāth Rao had encamped. Murād Khān had an army of 2000 soldiers and suggestions were made that the Peshwa should follow Murād Khān (*Murād Khane yāne patra pāṭhavile jẽ vañjarvāḍihūn Nizāmpurākaḍūn Lāsurā Śrīmant Dādā Sāheb yāncya bheṭis jāto*).[45] Two letters indicate that this interview must have taken place shortly after the 4th and the 5th of September 1762.[46] Trimbak Rāo's acceptance of office excited the jealousies of Sakhārām Bāpu and Raghunāth Rāo's displeasure was further aggravated by the jealousies of his wife Ānandī Bāi and the widowed mother of Mādhav Rāo, Gōpikā Bāi. Thus incited Raghunāth Rāo was soon joined by several other disaffected Marāṭhas and like the Nizam, Raghunāth Rao proceeded against Poona, but before reaching that place, between Poona and Ahmednagar, he attacked the Peshwa's army under Mādhav Rāo, who being comparatively weak, at once yielded. There were valid reasons why Mādhav Rao succumbed : the first was because Nizām Ali was advancing to support Raghunāth Rao, secondly, Jānoji Bhosle was advancing onwards without avowing his intentions, although in a letter dated 29-11-1761, he had explained the cause of his delay and assured Raghunāth Rāo that he would soon march and join Raghunāṭh Rāo in crushing down the Nizam.[47] But as we shall see later he was like Rāmacandra Jādhav, another traitor in Marāṭha history. Thirdly, Raghunāth Rāo himself being strong with the assistance of other Marāṭha feudatories, like a genuine statesman Mādhav Rāo yielded to his uncle, threw him-

[45] No. 67, p. 53.

[46] No. 68, pp. 53-54.

[47] Cf. No. 29, pp. 24-25.

self on his mercy and was consequently kept in confinement. As a price of this assistance from the Nizam Raghunāth Rāo by the treaty of Pēḍgāon had promised him to restore the forts of Daulatabad, Śivaneri, Asīrgaḍh, Ahmednagar and territory from cessions made in Jan. 1670—by the treaty of Udgir, yielding a revenue of 51 lakhs or an equivalent amount. Nizām Ali came to Pēḍgāon on the Bhīmā, exchanged civilities, and orders were issued for the delivery of the districts. But the orders were never executed.[48]

Once Raghunāth Rāo had assumed power he determined to ust it as he liked. He appointed Sakhāram Bāpu and Nīlkaṇṭh Mahādev Purandhare as his principal ministers, made his infant son Bhāskar Rāo, *Pant Pratinidhi* in Śrinivās Gangādhar's place, restored Rāmacandra Jādhav to the post of *Senāpati*, raised Kānhōji Mohite to the rank of *Sur Laṣkar*, and elevated Cintu Viṭṭal to be Peshwa's *Faḍnis*.[49]

These depositions and changes caused grave discontent and the disaffected at once joined the Nizam and his associates. Viṭṭal Sundar, the Nizam's Minister, hatched a conspiracy to overthrow the Marāṭha State, declare Jānoji Bhosle Regent and subvert the administration of the Konkaṇ Brāhmaṇs at Poona. Mīr Mughal, who had changed over to the camp of the Marāṭhās, being neglected, returned to his brother, while Moroba Faḍnis, Sadāśiv Rāmacandra Śēṇvi, Bhavāni Rāo, Jānoji Bhosle, Gōpāḷ Paṭwardhan and some others joined the Mughals. The Nizam, true to his duplicity, meanwhile secretly renewed correspondence with the *Rāja* of Kolhāpūr, whom he intended to have as an eventual competitor in case Jānoji Bhōsle proved inconvenient. The Nizam consequently

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[48] Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, II, p. 169.

[49] *Ibid.*, pp. 169-70.

renounced the treaties of Udgir and Pēḍgāon and renewed hostilities.[50]

*The Battle Commences: **Preliminaries.***

The Nizam, as in the previous campaigns, was bent on marching towards Poona and he gathered some Marāṭhās about him. In the very first month of January the Nizam attempted to gather some traitors around him. A letter dated 2-1-1763 (?) reports about an interview between Pirāji Nimbaḷkar and the Nizam and the subsequent departure of the latter to Bijāpūr and his return from Monoḷi on receiving money from Gōpāḷ Rāo Gōvind.[51] The other confederates of the Nizam were *Rājā* Vināyak Dās, Rājā Khāndarkar, Mānsingh Jāḍhava Rao and Murād Khān who started on foraging expeditions as early as 8-1-1763.[52] In this month Sadāśiv Yamāji was carrying on secret talks with Jānoji Bhosle.[53] On 10-2-1763 Gunḍo Kāsi informed the Peshwa that negotiations were being made for an alliance between the *Pratinidhi*, Jānoji Bhosle and Gōpāḷ Rāo and the Nizam to whom they offered some money and lands in order to induce him to march on Miraj.[54] By 19-2-1763 it was well-known that Jānoji Bhosle had joined the Nizam who declared war against the Peshwa and his aims were three fold: first, to march against Sātārā, secondly to capture the *Chatrapati* and thirdly, to pursue the Peshwa wherever he went.[55]

As soon as Raghunāth Rāo heard that the Nizam had declared war he must have gathered his own forces. Sakhāram Bāpu, in a letter dated February 1763, advis-

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[50] Grant Duff, *History of the Marāṭhas*, II, pp. 169-70.
[51] No. 75, pp. 58-59.
[52] No. 76, p. 59.
[53] No. 78, p. 61.
[54] No. 79, pp. 61-62.
[55] No. 80, pp. 62-63.

ed an early conference of Holkar, Bābuji Nāyak, Jādhav Rāo and other *Sardārs* to assist in the campaign against the Nizam.[56] Raghunāth Rāo paid heed to this advice and at once requested Malhār Rāo Hōḷkar to join him at once with his forces. This letter was issued on 19-2-1763.[57] He was also assisted by Dāmāji Gaekwāḍ,[58] whose exploits in the great battle we shall narrate presently. Subsequently, according to Grant Duff, Rabhunāth Rāo proceeded to Aurangabad, entered the districts of Jānoji Bhosle, which he plundered, levied a contribution of 60 lakhs from Hulkapur and on being pursued returned to Munge Paṭṭan and thence marching south-east wrought great havoc in the dominions of the Nizām.[59] We know, however, from a letter, dated 20-2-1763 (?), that Raghunāth Rāo by this date was somewhere near Aurangabad and that the Nizam from Kulburga intended to go to Aurangabad and thence to the banks of the Bhīma. His idea was apparently to march against Poona and in retaliation Raghunāth Rāo wanted to launch an attack on Aurangabad. By this time Raghunāth Rāo had left Miraj, which he had attacked, for Yeḍur where he encamped. When he was here the Nizam had declared war and Raghunāth Rāo who intended to despatch Abāji Purandhare to the Karnāṭak, recalled him before he had hardly marched two or three leagues. The *mulkigiri* of the Karnāṭak was considered as good as lost (*karnāṭakci mulkigiri āgadīc buḍāli sārā-mansabā kēlā tō vyartha Jhālā*). With his headquarters at Yeḍur Ābāji Purandhare commenced a daily devastation of the territory

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56 No. 82, p. 63.

57 No. 80, p. 62.

58 Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, II, p. 171.

59 *Ibid.*

around Aurangabad while Raghunāth Rāo besieged Aurangabad. On this day he was seated on an elephant and his *mahout* was so severely wounded that he was hardly expected to live. Moreover the siege of Aurangabad failed (*Aurangabādādācā halā nāmoharam Jhālā*) but the suburbs were spared on a recovery of two lakhs of rupees. But as he was pursued, the Nizam's forces having reached a place within twenty leagues between them Raghunāth Rāo left Aurangabad. On the day when he was leaving this place at about two o'clock in the noon after dinner he had gone to the privy (*śethkhān-yāt gēle*).. When he was returning from there one *Gārdi* attacked him but he was arrested, and on being questioned, admitted that he was set up to this task by Rāmacandra Jādhav. This Rāmacandra Jādhav was accused of two other crimes: first, that he was harassing people and recovering taxes on his way; secondly, that he had leagued himself with the Moghuls. As evidence of his complicity with them some papers were discovered. Consequently he and his adopted son (whose death was reported on 18-1-1766)[60] were arrested and taken to Daulatabad where both of them were imprisoned with fetters on their feet. Meanwhile the Marāṭha army under Raghunāth Rao massacred and desroyed the country round Aurangabad. On the next day the Marāṭha army left for Aurangabad and crossed the ghāṭ of Kāsarbhāri. Then Hōḷkar came from Cāndvāḍ and met Raghunāth Rāo. The Nizam's forces were expected on 17-3-1763 through the ghāṭs at Ājanaṭyācā, and a great battle was considered imminent in a day or two. The Marāṭha forces appear to have been estimated at about 40,000, and for the present Poona was considered safe.[61]

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[60] Cf. No. 154, pp. 126-27.

[61] No. 83, pp. 64-65.

But the fond hopes of Govind Raghunāth that Poona was temporarily safe (*tūrta puṇiyās bhaya nāhi asē vāṭate*) appears to have been not incorrect. The Nizam apparently pursued Raghunāth Rāo, and when he saw that the Marāṭha army had left Aurangabad he marched again towards Poona, but the Peshwa was not letting things take their own course. Nāro Appāji in charge of Poona was ordered by the Peshwa to remove the guns from there to Sinhgaḍh or if they could not be removed to bury them so that they might not fall into the hands of the enemy. This was to be done in secret, the matter being only revealed to the *Kārkūnis*. He was further advised to take prompt measures in consultation with Jivāji Gaṇesh for the defence of Poona. As this letter is dated 31-3-1763 it may be concluded that till this day the Nizam had not invaded Poona.[62] Again in another order dated 3-4-1763 the Peshwa instructed Nāro Appāji to realise promptly all government dues from various *Kāmāvisdārs* together with a complete list of the household ornaments. A great battle was expected early.[63] Another letter bearing the same date from the two Āmbekar brothers Bāḷāji and Bāpūji to one Sadāśiv Pant, referring to the panicky conditions in Poona,[64] again proves that till this date the Nizam had not yet arrived at Poona. As will be shown presently the Nizam did not reach Poona till May 1763.

Meanwhile the Peshwa was marching towards the territory of the Nizam. About this time the Peshwa had hurried to Hyderabad when he had come to know that the Nizam was marching towards Poona and his idea must have been to devastate his territory and then

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62 No. 85, pp. 65-66.
63 No. 86, pp. 66-67.
64 No. 87, pp. 67-68.

close in on his foe. It was a dangerous policy but displayed great foresight. A news-letter dated 8-5-1763 (?) shows how according to Janārdhan Bhaṭ Sāligrām the Peshwa had by this date exacted tribute from Hyderabad and had returned to Medak. Gōpāl Rāo Paṭwardhan had gone over to the Nizam who had gone to Rājapūr while Gamāji Yamāji intended to attack Sātāra and then rejoin the Nizam. At Medak the Peshwa had met Salabat Jung and slowly won him over.[65]

About this time Gamāji Yamāji with an army of about 4,000 soldiers went and attacked Sātārā. On 22-6-1763 Moro Hari Bhāvē came to know of the siege of Sātārā where there was a great commotion owing to the rumour that Yamāji was about to attack it. He soon invaded Sātārā fort which he beseiged and recovered cash payments from the surrounding countryside (*tamām gāvganna rōkhe karūn paika yek sāl jame pramāṇe rayatāpasūn ghetalā*). The ryots were thus looted. He then set fire to some places and devastated others, but laid no hands on the city (*śahar*). Nevertheless he exacted tribute from all the wealthy persons he could find there. By this time Gōpāḷ Rāo Barvē and Narsing Rāo (Janārdhan Daygudhe)[66] were despatched by the Peshwa who came to know of this expedition as early as 6-6-1763. On his way from Medak he ordered Ānanda Rāo Dhūlap to despatch with all possible haste a contingent of 300 men to the rescue of Sātārā which was then threatened by Yamāji. The utmost haste is clearly indicated by the expression that the contingent was to be sent quickly by making day of night (*jalad rātrīcadivas karūn sātārīyās yevūn pohacte karṇe*) through the Tiwāri ghāṭ under an able *Sardār*.[67] When Yamāji heard of this rescue

[65] No. 93, p. 72.
[66] Cf. Nos. 90, 92, pp. 69-70, 71.
[67] No. 131, p. 105.

party he withdrew from Sātārā, and fled to Cimmangāṃ, where he was camping on 22-6-1763. He was all the time recovering the dues of *Gāmgaṇna* and *Khaṇḍya* during the course of his expedition. The consternation at Sātārā must have been great, for on 6-7-1763 Mādhav Rāo Peshwa had advised Ānanda Rāo Dhūlap about this contingent. He was requested to obtain news of this contingent, which was not aware of the way to reach Sātārā, from the people at fort Vāsōṭi, which must have been near the Tiwāri Pass so that this contingent might reach Sātārā safely.[68] This concern shows what care and foresight the young Peshwa was capable of and marks him out as a rising military leader.

From Medak the Peshwa was turning towards Poona to attack which the Nizam was hurrying as well. We have already seen that about 8-5-1763 the Peshwa had proceeded from Hyderabad to Medak and from there according to another letter dated 22-6-1763 he was marching along the banks of the Bhīmā, (Godāvarī) towards Paṇḍharpūr (*Srīmaṅt he Bhīmātīrāne Paṇḍharpūrcyā rōkhe yēt āhēt*).[69]

The Invasion of Poona

At Poona itself, owing to the impending attack of the Nizam, there prevailed the utmost confusion and panic. A letter dated 8-5-1763 informs Hari Pant Phaḍke that the Nizam was expected to march to Poona and thence to Sātārā, where as we know, Gamāji Yamāji had come and left after storming it. Nāroji Appa, who was in charge of Poona, was informed by some of the officers of the Nizam that, if some tribute was offered the Nizam might not attack Poona and the writer thought that, in the

[68] No. 104, p. 88.

[69] No. 93, p. 72.

circumstances, some amount would be paid.[70] Another letter, issued in May of this year, relates to some further details about the particulars of this impending attack. In this letter the Nizam was expected to leave Poona for Purandhar where, as we know, the Peshwa was hoping to arrive as well. The Nizam was anticipated to camp about four leagues from Poona proper.[71] On the 15th May news was communicated about the devastations wrought by the Nizam's forces, which implies that by this date the Nizam had reached his destination—Poona. The Nizam had actually arrived at Poona (*Navābāñcā tūrta mukām yethēnca āhe*). *Rājā* Vināyakdās was at the confluence near Poona. Nothing was left at Poona (*Puṇēcī Kāñhī bāki rāhili nāhi*). In the neighbourhood of Parvati the images were sought and broken. Much destruction was wrought by the Nizam's forces.[72]

As soon as it was known at Poona "that the Nizam was approaching," states Grant Duff rightly, "most of the people removed as much of their property as they could carry away, and fled to the hill-forts, or into the Concan. The Peshwa's family and the state papers were sent off towards Singurh, but Bappoo Kurundeea, one of Jāṇoji Bhonsle's officers, advanced so rapidly, that some of the property belonging to the fugitives was taken, the village below Singurh was set on fire by his troops and many *mss.* and state papers, illustrative of Maratha history, were totally destroyed. Nizam Ali encamped at a short distance from the city and allowed his army to plunder it; after which, all houses which were not ransomed, were torn down or burned. He next preceeded towards Purandhur and from thence ravaged the country as far as the Bhīma: but the violence of the rains

70 No. 94, pp. 72-73.
71 No. 96, pp. 74-75.
72 No. 95, pp. 73-74.

was such as to induce him to adopt the resolution of cantoning his army until the opening of the season. For this purpose he intended to have gone to Bidar, but Jānoji Bhonsle persuaded him to alter the destination to Aurangabad."[73] It has already been noticed that this invasion of Poona must have taken place before 15-5-1763 and that the next scene of action was to be at Purandhar. But the most important point to be remembered is that Jānoji Bhosle was playing the role of a diplomat, who was changing sides as it suited him. This information of Grant Duff can be well compared with an account given by Gaṇesh Viśvanāth who observes that in Poona nothing of any value was left and the place was practically evacuated. There were only some left to guard the houses, and until the Nizam came to the Bhīmā none intended to leave their houses.[74] It is interesting to note that, when threatened by the forces of Vināyakdās, Sinhgaḍh saved itself by paying a ransom of one lakh and thirty five thousand rupees.[75]

Now Raghunāth Rāo was shrewd enough to see that the only Marāṭha leader left in the Nizam's camp, whose defection would endanger serious cause for alarm, was Jānoji Bhosle. His ambitious hopes on joining the Nizam had been damped by a suspicion of the duplicity of Viṭṭal Suṅdar. Therefore when Raghunāth Rāo promised to give him a territory yielding 32 lakhs he agreed to withdraw his support of the Nizam whom he betrayed at a critical moment.[76]

The Battle of Rākṣas Bhūvan

Having invaded Poona successfully the Nizam was turning away to Aurangabad. It may be remembered

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[73] Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, II, p. 174.

[74] No. 97, pp. 75-76.

[75] No. 111, pp. 88-89.

[76] Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 173,

that the Nizam did not leave Poona before he had exacted tribute, the precise amount of which has not been specified. A letter dated 5-5-1763 from Nāro Appāji to Rāma Śāstri states that he had decided to save Poona city by paying some tribute to the Nizam who had encamped then at a distance of about twelve leagues at Nandura. (*Kāhi thoḍe bahūt moghulās devūn śahar vācavāveṅ yā prō majakūr kelā āhe*).[77] When Raghunāth Rāo had made his secret pact with Jānoji Bhosle, he slowly followed in the rear the army of the Nizam, who was marching towards Aurangabad. On arriving at the Godāvari Nizam Ali crossed over, leaving a part of his forces with his Minister Viṭṭal Sundar at Rākṣasa-Bhuvan until all the stores and baggage had been sent over.[78] So early as 29-3-1763 the Peshwa had concentrated some of his forces at this place probably foreseeing that the Nizam would attempt to cross over the Gōdāvarī at this place. On this day he ordered all his village *pāṭils* to remit the *ghāsdāṇa* cess and thus help his encamped forces.[79] But the concentration of the Nizam's troops took place on 10-8-1763.

"At this juncture," says Grant Duff, "Jānoji on pretence of not receiving money to pay his troops quitted the ranks of Viṭṭal Sundar and encamped at a distance. This movement was the signal for Raghunāth Rao who made a rapid march, attacked the Moghuls and after a sanguinary conflict, finally routed them with immense slaughter. Rāja Pertabwant, the Dewan, was among the slain. The resistance was very determined on the part of the Moghuls, and continued for nearly two days. Raghunāth Rao was among the foremost in every attack,

[77] No. 92, p. 71.

[78] Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 174. Grant Duff calls it the battle of Rakisbone, while it was known as Taindulja among the Marāṭhas.

[79] No. 126, pp. 121-22.

and at one time was completely surrounded and cut off from his troops but his own determined bravery, and that of his friend, Sakhārām Hurry, who fought by his side, enabled him to defend himself until rescued by his nephew (The Peshwa). Throughout this battle the young Peshwa particularly distinguished himself, both by personal energy and the judicious support which he sent to different points of the attack. The loss on both sides was very great and that of the Moghuls is said to have amounted to ten thousand men."[80]

Let us now compare this account of an English historian with contemporary records which are authentic. News was received on 11-8-1763 in a fragmentary letter that revenge was taken on Viṭṭal Sundar. On Wednesday at mid-night the Nizam went to Aurangabad by crossing the Gōdāvarī. To him the heads of Viṭṭal Sundar and his nephew, (who had encamped near Cākaṇ on 5-5-1763) and at Poona on 15-5-1763,[81] were sent in palanquins. Gopāḷsingh Khādarkar and Śāhaji Supekar, Khaṇḍgale's son Cavāṇ were slain in this battle. In this attack three canopied elephant-seats were sunk in the river, but who were drowned is not clear. Sakaram Bāpu and Pirāji Nāik Nimbāḷkar were despatched to bring with them Jānoji Bhosle, who was encamped at a distance of four leagues from Rākṣasa Bhuvan and they were expected to meet on 12-8-1763.[82] Nāro Kṛṣṇa Barvē gives some further details. On the 8th Tuesday he relates he heard some excellent news about this great victory. The Nizam, he states was attacked by the Peshwa who completely defeated him. Many of the important *sardārs* in the Nizam's forces perished. The Nizam himself barely escaped with his life (*khās mōṅgal jīv ghevūn*

80 Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 174.
81 Cf. Nos. 92, 95, pp. 71, 73.
82 No. 105, p. 184.

śahurās dākhal yācīn bātami). The Moghul was completely routed.[83] As this news letter is dated 16-8-1763 and the previous one was written on 11-8-1763, the battle must have taken place on the mid-night of 10-8-1763 and not on the 16th August 1763 as was recorded by the Bombay Government.[84]

The Baroda State papers also refer to this great victory. Fatte Singh Gaekwāḍ in a letter dated 23-8-1763 throws some light on this battle. He remarks that Salabat Jung turned away from the battle. Jānoji Bhosle and other *Sardārs* as though naturally dissociated themselves from the Nizam. In the great battle of Rākṣasa Bhuvan half the army of the Nizam was on one side and half on the other—namely, one half had gone over with the Nizam on the other side of the river. At this juncture Dāmāji Gaekwāḍ with his forces attacked the forces of Viṭṭal Sundar and Vināyakdās who were slaughtered and their heads cut off. Their forces were looted, slain and many of them were drowned in the Gōdāvarī.[85] Dhīrōji Pawār, in his letter dated 24-8-1763 to Gōvind Rāo, to whom also the previous letter is addressed, relates that the Moghul's back was broken. Twenty-two *Omrahs* of the Nizam had entered the fight.[86] Moreover it is very interesting to note that Dāmāji Gaekwāḍ must have exerted himself much for an anonymous writer (Mādhav Rāo or Raghōbā?) in a letter dated 25-8-63 informs Dāmāji that he had crossed the Ganges three days ago, evidently in pursuit of the Nizam and gives credit to Dāmāji thus: *Kām Kāj kelēṅ āṇi puḍeṅhi*

[83] No. 105, p. 84.

[84] Forrest, *Selections from Letters, Despatches and Other State Papers*, I, p. 687. (1885.)

[85] *Baroda State Records*, I, No. 97, p. 100.

[86] *Ibid.*, No. 99, p. 102.

tumacā bharvasā āhe,[87] which implies that the writer had faith in him. The writer in all probability appears to have been Rāghoba. The great Marāṭha leaders were congratulated on this mighty victory for it must have looked to them as though the catastrophe of Pānipat, not to mention that of Rākṣasa Tangaḍi was, as though by a divine fate, avenged.

Let us now compare these authentic accounts with the descriptions given in one or two *bakkhars*. The *Bāhusāheb Bakkhar* records that Raghunāth Rāo had fought a battle with the Nizam at Tāṇḍuḷjyā (Rakṣasa Bhuvan). There in a great fight he earned great fame, because the Muslims were routed in such a decisive battle that the victory was complete. The Nizam was routed and from him lands and forts like Dēvagiri and Aśēri and others were recovered. This victory appears to have given great pleasure to Raghunāth Rāo.[88] (*Keval mongal jērīs āṇūn tyājpāsūn mulūk va kille devagir aśēri āṇakhī avāntar killyāncyā sanadā karūn ghetaḷyā*). It is very interesting again to compare this account with the more detailed account as given in the *Pant Pradhān Yānci Śakāvalī*. It relates how the Nizam had first crossed the Gōdāvarī leaving his *Diwān* on one side of the river. The *howdah* of Raghunāth Mahādev was approaching but it was driven back as Viṭṭal Sundar, Vināyakdās, and Ismail Khān with 5000 Pathāns fell on it. He was almost encircled by the Pathān forces which were in front as well as behind. The Peshwa's forces were defeated (*sarkāracaphaujecā mōd jhālā*). But the wonder of God? Then a shot from his own ranks struks Viṭṭal Sundar. The men stood still. Then Malhār Rāo Hōḷkar made an attack and on account of this Viṭṭal Sundar, although defended

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87 *Ibid.*, No. 98, p. 101.

88 *Bāhusāhebcā Bakkhar*, p. 102. (Ed. Sane, Poona, 1922.)

by 7 *ambarīyas* and a large force, was compelled to stand still. Mādhav Rāo Ballāḷ (the Peshwa), who was seated on a horse apart, then rushed with his men on Viṭṭal Sundar's *ambarīyas* and a tough fight commenced. Bābuji Nāik and Dāmāji Gaekwāḍ came to see the Peshwa. At this moment near the Peshwa there were Mahādji Śitole and others. Śitole then said that he would go forth and strike the *ambarī* (of Viṭṭal Sundar ?). On being told that if he came back alive he would be granted the town of Mañjari (in Sātārā Dt.) he rushed into the fight. At this time Mādhav Rāo Narasimh received twenty wounds. The Nizam from the other bank began a cannonade on his own troops on this bank where the battle was going on under Viṭṭal Sundar. It was about four in the evening. The battle was fought after having traversed eleven leagues. Then it became cloudy and it began to rain, and then there was darkness. The Pathāṇs by employing as shelters grass bundles used for horses became wet, but they were attacked and looted by the Peshwa. In this battle Vināyakdās had fallen dead three leagues away while Viṭṭal Sundar was wounded with a bullet shot and he was therefore placed in an *aṁbarī*. Then some grass cutters cut off his head and placed it on the head of a spear. Sadāsiv Rāmacandra and Śambāji Supekar crossed the Gōdāvarī and several sank in the river. The Peshwa was victorious. Twenty-two *Umrāos* with their *ambarīs* were defeated and taken prisoners. The total number of Pathāṇs and Marāṭhas who died in this fight was 30,000. The Nizam, abandoning his cannon where they lay on the other side, fled to Aurangabad. This city was attacked but it was spared, after it was subdued and a tribute exacted from it. Then the Peshwa returned with this booty to the camp.[89]

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[89] *Pant Pradhān Yāñcī Śakāvaḷī*, pp. 22-23.

A comparison of this account with the state papers of the Peshwa reveals some interesting points. This account shows how the Peshwa came to the rescue of the almost defeated Raghunāth Rāo who would have perished but for the young and bold Peshwa. Viṭṭal Sundar's death appears to have been due to an accident but his head was, according to the state papers, despatched on an elephant to the Nizam with that of Vināyakdās. The Peshwa's *Bakkhar* even gives an account of how this young ruler upbraided the treacherous Hōḷkar who suggested to him at a critical moment to leave the field and fly to Poona.[90]

The defeat of the Nizam was considered meritorious. Mahadji Gōvind Kakirde in a letter dated 24-12-1763 in congratulating Raghunāth Rāo says: *svāmīṅce puṇya agādh dharmasaṅsthāpaka tēṇekarūṅhi yaśa prāpta hōteṅ.*[91] Great indeed was the glory of Raghunāth Rāo and by achieving such a victory he made himself glorious as though by the establishment of the Hindu *Dharma*.

It is worth nothing here the way in which Viṭṭal Sundar and Vṇāyakdās met their death. Grant Duff has recorded the statement that the former was accidentally hit by one of his own men before he met his death wound from a party of Marāṭhas under Dāmāji Gāekwāḍ. Murād Khān his rival, is accused of having hired the man who wounded him but this accusation seems more than questionable. A party of Afghans in Hōḷkar's service with their usual ferocity cut off the *Diwān's* head which was carried on the point of a spear.[92] This account does not receive any support from the State papers of the Peshwa wherein it is clearly stated that the heads of Viṭṭal Sundar and Vināyakdās were placed in

90 *Peshwa's Bakkhar*, pp. 85—87: *Rāvsaheb calāveṅ āpaṇ puṇyānce rājya karū.* (Ed.)

91 No. 115, p. 92.

92 Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, foot-note, p. 174.

palanquins and sent to the Nizam, but appears to be in conformity with the Peshwa's *Bakkhar*.

The Results of the Battle.

On routing the Nizam, Raghunāth Rāo crossed the Gōdāvarī and pursued his foe who had fled to Aurangabad. The crossing of rivers was no great feat to the Marāṭhās. It may be remembered that in a letter dated 22-11-1759 Gōvind Ballāḷ describes how he crossed the Ganges and routed the Rohilla.[93] When Nizam Ali saw that his own *Diwān* was in trouble, in sheer desperation he opened fire from the other bank and became, to use Grant Duffs words, "a spectator of the destruction of his own troops without the possibility of succouring them." Later he was obliged to give up the fight as a clear rout and he fled to Aurangabad and it is to this flight which the Marāṭha state papers refer so often. He must have done so because he dreaded that the Marāṭhas would cross the river Gōdāvarī. This object of course was accomplished by Raghunāth Rāo in a few days with the result that he pursued the Nizam unto the very gates of that city which he closely besieged, but inspite of great slaughter they could not capture it. Nevertheless, as the Nizam saw that he could not dislodge the invader so easily, he had the temerity to go in person to Raghunāth Rāo "and with that apparent contrition which he could so well affect, laid all his errors to the fault of his late Dewan, and so worked on the good nature of Raghōba, that he not only forgave all that had happened, but, in consideration of the aid which he had been furnished in his distress, he wished to bestow upon Nizam Ally such part of the cession of fifty-one lacks made by the treaty at Pairgaon as remained at

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[93] Cf. *Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar*, Vol. 40, No. 126, pp. 121-22.

disposal, after deducting the assignments of thirty-two lacks promised to Janojee. His ministers, however, dissuaded him from following his inclination to its full extent, and he was induced to confine the gift to ten lacks so that nine lacks of the original cession was saved, and a new treaty was concluded with Nizam Ally in October."[94] The Bombay Government Records also reveal that Trimbak Rāo, the second son of Śivāji Śankar received estates from Rāghobā *Dādā* "in Hindustan to the amount of seven and a half lakhs of rupees, which were confirmed by the great Mādhav Rāo on account of his distinguished gallantry at the battle of Rākṣhas Bhuvan."[95]

The Marātha state papers throw some further light on the political consequences of this peace. In a letter dated 21-4-1764 Malhar Bābu Rāo stated that to the Nizam one Pāṇḍurang Rāo owed 20 lakhs out of which 5 lakhs were remitted to him. Of the balance 7½ lakhs were to be paid early and the remaining amount could be paid later on. Nizam Ali from Biḍār went as far as Ādoni where he was met by Rāmacandra Jādhav with 6000 soldiers and this meeting was considered an act of submission, as he had joined the ranks of tht Peshwa earlier.[96] But the Nizam was not a person who would forget Jadhav's treachery for the territory assigned to him by the Peshwa was withheld by the Nizam about September, 1764.[97] Another news-letter dated 29-4-1764 relates how Mahādji Sindhia had set forth from Śrīgoṇḍā against Nizam Ali in order to avenge the devastation of his property and his residence. Therefore to meet him the Nizam despatched Rāmacandra Jādhav Rāo, Murād Khān and Mahā Rāo Nim-

[94] Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, pp. 175-76.

[95] Forrest, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 686-87.

[96] Cf. No. 56-57, pp. 43-44; No. 135, p. 111.

[97] No. 125, p. 98-99.

bāḷkar with 5000 soldiers.[98] It is worth noting that in one of the letters of the Peshwa is a circular order dated 24-9-1763 attaching *vatans* and *ināms* of Trimbak Rāo Dabhaḍe for having treacherously joined the Nizam and entrusting them to Dāmāji Gāekwāḍ who was then the *Sena-Khas-Khel*. Herein mention is made of 37 administrative units.[99] Likewise similar services were not forgotten. A news-letter issued in 1762-63 reveals how, having done excellent service during the previous campaign, Maharao Nimbāḷkar was granted by the Peshwa a *sarañjām* yielding 18,000 rupees.[100] But as noticed already he too allied himself with the Nizam before February 1764. Similarly in the previous year the *jahāgir amal* of *Pargaṇa* Lōṇār and Bīḍ belonging to the Nizam were ordered to be attached in 1762-63.[101]

The manly spirit of the young Peshwa Mādhav Rao has already been noticed but it again manifested itself when delivering the deeds by which Jānoji Bhosle was paid for his treachery. Mādhav Rāo is said to have openly reproached him for his treachery to both parties and vehemently condemned "the unprincipled and unworthy motives by which he had been drawn in to become a tool for the subversion of a government, which had aggrandised his father's house and raised the Hindus to the power they enjoyed."[102] The result was that he again became an ally of the Nizam.[103] In this connection it is worth noting how the *Pānt Pradhān Yānci Śakāvaḷī* throws some light on the benefactions made by the Peshwa to

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[98] No. 126, p. 100.

[99] *Satara Raja's and Peshwa's Diaries*, VII, (II) No. 100, pp. 102—4.

[100] *Ibid.*, No. 664, p. 257.

[101] *Ibid.*, IX, (I), No. 5, p. 5.

[102] Grant Duff, *op. cit.*, p. 176.

[103] Cf. No. 124, p. 98.

those who favoured him and helped him in this fight. It relates how Mahādji Śitole was granted an elephant called Rām Bāṇ and the town of Mañjara in the Sātārā District as was promised and also a cash gift of 10,000 rupees. In addition he was made a *Sardār* of 200 soldiers. Gōpāḷ Gōvind, who had also betrayed the Peshwa, was reconciliated by the restoration of his own Miraj which, as we know, was attacked by Raghunāth Rāo who captured it. By now the unfortunate Bhāskar Rāo, the son of Raghunāth Rāo having died, Bhavāni Rāo, who too had fraternised with the Nizam was granted that post. Viṭṭal Cinto, who was the Peshwa's officiating *Phaḍnis*, was deposed and the post was offered to Moro Bābu Rāo who had also become the Nizam's partisan. The emblems of office (clothes) were despatched to him through Bālāji Janārdhan.[104] This restoration reveals that the Peshwa's influence in State administration was becoming an established fact, for by this restoration of old offices to those officers who were deprived of their legitimate posts, the Peshwa showed that he was a genuine statesman, who could patch up differences and restore old and trusted servants of the State to their positions of trust. Raghunāth Rāo, who saw this reversion of his own policy, must have naturally resented this but he must have been wise enough to observe that the young Peshwa was not a fool to be trifled with. It the *Peshwa's* Bakkhar can be trusted it is recorded therein that, after this momentous battle, the young Peshwa gave a good sermon to his old, valiant yet imprudent uncle for all that had happened and was apparently forgiven.[105] But one thing was certain and that was that the Peshwa's sagacity had triumphed and it could no more be flouted whether Raghunāth Rāo liked it or not, for it was a well

104 *Pant Pradhān Yānci Sakāvali*, p. 23.

105 *Peshwa's Bākkhar*, p. 87.

known fact that the Peshwa was a man of power and his authority henceforth could not be ignored.

We may now point out some of the economic consequences of this great battle. Serveral villages, which were devastated, were abandoned by the farmers, arrears of revenue were not paid and suffering was common. The Peshwa took prompt measures to alleviate this distress. A letter of 1763-64 reveals that Śāma Rāo Abāji requested permission to remit arrears of revenue due from ryots as the province had been plundered by the Nizam and the province had sufferred great loss in the preceding year. He was informed that he had authority to grant whatever remissions he considered necessary, bearing in mind the embarrassed circumstances of the Government. (*thōḍ mōḍ karūn lāvaṇi karūn. . . sarkārcī voḍīcā majkūr tumhās ṭhāvuka āhē*).[106] This practice by which remissions were made is worth noting in some detail. In 1763-64 Bhikāji Viśvanāth, *Havildār* of *Tarf* Khēḍ Cakaṇ, and the *Deśmukh* and the *Deśpāṇḍe* of *Sarkār* Junnar, represented that the village of *prānt* Junnar had been plundered and burnt by the Moghuls. It was therefore necessary that the *Subhedār* should not arrive and that the season of sowing was passing away. They requested permission to issue *kowls* to the ryots and the following were issued :

(1) villages which had been totally burnt down and robbed of cattle, forage and grain to be exempt from assessment for one year.

(2) villages partially burnt and partially plundered to be subject to half the assessment for one year.

(3) villages which had only been plundered but not

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106 *Satara Raja's and Peshwa's Diaries*, VII, (II), No. 422, pp. 14-15.

burnt to be subject to 1/3rd assessment for one year.

(4) villages which had saved themselves by paying a subsidy to be subject to half the assessment for one year.

(5) villages which had received no harm to be subjected to full assessment.

(6) the assessment for the following year was to be fixed afterwards according to the circumstances of each village.[107]

This system, though by no means original,[108] shows how the Peshwas took care to introduce a careful and reasonable system of revenue. The revenue recoverable was to be paid by instalments and with an eye to other conditions of the period and place. Such concessions were issued to most of the villages which were ravaged so that agriculture could again be revived and the payment of land revenue, which was one of the most important sources of revenue, become once more a constant source of state income.

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107 *Ibid.*, No. 429, pp. 18-19.

108 Cf. My paper, *The Beginnings of the Marāṭha Revenue System*, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. 15, 1939, pp, 43—49,

HISTORY OF THE TERM KOTWAL AND HIS OFFICE

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There are many social and political terms prevalent at the present day which have come down from very ancient times often with but slight modification and alterations both in form and in the functions and obligations associated with the office they indicate. The biography of such terms is highly interesting, and the vissicitudes through which the word *Kotwal* has passed since very early times of our history afford an apt illustration of this class of words.

Despite the belief of certain Western scholars that the *Kotwal* is a word of Persian origin, it is established beyond question that the word is of Hindi origin.[2]

The office which the word Kotwal signified prior to the Muslim conquest and with some alterations during the Muslim rule can be traced back at least to the time of Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra. But at that time, as we find in the Arthaśāstra, the term *durgapāla* which is an exact synonym of Kotwal, was in vogue. The functions and duties, however, which appertained to the office of

[1] *E.g.*, Sir R. Burn. (Oxford.)

[2] *Vide* Karim-ul-Lughat (Lahore, 1867). On p. 268 it lays
س لفظ میں اختلاف هے یعنی کهتے هیں که اصل میں کوت وال
تها یعنی محافظ قلعه کا بهر تقدیر یه لفظ هندی کا هے
The Hindi Shabd Sagar also affirms the same origin (कोट पाल) of the word, as also other Persian dictionaries corroborate the same origin. Sir R. Burn (I.C.S., Retd.) insists that the word is of Persian origin.

Durgapāl were exactly the same as those of the Koṭapāla of the subsequent Hindu kingdoms.

I have not found any such officer in Gupta inscriptions. The only officer who resembles Koṭapāla in the administration of the Great and later Guptas is *Pustapāla*, whose duty, according to R. D. Banerjee, was the valuation of land. Nor does this officer find mention in connection with the government of Harsha of Kanauj. It may be that the term Koṭapāla or Durgapāla had fallen into desuetude for sometime; for we find it revived in the 9th century.

The Bhagalpur grant of Nārāyaṇapāla (A.D. 875—900) mentions *Koṭapāla*, as an officer in charge of forts.

Then in the Gurjara Pratihāra plates we find that the term koṭapāla was used as the designation of a military officer in-charge of forts and outposts which were built on the boundaries of kingdoms and provinces, to protect them from external attacks.[3] Under Bhoj I (Mihir Bhoj, A.D. 840—890) Alla was the koṭṭapāla.[4]

Then the word *Kotwal* is referred to as having been current in Ghazni as early as the 11th century A.C. Bu-ali-Hasan, Kotwal of Ghazni was sent in 1048 (A.D.) by Sultan *Maudud* (grandson of Mahmud) to curb the aggression of the 'Khilj who had been very turbulent during the Amir's absence, and he was ordered to bring them to terms, or attack them.'[5] The use of the term in Ghazni so early seems enough evidence for us to presume that it should have been current during the regime of the Hindu Shahi dynasty and was inherited and retain- by the Yaminis, as a convinient and significant term. In 1192 a Katwal was appointed in the fort of mirat

[3] E.I., Vol. I, 156—60.

[4] Vide, Dr. R. P. Tripathi's History of Kanauj, pp. 339-340.

[5] Elliot, II, p. 146,

(Meerut) by Kulbuddin Tyleek. (Elliot II. 219). There is also reference to the kotwal of the fort of Deokot in Assam in 1205, A.C. in the T.N. (See Elliot, II., 315).

That the *Kotwal* or *Koṭapāla* continued to be an officer in charge of forts down to the age of the Dihli Sultanate is evidenced by the duties which that officer had to perform. All the cities during that period used to be enclosed by a wall or fortification around them for the sake of protection, and the primary duty of the *Kotwals* was to guard the fortifications and the gates of which they had the keys. For instance, when Ala-uddin-Khalji, after murdering his uncle, proceeded to Dihli (Siri) the officers of the city came out to meet him, among whom there were the kotwals with the keys of the forts.'[6] It seems the author is referring here to the kotwals of several towns in the neighbourhood of Dihli. That the office of kotwal of the capital town was as high and respectable as that of a minister of the Court needs no showing. But there are evidences also to show that he exercised certain magisterial functions.

Under Akbar, however, the powers and obligations of the kotwal were thoroughly defined. He was solely incharge of the town administration and his functions in connection with the town in his charge were, at least in theory, the most comprehensive conceivable, being in certain respects even wider than those of the municipal bodies of the present day.

The kotwal was among the high officials of the State. His appointment was made by the Imperial Government on the recommendation of the Mir. Atesh (Commander of Artillery).

His powers and duties may be summarised under the following heads: (1) Watch and Ward of the Town, (2) Control of the Market, (3) Care and legitimate disposal

6 Elliot, III, p. 160.

of heirless property, (4) Care af the people's conduct and prevention of crime, (5) Prevention of social abuses such as sati, infanticide, etc., (6) Regulation of cemetries, burials and slaughter houses. In order to enable the kotwal to perform these duties efficiently he was allowed all the necessary facilities and to use his discretion. It will be seen that the *kotwal* of the Mughal Government had usurped, as it were, almost all the functions of the *Muhtasib* of the *Khilafat* governments.

But in addition to the above mentioned municipal and police duties the Kotwal of the *Sarkar* towns, at any rate, also acted as a senior criminal magistrate over the *shigdar* of the *parganah*, and if his head quarter town happened to be a post, he also acted as customs officer and port magistrate.[7] Cases which were not within the cognisance of the court of the *shiqdar*, that is to say the parganah court, went up to the criminal court of the *Sarkar* presided over by the *Kotwal*. Manrique, a European traveller and merchant (who came and lived in India from 1640-1653 A.D.) mentions several instances in which the Kotwal acted as magistrate in criminal cases.[8] It may not, however, be denied that there were qazis also who tried criminal cases.

That the Kotwal acted as a magistrate trying criminal cases is further borne out by the following foreign as well as indigenous testimony, leaving no room for doubt.

(1) In a *farmān* of instructions for the guidance of officials issued by Aurangzeb, the last clause (No. 33.) enjoins upon him to personally investigate the case of any one who is brought to his court by the complainant,

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[7] Mañrique (Hak) II, pp. 120—123; 135—37.

[8] Travels of F. S. Manrique, I, 419. For a full treatment of the office of the kotwal during the Mughal period see my 'Provincial Government of the Mughals', pp. 231—236; 389; and 400—403.

or by his own men or by any official, and to release or punish him according as he found him innocent or guilty. But if he be accused of any offence against the Shariyat, he should be sent to the qazis court and if there be a revenue case against him, he should be sent to the *Subadar*.[9]

Now this clause gives us an unmistakable clue as to how the classification of cases was made between the Kotwal, the Qazi and Subadar. It is significant that the Faujdar is not mentioned in connection with the judiciary anywhere. Cases of crimes of an ordinary nature, e.g., theft, had to be tried by the Kotwal and those of a religious character, such as fornication, drinking, etc., were tried by the Qazi, and the revenue cases by the Subahdar.

(2) Tavernier tells us that 'the office of *Kotwal* was a sort of barrier where a provost administers justice to those of the quarter.' (Tavernier, Tr. by Ball, p. 92.)

(3) Pelsaert bears testimony to the fact that questions of divorce, quarrels, fights were in the hands of the Kotwal and the Qazi. (Pelsaert, Tr. by Moreland.)

(4) Thevenot is still more definite and precise: "The governor of the town judges in civil cases and commonly renders speedy justice. He meddles not at all in criminal cases. *The Kotwal takes cognisance of criminal cases.* His other main duty is to guard the town. Nevertheless neither the civil nor criminal judges can put any one to death. (Thevenot, part III., pp. 90-91.)

The Kotwal's kutchery (court) was called Chabutra. A very independent and highly interesting evidence of this comes from a source altogether unsuspected and not

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9 Mirat-i-Ahmadi, (Ethes Cat. of Persian Mss. in the India Office Library, London, No. 3597, fol. 165b).

10 The faujdars, as I have discussed in detail in my 'Prov. Govt. of the Mughals' were military and executive officers of *Sarkars*, but they never enjoyed any magisterial powers.

yet utilised by historians of the Muslim period. A very interesting work of the 15th century A.D., written in a language which is a mixture of Sanskrit words and phrases with many words and phrases of the Gujarati dialect has been edited and published in the Gaikwar Oriental Series. The title of the work is *Lekhpaddhati*[11] (लेखपद्धति) In Appendix I of this book the editor has also included were old deeds of the 16th and 17th centuries in which the name of the title Koṭapāla is repeated several times, e.g., p. 69 re कोट्टपालक, p: 70 दुर्गपाल, p. 71 कोटपालक p. 76 and p. 77 कोटवाली, His kutchery is called Chotra (चोतरा, चोतरिं) and also Maṇḍapikā. It shows that in common parlance, in certain localities, at any rate, the term *koṭapāla* as an alternative of kotwal was still surviving, and that his court was called either *chabutra* or *chotra*. It is also interesting to note that these documents mention in addition to the Kotwal some other high state officers as *Hākim*, *Waqia-navis*, *Dīwan* and *Qāzī* and refers to all of them together as constituting a *Pañcha-kula*, e.g.,

स्वस्तिं श्रीसंवत् १७२४ वर्षे माघ सुदी ७ मुखे अद्येह पातशाहा श्री सुलतान शाहा आलम ग्यरी साहिब कुरान शानी धार्मिक सत्यवादी वाचा अविचल ज्यवन-कुलतिलक सकलरायां शिरोमणि ।

-- महाराजराज्येश्वर एहवो पातशाहा श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री श्री औरंगजेब सरव-मुद्राराज्यं करोति ।

तस्यादेशात् श्री गुजरातमध्ये सो० श्रीराजनगरे सोबे साहिब नुबाप श्री महबत-पान दीवानी श्री श्री हाजीमहिमद सफि छि । हवि षासषत षालसि श्री षंभायत हवालि मीर्या श्री श्री जहान अलावदीन हवड़ा श्री सूरतमध्ये छे । ते षंभायतनी चोषडीइ

[11] Published in Gaekwad's Oriental series, Vol. XIX. The Editor has assigned this work to the 15th century on the basis of the last *lekha* on p. 57 which is dated V.S. 1533 A.D. 1477. In the Appendices the book also contains documents of the times of Shah Jahan and Aurangzeb, whose names are quoted in the respective documents dated V.S. 1788—1651, A.D.; V. S. 1715 1658; V.S. 1724—A.D. 1667. A.D. Vide pp. 72—77, I am indebted for the reference to *Lekhapaddhati* to my friend Dr. V. S. Agrawala, Curator, Lucknow Museum.

न्यायकर्ता हाकिम मीयाँ श्री मीरजुगला कजाइकानी श्री महिमदसरागदीन वाके निकसे मीयाँ श्री एहमद बेग दीवानी श्री किशुरदास श्री कोटवाली चोतरि मीर काशमबेग बेसे छे ।

एवमादीपंचकुल प्रतिपतौ...... ।

It shows that in the Vikrama year **1724**, in the reign of Aurangzeb (whose imperial titles are repeated) the governor सूबा साहिब of Gujarat was Mahabat Khan and the Diwani was in the hands of one Haji Md. Shafi. The local administration of Khambayat at that time was entrusted to five officers, viz., a Hākim, Qāzī, Waqanawis, Diwan who was usually a Hindu, and a Kotwal who held his office on the chotri.

INDIA'S EPOCHS IN WORLD-CULTURE:

BY

DR. BENOY KUMAR SARKAR

Culture-Creation as Domination

There are academicians, philosophers and publicists, both in East and West, who cannot feel happy unless they make a distinction between culture and civilization. The present writer is not one of them. In his vocabulary culture and civilization are identical terms. The distinction is generally made in Germany where *Kultur* is taken to be more profound, more creative and more substantial than civilization. In France, as a rule, scientists and *les hommes des lettres* fight shy of the word 'culture'. To them the sweetest word is *la civilisation francaise*. Italians are like the French in this respect. Italy does not care for *la coltura* so much as for *là civilizzazione*. In English thought the custom continues to be more or less French although the German term and ideology were introduced by Matthew Arnold among others. American intellectuals have not gone in definitely for one way or the other. They use culture and civilization indifferently. Those contemporary Eur-American sociologists or philosophers who want to exhibit their up-to-dateness in German vocabulary, especially the ideologies propagated by Spengler, have to refer to the distinctions observed in Germany by way of preliminary observations. But they virtually ignore them as they proceed unless they happen to be exponents of the Spenglerian or some allied thesis.

To the present author culture or civilization is nothing but the Sanskrit or virtually all-Indian *Kriṣṭi*, *Samskriti* or *Sabhyatā*. It is a synonym for the creations of man whatever they are, good, bad or different.

No moral significance is to be attached to the word. Culture or civilization is entirely unmoral, carrying no appraisal of values, high or low. We have just a term describing the results of human creativity. It is desirable to be clear about it at the very outset.

Any creation of man being culture, the most important item in it is the force behind culture, the culture making agency, the factor that produces or manufactures culture. The analysis of culture or civilization is nothing but the analysis of man's creative urges, energies or forces It is the will that creates. It is the intelligence that creates, and perhaps likewise it is the emotion that creates. The first thing that counts in the human personality, in tht individual or group *psyche* is the desire to create. And the second thing certainly is the power to create. In culture or world-culture we are interested in this desire of man and this power of man to create.

It is the nature of human creativity to be endowed with interhuman impacts, good or bad. Social influence is to be postulated of creation as such. Every creation exerts automatically an influence upon the neighbourhood. The influence may be beneficial or harmful. The creation is perhaps only the production of a food-plant a cave-dwelling, an earthen pot, a song, or a story. But the creator influences the neighbour as a matter of course. His work evokes the sympathy or antipathy of the men and women at hand or far off. It thus dominates the village, the country and the world, be the manner or effect of domination evil or good. Creation is essentially domination. To create is to conquer, to dominate. No domination, no creativity.

The desire and the power to dominate is, then, the fundamental feature in every creative activity, in every expression of culture. In every culture we encounter the desire to dominate and the power to dominate. The qua-

lity, quantity and variety of men and women who have the desire and the power to dominate set the limits of the culture-making force in a particular region or race. In order to be able to make a culture or possess an epoch in world-culture a region or race must have a large number of varied men and women effectively endowed with this desire and power to dominate.

The term 'world' in world-culture is not to be taken too literally so as to encompass all the four quarters of the universe and all the two billions of human beings. The smallest environment of an individual is his world. As soon as he has created something his culture has influenced the neighbour. It may then be said already to have conquered the world and made or started an epoch. It is clear that the words, conquest and domination, are not being used in any terroristic, terrifying or tyrannical sense. There is nothing sinister in these words, nothing more sinister at any rate than in the word, influence or conversion.

Once in a while, or very often, it may so happen that while A's creation or culture is influencing, converting, conquering or dominating his neighbour B, B's creation or culture is likewise at the same time influencing, converting, conquering and dominating A. This sort of mutual influence, mutual conversion, reciprocal conquest or reciprocal domination is a frequent, nay, an invariable phenomenon in inter-human contacts. Hardly any religious conversion of a large group in the world's history has been one-sided. It has as a rule led to a give-and-take between two systems of cult. Acculturation or the acceptance and assimilation of one culture by a region or race of another culture furnishes innumerable instances of this mutuality in domination or reciprocity in conquest. But that the essential item in culture is influence, conversion, conquest or domination is however never to be lost sight of.

The position is, then, very simple. Whenever this man over here or that man over there, be in a position to influence another man, his neighbour, it is to be admitted that the other man has been converted or conquered by this man. Whenever we find that one group of human beings has made an invention or a discovery and when that invention or that discovery has been accepted by another group as an invention or a discovery that is likely to be useful to itself, we understand that the first group has made an epoch in world-culture.

This position may be described in the words of some of the forefathers, the fathers' fathers, and greatgrand-fathers of our Iddian races. It so happens that this attitude in regard to culture, world-culture and the making of world-culture is the mentality of young India during the Vedic period. One of the *Riṣis*, one of the nearly thousand poets of Vedic India, has a passage, a verse like the following. Man (*Puruṣa*) is describing himself to the Earth (*Dharitrī*) in the following manner:

Ahamasmi sahamāna
Uttaro nāma bhūmyām
Abhīṣādasmi viśwāsād
Āśāmāśām viṣāsahi

This is what a poet of the *Atharva Veda* says about man's place in the world. "Mighy am I," says Man to the Earth, "Superior (*Uttara*) by name, conquering am I, all-conquering (*Viśwāsād*), completely conquering every region."

This is the present writer's conception of culture,—the urge, the force, the spirit behind world-culture—the agency that has brought about epochs in world-culture. This conception appears to have been prominent in the mind of one of the oldest poets of the Indo-Aryan world.

This conception of the making of epochs was also shared by no less a world-figure than Śākyasimha the

Buddha. The Pali *Sutta-nipāta* has a *Sela-Sutta*. Here we find Buddha declaring himself as follows: "A king am I, the king supreme of righteousness. The royal chariot-wheel (*Chakra*) in righteousness do I set rolling on, that wheel that no one can turn back again." Buddha was but employing the vocabulary of his con emporaries, the statesmen who were attempting to become *Rāja-Chakravartins* or *Sārva-bhaumas* (world-rulers) in the political domain. His creative imagination or will, intelligence and feeling was harnessed to *digvijaya* (the conquest of all directions). He was self-conscious enough to understand that his creation, the wheel, had encompassed the world. Buddha is thus seen continuing the tradition of the Vedic *Riṣis* in regard to the making of culture.

Our poet Kālidāsa can also be quoted as an illustration of the point of view that is maintained by the present writer as regards culture and the making of cultures. Let us look at the wonderful heroes of Kālidāsa's *Raghu-vamśa*. What were Raghu, his ancestors and successors in Kālidāsa's imagination? They were

Āsamudrakṣitīśānām
Ānākarathavartmanām.

Kālidāsa's creations were nothing short of

"Lords of the lithosphere from sea to sea
Commanding the skies by chariots of air."

They were, in one word, world-conquerors, rulers of rulers, bent on and capable of establishing *Pax Sārvabhaumica* (peace of the *Sārvabhauma* or world-monarch) corresponding to the *Pax Romana* of those days in the West.

The Vedic *Riṣi*, Buddha and Kālidāsa, all thought alike. Their mentalities are being exhibited here simply as illustrations or specimens from old India of the present writer's idea of culture as a function of the desire and power of man to dominate the world.

Military-Political Imperialism

In this vocabulary domination or conquest, be it repeated, is not a dangerous category. It is akin to conversion or influence. Let us then proceed with the analysis of domination as a social fact, as an historic phenomenon in the relations between individuals or groups. If we begin to classify the dominations or conquests known in the history of the world, it appears that they can be grouped in two different orders. The first is the physical domination of one race by another. To it belongs the military conquest of one country by another, the political subjugation of one people by another. The government of one country by another country is one kind of domination. This is generally known as imperialism, imperialism of the political-militaristic order.

Now there is another kind of domination, imperialism or empire-building. And this consists in the conversion of a people that has a particular system of ideas to another system of beliefs, ideas, etc. It is a conversion, a subjugation of one set of ideas and ideals by another. It consists in a transformation of the morals, manners, sentiments, laws, etc., of one people, race or region by the moralities, spiritualities, arts and sciences, etc., of another people, race or region. This is also an imperialism or domination.

Thus there are two kinds, orders or systems of imperialism. One is the political-militaristic, the other is the ideological world-domination. The making of epochs in culture can belong either to the one or to the other system of imperialism. Illustrations of both these types of imperialism are to be found among the experiences of the Indian peoples, as among those of certain other peoples in the world.

In regard to the military-political imperialism we shall take up the Western world first. We have been taught to believe, in schools and colleges and through the journalistic world by political leaders, that the Western races do not make slaves among themselves and that they but conquer the East. The militarist-political domination of one people by another is not alleged to be in the European traditions. Europeans and Americans are supposed to be peoples who have never known the subjugation of one race by another, the millitarist-political domination of one country by another and so forth. This is the exact opposite of historic reality.

We shall give only one illustration. Let us, for instance, take England. The people of England was conquered by foreign peoples oftener than once. England was a foreign-dominated country for hundreds of years. England is in Europe, and the peoples that conquered England were the peoples of Europe. The history of England for nearly a thousand years was off and on the story of the government of one people by another. England belonged to the race of subject nations, to the group of slaves who could be governed by foreigners as a "cattle farm," to use an expression from the British philosopher, John Stuart Mill. For a quite a long time, as everybody will recall, England was a slave of Romans. This Roman rule in Britain was an illustration of imperialism of the militaristic-political type. To be precise, the Romans ruled Britain for nearly three hundred and fifty years. The "Barbarian" or Teutonic conquests also were foreign conquests, and followed hard upon the Roman domination. The Danish rule was likewise a foreign rule. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, again, it was the French people who ruled England. This island was the colony of western France from the Somme to the Pyrenees. The Norman and Angevin Dukes or zemindars of western

France who were the "vassals" of the Kings of eastern France were the rulers of England.

Hundreds of similar instances can be quoted. From the earliest Greek and Roman times until today Europe has ever been a continent of races or peoples governed by foreign races or peoples. Militaristie-political domination has been an eternal feature in the destiny of Europe.

Europeans have not always been used to respecting the liberties of other Europeans. The tug of war between European peoples for the military-political domination of European territories is one of the permanent items in the history of world-culture. The peoples of Europe have also known for quite long centuries the militaristic-political subjugation by non-European, e.g., Asian races, peoples or nations. The domination of southern and eastern Europe by the Arabs, Mongols and Turks is too patent a fact in the annals of civilization.

Let us now come to the East. In regard to Asia also we have been taught to believe that imperialism of the militaristic-political type was unknown in her tradition. Our forefathers on the banks of the Ganges and the Godavari, the Indus, the Tigris, the Euphrates and the Nile, the Hwangho and the Yangtsze are alleged to have been non-militaristic in their outlook and view of life. Many of us have been seriously believing that the Orient has never known the subjugation of one people by another people. Such beliefs are so palpably untrue to facts that they should be treated with contempt as but hallucinations. The present writer's mentality is the furthest removed from such beliefs. The historic reality is that Asians were as adept and happy in establishing militaristic-political domination as Europeans. There was no difference between them on this score.

Well, what about our own country, India? It is said that we here in India are used only to *ahiṁsā*. This

notion is being preached from house-tops by certain sections of Indian philosophers, Indian statesmen and Indian historians. If some one were to declare that for five thousand years from the epochs of Mohenjodaro and the *Rig Veda* down to Tipu Sultan, Baji Rao and Ranjit Singh, our fathers, grandfathers and great-grand-fathers were only counting beads and cultivating *ahimsā*, the tendency among a large body of intellectuals in India to call him a philosopher of the first rank would be very obvious. Not to fight, to be worthless in secular matters, to fail in worldly wisdom were the characteristics of ancient and medieval Indians according to these philosophers of the first rank. This is the mentality also of a very large number of European and American scholars known as Orientalists, who try to din into the ears of their victims at Oxford, Cambridge, New York, Berlin and Paris that Indians were wonderful metaphysicians exclusively interested in "the other world" and utterly incompetent to manage the things of here below. One is at liberty to cultivate this mentality. But let us have a little bit of our factual history.

We shall draw attention only to one or two periods of Indian life from Mohenjodaro down to 1850, to see whether any generation was unsecular, unmilitaristic and unpolitical. The wars of the Vedic period are too well-known. If the *Riṣis* of ancient India understood any thing they understood killing, burning and destroying. They were the last persons to cultivate *ahimsā*. Let us come down to the Maurya Empire (313—185 B. C.). This was established 160 years after Śākyasimha (Buddha) who is known to have preached the cult of *ahimsā*. This empire was, as is well-known, larger than the British Empire of India today. But do we once in a while realize—those of us who are philosophers and metaphysicians—that this empire was the domination of one race over many races ? Do we ever

try to understand that this empire was nothing but the subjugaion of different peoples and different regions by one particular people and one particular region? Yes, it was a domination, a foreign domination, from top to bottom as long as it lasted. We know quite well that the Maurya Empire is older than the Roman Empire. Thus it is clear that it is our forefathers, the Hindus, who, inspite of 160 years of Buddha's teachings, preceded the Romans and all subsequent Europeans in the matter of establishing domination over foreign peoples and countries. Imperialism of the militaristic-political type belongs to the irreducible minimum of ancient Indian culture.

Let us, then, take one particular sovereign of this Maurya Empire, our great, beloved and enlightened monarch Asoka. We are told that Asoka was a paternal ruler. In one of his edicts he calls the people his children. Paternalism is a good virtue and is to be respected as such. Now, about his conquest of Orissa. Tremendous blood-shed, we are told, was the price of this conquest. We are told also that Asoka shed bitter tears over this calamity. We can take it for granted that he shed tears at this blood-shed. For, after all, we are human beings. And it is human nature as a rule to sympathize with people in their miseries. In modern wars also kings and presidents of republics shed tears over the casualties occurring even among the enemies. It is, further, the custom to offer prayers and garlands at the tombs of *le soldat inconnu* (the unknown soldier) in all countries. Asoka's tender sentiments must have been touched on the occasion of the Orissan horrors. Here, however, as students of history we should be careful enough to note that in ancient times warfares were not very serious affairs in regard to blood-shed. Actual killings could hardly be numerous. Most of the casualties were in the nature of maimed bodies. The ankles, we may believe, might be sprained, the jaws

half broken, the muscles swollen, the noses bleeding, and so on. Those wars were very akin to physical exercises and sports. All the same, Asoka's tears are not to be overlooked.

But did Asoka make Orissa free? Did he grant Orissa any "dominion status" or some sort of *swaraj* and self-rule? No. Instead of doing anything like this he swallowed Orissa and annexed it to the Maurya Empire. This gives another proof of the fact that Indians are as capable of political domination or militaristic imperialism as Europeans. There is hardly any difference as human beings between East and West.

Indians were not more moral and more spiritual than Europeans, and Auropeans were not more militaristic, more materialistic, more power-loving and domination-loving than Indians. And therefore the philosophy that is today very popular in India, the metaphysics by discussing which we can get recognized overnight as brilliant philosophers, the ism which says that there is a fundamental difference between East and West in regard to outlook on life, life's viewpoints and world-conceptions are entirely fallacious.

What is Ahimsā?

Now let us analyse the word *ahimsā*. That word has become very common nowadays. Unless we use the word in season and out of season we cannot digest our food. But what could this Sanskrit word have meant? We are taught by philosophers, historians and politicians also to believe that *ahimsā* is the special gift of mother India, the characteristic and exclusive contribution of India to world-culture. I should, therefore, like to know exactly in which period our mother India coined that word. Exactly what did mother India mean by this category, *ahimsā*, in that period? We should ask every-

body to institute researches into the doctrine of *ahimsā*. We must ransack three orders of texts, the Buddhist Pali texts, the Jaina Prakrit texts, and finally, the Sanskrit Buddhist and Hindu texts. We shall have to ascertain, first, how many times that word has been used by our forefathers, and, secondly, how many times it was employed to mean the kind of *ahimsā* that is being propagated nowadays by our Indian scholars, leaders and philosophers as the special cult of India.

The present writer's researches into this subject—and without mock modesty it may be said that they are not very extensive—lead to the conclusion, a very simple proposition, that every child understands. In ancient and medieval India the word *ahimsā* signifies—"Do not be jealous, do not be envious, do not be malicious, etc." To a plain blunt man, *ahimsā* means simply absence of jealousy, envy, malice or hatred. This is not a very dangerous proposition after all. This is a copy-book maxim of morality discovered by every race and in every region. If this is to be paraded as the specific contribution of our mother India, we shall be challenged by the representatives of all races because this can be proven to be their contribution also. And if our mother India cannot make any better show we should have to feel sorry for the poverty of her creativities. In any case, it is clear that by emphasizing this notion our leaders are serving to make India the laughing stock of all nations.

Another interpretation which can be discovered, not according to imagination but from the texts, is as follows: *Himsā*=killing. *Ahimsā*=non-killing, don't kill. Indians were taught not to kill. Yes. But not to kill what? This lamp post over here or the tree over there? The interpretation that is most common in Buddhistic literature and Jaina Prakrit literature is—"Do not kill animals." But orthodox Hindus know that many of us

are used to animal sacrifices. Not every Bengali knows what Mother Kālī does in the non-Bengali parts of India. But our Bengali Kālī *Kalkattawali* eats goats. To a Bengali Hindu, therefore, animal sacrifice is perfectly legitimate. But we can take it that "do not kill an animal" was and continues to be a moral precept among Buddhists, Jainas and to a certain extent also among sections of Hindus, e.g., Vaiṣṇavas. Animal sacrifice is likely to appear cruel in certain eyes. And, therefore, it is easy to believe that non-killing of animals is treated as an injunction of piety and mercy by some classes. All the same, we must not make too much of it as a doctrine or a philosophy. It is just a commonplace dictum of kindness. On this basis one can establish a Society for the prevention of cruelty to animals. Non-killing of animals is a very simple proposition, not an unreasonable proposition, and can be readily understood.

What did the benevolent and merciful Asoka do in this regard? Asoka issued a *firman* to forbid the killing of animals. So far so good. Whether that *firman* was an act of "positive" law we should like to ask our learned friends, the lawyers, to establish. We are not yet perfectly clear about that. To what extent were the edicts of Asoka regarded as the civil and criminal codes of India? We should like this topic to be taken up by students of historical jurisprudence. For the present, we believe that to a certain extent Asoka's *Hitopadeśa* was a sort of morality, perhaps positive morality, but whether it was positive law is not always beyond doubt, indeed, very often questionable.

Me this as it may, what did our Asoka say? He said something like the following: "Do not kill animals, and I am happy that in my regime during the last so many years as a result of my propaganda people have been observing *ahimsā*." But in the edicts he says likewise as

follows: "If you my children do not follow my advice I have a sanction." And what is that sanction? Capital punishment. That is, men were to be killed by Asoka if they were to kill an animal. This is the interpretation of *ahimsā* in Indian history by the very champion and *avatar* of *ahimsā*.

These, then, are the two interpretations of *ahimsā*. Today *ahimsā* is being made to mean a third thing. It is being treated as equivalent to non-war, the abandonment of violence or killing in organized human groups. One group of human beings is not to kill another group of human beings, and there is to be no state of war. This is a new proposition altogether different from non-malice and non-killing of animals. The question is this: Does Asoka or does any Buddhist preacher or does even the Buddha himself ever banish war, i.e., organized violence as an instrument for the decision of affairs between any two groups of human beings? Has war, i.e., killing of human beings in organized groups been declared immoral and illegal in any of the Indian legal and moral codes? We ask if *ahimsā* in our Indian literature of the earliest times and of medieval times and later times has ever meant the renunciation or annihilation of war, i.e., the abandonment of mutual killings between human groups. It would be necessary to know on how many occasions and by whom war was ever declared unjustifiable, immoral, and illegal in Indian history.

Indeed, it is very difficult to quote satisfying instances from Indian texts. In the present writer's judgment the concept of war as something illegal, immoral, unjustifiable is not an Indian doctrine. Ancient and medieval Indian thought, Hindu or Moslim, can lay no claim to this concept. It is a contribution of the Western world to the problem of relations between groups. It is a doctrine of modern times and modern civilization. This

doctrine is the creation of Europeans and Americans in the nineteenth century. Perhaps we can trace it back historically to the eighteenth century and even earlier. For the time being, we need not carry on antiquarian researches. So, for the present, *ahimsā*, meaning thereby pacifism in intergroup or international relations, is to be taken as an entirely modern category unknown in Indian political tradition, Indian philosophy, and Indian metaphysical literature.

The present writer is not a politician or a party man. We are masters of our conscience and have right to be pacifists in international morality if we care to. But while preaching or practising pacifism we have no right to believe or to propagate that we are observing *ahimsā* as known in ancient and medieval India. We may even give a new meaning to the old term *ahimsā* if we so desire. But we must not father our own view on old India. As pacifists we are following the modern Western thinkers, perhaps the Quakers, perhaps the socialists. May be, Jean Jaurès, the French socialist, is our *guru*. But we cannot pretend to follow the Jaina Tirthankaras or the Buddhist preachers who were utterly innocent of the limitation or abandonment of wars. Neither Mahāvīra nor Buddha nor Asoka understood *ahimsā* in the sense of international pacifism or socialist non-violence which we may be preaching today. We should have extensive researches carried on into this interesting problem. In case Mahāvīra, Buddha, or Asoka can be demonstrated to have forbidden warfare, i.e., organized killing between groups as inhuman, unpolitical, illegal, and abominable, we should be very happy as Indians to claim for our fatherland some of the originators of the cult, albeit purely speculative and theoretical, with which the names of Abbé St. Pierre, Immannel Kant and others in the Western world are associated.

But situated as indology today is, we have to admit that in the matter of militarist domination Indians are as good or as bad as Europeans. If we take all the decades of Indian history and compare them with all the decades of European history, we shall have nothing to choose between the two on the score of *ahimsā*. The Chola Empire of Southern India was not based on *ahimsā*. It was the result of blood and iron. Neither Alauddin nor Akbar encountered *ahimsā* or practised it among the peoples of India, south, east or west. Let us take the Moghul Empire. What was it but a militarist-political domination? What was the Maratha Empire? Did it not embody the domination of one people over other peoples? The C.P., the U.P., and Gujarat need not be reminded of this fact. We cannot likewise ignore the fact that the Marathas as a people were the greatest world-conquerors of Indian history in the military-political fields. In the present writer's appraisal Shivaji was and continues to be the greatest Hindu of all ages. His exploits it was that rendered possible the establishment of a military-political empire that became the greatest world power on the Indian stage in the eighteenth century. In the interest of metaphysical neurosis or some psychological aberrations the world cannot be compelled to ignore and forget this history of the last two hundred years.

No historian dealing with objective facts can deny or suppress the militaristic-political qualities of the dozens of Shivajis and hundreds of little *Sārvabhaumas* (world-rulers) that mother India produced from Vedic Sudās to Tipu, Baji, and Ranjit. The Hindus and Mussalmans of old India were not feeble-minded fools in any age of culture-history, whatever they may happen to be today.

Ideological Imperialism

Up till now we have been talking of the militaristic-political domination. This is one kind of empire-building and imperialism. Now there is another kind of imperialism or domination. There one set of ideas is influenced, modified or conquered by another set, one system of morality is compelled to acknowledge the suzerainty or sovereignty of another system. The authority of another set of ideas, ideals and institutions replaces that of a traditional set. The arts and sciences, philosophies, religions, *mores*, manners and customs, and gods and goddesses of one people are replaced by those of another people. This domination or imperialism is ideological. It is impersonal, having hardly anything to do with any individual of flesh and blood.

Man is a brute by all means and tries to influence or conquer others physically and militarily. But it is also true that man is something of a non-brute, i.e., man has tried to listen to reason, and to accept reason. It is very interesting to note that throughout the periods of militaristic-political domination, the domination of the other type, the ideological domination, ideological imperialism also has been going on, almost synchronous with the other imperialism. Very often the militaristic-political empire has had nothing to do with the ideological empire. Once in a while, the ideological empires have been established or influenced or promoted by military-political empires. But, as a rule, the two imperialisms have gone on indepedently of each other.

Let us take Islam, or Christianity which is older than Islam. As a system of ideas and ideals Christianity has conquered and dominated the world by influencing, modifying, moderating and subjugating the local rites, ceremonies, institutions, moral ideas, and gods and goddesses. Christianity as a system of conversions is one

of the greatest ideological imperialisms the world has known. In social science it is the custom to use the term acculturation for this conversion. When one country or people is adopting the religion, customs, and manners of another, the first is being acculturated to the second, and the second likewise to the first. Christianization is an instance of world-domination by an adopted religion. It is imperialism on the ideological plane. The Christian empire is not confined to any particular continent. It has succeeded in encompassing the entire world with more or less doses of success. The Islamization of mankind has been relatively less extensive by the Christian standard.

We shall now mention another ideological imperialism. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it is possible to say, democracy has established an empire among all mankind. The French Revolution, the ideas of 1789, started the world on this path. Today there is hardly anybody anywhere on earth that is not subject to the ideals of democracy, whatever that may mean. The undeniable fact is that democratic ideology is one of the most inspiring forces and vital urges among all races. The domination of the human spirit by democratic idealism is a remarkable imperialism of modern times.

Similarly one of the greatest world-empires is being enjoyed by science. Is there any human being today, in East or West, anywhere in the world, who is not subject to the rule of science, to the sovereignty or empire of science?

A fourth ideological empire is that of technocracy and industrialism and, along with them, capitalism. Since the beginning of the nineteenth century capitalism has been enjoing an empire among all peoples. This is an impersonal empire like Christianity or Islam, democracy and science.

Generally antithetic to capitalism is Marxism, the doctrine of Marx. Marxism or socialism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been enjoying a world-empire. Its domination has reached even Asia including India. It is impossible for anybody to deny that socialism is directly or indirectly influencing the thoughts and activities of individuals here and there and everywhere. Socialism, therefore, is as great an ideological imperialism as Christianity or Islam, democracy, science, and capitalism.

So far we have mentioned the ideological imperialisms which are mainly non-Indian in origin. Does India afford illustrations of this second kind of imperialism? She does. India has given rise to ideas, ideals, *vidyās* and *kalās*, arts and sciences, manners and customs, philosophies, politics, moralities, religions, gods and goddesses, and sacred texts such as have conquered the world. Ideological imperialism is one of the greatest contributions of India to world-culture. India as a maker of chapters in world-history is thus to be placed in two different fields, first, as a contributor to militaristic-political domination, and secondly, as a contributor to ideological imperialism. Empire-building of two different kinds is to be credited to the culture or creativity of the Indian people.

Let us try to understand our Hinduism. In the first place, Hinduism is a cult or a religion. It has its gods and goddesses, rituals and ceremonies. In the second place, Hinduism is a system of culture, institutions, social philosophies. It is a system of arts and sciences, manners, beliefs and custome. Now, who established Hinduism? It was established by a small number of people, perhaps somewhere in Sindh or the Punjab, i.e., on the banks of the Indus, the Kabul, the Ravi, or the Bias. The creative persons were perhaps a little colony of half

a dozen or several dozen individuals. We call them *Riṣis*. What they called themselves we do not know. But they were creators, epoch-makers. These *Riṣis* established what later became Hinduism. In the beginning their creation or culture was nothing more than the burning of wood. It was fire applied to a few pieces of wood in which *ghee* was to be burnt. Considered objectively, *Yajna*, *Homa* and sacrifice is the pragmatic form of Hinduism as a religion.

The *Riṣis* who invented it were strong men, **sturdy** gymnasts, intellectual gymnasts and moral gymnasts, who along with the fire propagated a powerful cult of *Pancha Mahāyajna* (five great sacrifices or social duties). It was not some meaningless hocus-pocus that they started. They started a tremendous social dynamics embracing the multifarous interests of life in its entirety. And their motto was *charaiveti*, march on, march on, march on. That aggressiveness, that desire to proselytize, to influence, to convert, to go on conquering and to conquer is the kern of Hinduism as a religion. "We have lit this little fire," they said, "but it is not to remain confined to this little colony, to this our village. It has to be spread farther and farther. We are not to stay at home. There is that river, the cult has to spread to it, that river over there has to be crossed. And from village to village, from forest to forest, and from river to river, and on and on, it has to march, conquer, missionize until the whole world comes under its domination."

The *Riṣis* taught Young India to say, "*Ahamasmi sahamāna*, etc." "Mighty am I, superior by name upon the earth, conquering am I, all-conquering, completely conquering every region." This is the inspiration of Hinduism, the cult of *charaiveti* (march on), the culture of *digvijaya* (world-conquest), the philosophy of world-conversion.

This was not the mere enthusiasm of half a dozen nervous, rickety, malaria-stricken people, but the declaration of faith of those who actually marched on from one river to another and crossed one hill-top after another. The whole of India has come under their domination. Finally, an ideological empire has been established by what in our ignorance or absence of a better term, we describe as Hinduism. Hinduism is a world-conquering cult and culture, determined to organize missions in order to civilize or dominate the world. Hinduization is acculturation of diverse races, peoples and regions to Hindu norms and *mores*. We said that Christianity (or Islam), democracy, science, capitalism and socialism are ideological imperialisms or impersonal dominations and that these five isms or systems enjoy a world-position. Now as students, as mere intellectuals we cannot but objectively recognize Hinduism, understood whether as a system of cult or of culture, as another specimen of ideological world-imperialism of race-less, cosmopolitan and impersonal character.

The term 'world-empire' is being used in connection with Hinduism as a religion and as a culture. This is not a hyperbole. In the first place, the present writer's conception of the world is to be recalled as consisting in the very neighbourhood of the creative individual. Thus considered, the smallest territorial area conceivable can be aptly described as the conqueror's world. In the second place, India is a huge sub-continent, a world by itself. And last but not least, let us ask the question: "Is Hinduism confined to India?" And the answer is: "No."

The spirit of India has not rested content within the boundaries of the Indian sub-continent. Afghanistan and Central Asia were conquered by our Hindu religion and Hindu culture. Likewise was China conquered and

it is in that conquest that we have to see the deeper significance of the Chinese Goodwill Missions of today. Burma and Siam were also similarly Hinduized. In Siam (or Thailand) we find that the names of rulers are derived from Rama, Vikrama, Varman, Jaya, Indra, Ananda, etc. Likewise in Indo-China do we encounter Hindu culture in daily life. In Sumatra, Java and the other Insulindian islands as well as in far-off Japan Hinduization is similarly manifest in temples, gods and goddesses, rituals and ceremonies. Korea, Manchuria, Mongolia, Siberia, Turkestan,—all these regions of Asia are to be recognized to a certain extent as the colonies of Hindu cult and Hindu culture. In one word, the whole of northern, southern and eastern Asia bears traces of Hindu ideological imperialism. This represents the domination of Hindu ideology over others, their acculturation to Hindu ideas and ideals.

Is Western Asia to be treated as outside the sphere of influence of Hindu imperialism? No. Hindu arts and sciences, algebra, arithmetic, *Ayurveda*, therapeutics, metallurgy, fables, stories, philosophies crossed the Himalaya mountains and the Khyber Pass. Hindu ideas were assimilated by the Iranian, Hellenic, Hellenistic and Romanized peoples. They were, later, accepted as the arts and sciences of the Muslims, the Saracens of Baghdad. From the latter they passed on to the Europeans who accepted them as some of the foundations of their mathematics, chemistry, medicine, etc. Thus our Hindu ideals, manners and sentiments which began at Mohenjodaro in Sindh and in the Punjab have spread everywhere in Asia and to a certain extent in Europe. Hinduism is then by all means a world-imperialism.

These Hindu sheres of influence were so many "Greater Indias" in Asia. The expansion of India consisted in the establishment of the ideological imperial-

ism of Hindu cult and culture throughout the length and breadth of the Asian continent. These colonizing, missionizing or proselytizing enterprises of Indians outside the Indian frontiers may be said to have commenced in the third century B.C. The active period of *digvijaya* (world-conquest) or *charaiveti* (march on) of Hindu religion, arts and sciences continued until the thirteenth or fourteenth century. During these sixteen or seventeen hundred years India witnessed military-political vicissitudes of all sorts almost identical with those in contemporary Europe. The ideological dominations of the Hindus as established in the different regions of Asia were not necessarily the functions of their military and political activities at home or abroad. This is an important item in connection with the ideological imperialism of the Hindus in ancient and medieval times which must never be lost sight of.

We have said before that the ideological empires of the world, viz., Christianity, socialism, etc., have no necessary connection with military-political imperialism. The two imperialisms are mainly independent of each other. If there is any contact between the two, that contact is often an accident. But scientifically speaking, it is impossible to demonstrate that political imperialism has been the cause and the only cause of ideological imperialism. The same is to be observed about Hindu ideological imperialism *vis-à-vis* Hindu political activities. The Hindu conquests in Asia from one end to the other were in the main non-political, non-military. Our ancient Indian culture went to Japan and was accepted by Japan but the Japanese knew hardly anything of Indian political and military achievements. If we take the case of Sumatra, Java, Bali, Borneo and other islands where Hindu culture still persists, we shall find that they were not, if at all, under the political

domination of the South Indian Cholas for any long period. Political imperialism was hardly ever the basis of the ideological imperialism established by the Hindus. Indeed, militaristic-political domination may be removed almost entirely from the picture. No matter how many large, medium or small states were being established on Indian soil during this millennium and a half, no matter how many times we were fighting among ourselves, the conquests made by Hinduism as a religion and as a culture were going on from one country to another. The authors of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*, Manu, Buddha, Pāṇini, Charaka, Patanjali, Nāgārjuna, and Kālidāsa were all the time conquering the world, very often supremely indifferent to the militaristic-political fortunes of their compatriots.

The story of all these ideological imperialisms or dominations, Indian as well as non-Indian, proves beyond question that almost invariably their progress is independent of political imperialisms or dominations. In order to be established as a dominant world-force an ideology does not have always to be backed up by a powerful political people or party. Indeed, the opposite picture is prominent on several occasions when "captive Greece captured Rome." Even a political slave can ideologically conquer the master.

India's Address in the Modern World

Attention may now be invited to the ideological empire of the twentieth century which we Indians—Hindus and Mussalmans—have commenced establishing,—although for the time being on rather modest basis,—in Asia, Europe, Africa and, last but not least, America. This new empire is the second ideological contribution of India to world-culture. It is at present only in its rough, crude and humble beginnings. But one ought to

be perfectly clear about the fact that even without political domination, nay, political freedom, it is possible to influence, convert, capture and conquer the world in ideas, ideals, arts and sciences.

In the twentieth century we Indians are living under conditions of military-political subjection. Is it not ridiculous to think that a people that militarily and politically belongs to an alien empire should itself be credited with having established an ideological empire in the world? The answer to this and allied questions has already been furnished by the experiences of ideological world-imperalism discussed above. We have historical evidences to the effect that the ideological influence, conquest or domination is not necessarily a correlate of political activities.

We need not appeal always to the history of other epochs or other peoples in regard to human progress. Let us take the objective facts of India in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. There is no doubt, be it repeated, that India is a subject country. And yet who, endowed with the objective sense, can doubt that the Indian people has been making progress in the same sense and along the same lines—always not perhaps to the same extent—as all the other peoples including the politically and militarily most dominant? The progress can be demonstrated by indices of all sorts. It should be necessary at the outset to bid adieu to sentimentalizings about the alleged golden age in old India's epochs of military-political freedom. In regard to the economic situation we have no answer questions like the following: Did the Marathas enjoy greater prosperity under Shivaji and Baji Rao than to-day? Did the Bengalis enjoy greater prosperity in the days of Ali Vardi Khan or Vijayasena? Did the Punjabis enjoy greater prosperity under the Khalsas or Anandapala? Did the people of Madras

enjoy greater prosperity under Tipu Sultan or Rajendra Chola? Statistically, it is impossible to prove that India in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries has been becoming poorer and poorer. By all objective tests,—in the matter of transport, export and import, agricultural output, manufactures and semi-manufactures, housing, all sorts of articles for consumption, even in the matter of the *dhoti* which every Indian wears—by every economic index, it is possible to demonstrate that even in spite of foreign rule India has been progressing in the economic domain.

It does not belong to the present writer's science to furnish arguments in justification of political-military subjection. Nor is it necessary to wax eloquent over the blessings of sovereignty in external and internal affairs. The glories of political freedom are by all means to be accepted as first postulates. Politics is indeed a force in human affairs and a powerful force. Freedom is a necessity for all mankind. But politics is not the only force. There are other forces not less powerful than freedom. A free country is not necessarily rich, nor is a subject country necessarily poor. However creative, inspiring and powerful political freedom may be as a spiritual and material force, it cannot, pragmatically considered, be taken to be the exclusive determinant in human civilization. A "political interpretation of history" in an *advaita* or monistic manner is as untenable as a "monistic economic interpretation" or a monistic Freudian (sexological) determinism.

We have today the beginnings of a new Indian Empire,—a new Indian nucleus of world-influences—which bids fair to be a worthy continuation of the ideological empire of the ancient and medieval Indians. True it is that in the nineteenth century there was a great break in Indian creativity and culture-making

desire and power. After the overthrow of Tipu Sultan and Baji Rao and later of Ranjit Singh the entire Indian mentality became undoubtedly and almost entirely pessimistic. From one end of the country to the other, people lost all hopes. Was there anything to be done? European scholars, those "friends of India", came to us as teachers and we went to their country as pupils, as learners, and we were taught that our forefathers down to 1757, 1818 or 1857 were quite worthless people; and we were asked to believe that East was fundamentally different from West, and that there was nothing in common between the two. "You, Orientals," they said, "you do not understand life, human beings, the earth, this world of ours. You do not understand secular interests, forts and fortifications, health and sanitation, construction of roads, village organization, family life, law and polity. These are much too material things for your mentality. The spiritual genius of India has always considered them to be beneath notice." May be, why, almost certainly the Indians of that generation were flattered by such remarks coming from the Western "friends of India," from men like Max Müller, for example.

What, according to these Westerners, were the Orientals fit for? They conferred on Asia and especially on India the glory of extra-mundane achievements, the credit of understanding in an extraordinary degree the affairs of the other-world, the spirit, the soul, communion with the divine, and what not. "Don't you see," said they in a seemingly appreciative manner, "how wonderful Indian intuition is? How exquisite and fine is the work of Indian imagination! Your *forte* lies in the life after death. You are past masters in that life. Your brain is used to the super-sensual, the esoteric, the refined and delicate concerns of the transcendental world.

Stick to that as your splendid patrimony. Don't soil your hands by touching the materialistic and dirty things of the life below." That is the philosophy that Europe and America administered, not in homoeopathic doses, but in big allopathic doses, to the intellectuals of India, those who later became the guardians of our morals and dominating personalities in our midst.

Naturally, as a consequence the East, India, was regarded as just a continent of molly-coddles and slaves to be dominated by Europeans and Americans. In foreign countries a man from the East meant a coolie, an Indian was equivalent to a slave. In Europe and America an Indian at best meant only a student, just a learner going there for an academic degree and coming back with a certificate written by a white hand, to be cashed in the cultural stock exchanges of India,—Government offices and such other establishments,—for a job of Rs. 250 to Rs. 1250 per month.

All the same, Indians—both Hindus and Mussalmans—were not unhappy to be thus entrusted by Eur-Americans with the glorious responsibility of managing the affairs of the Divine Communion. This was the position of India down to a particular time. But even India, often gullible as she is, could not be fooled all the time. The situation had to change. How could the transformation be accomplished? How did Eur-Americans as well as Indians get debamboozled into the realities of the world-situation? How did Eur-Americans as well as Indians themselves come to realize that Indians were human beings of flesh and blood and not some messengers of God?

The opportunity came when in 1893 a mammoth clearing-house of cultures was convoked on the shores of the lake of Michigan at Chicago in the U.S.A. It was the meeting-place of about 5,000 men and women. There

were theologians and religious preachers, social scientists, anthropologists, philosophers, and natural scientists of the two hemispheres present. Most of them were white but a few were yellow and brown like ourselves. That cultural exchange also counted among its members millionaires and milliardaires, big businessmen, transportation experts, engineers, chemists and mill-owners. It was the assembly of 5,000 Americans, Europeans and Asians that received for the first time a rude shock of a peculiar character. The rude shock was due to a bomb-shell thrown in the midst of that huge pandemonium declaring the equality between East and West. For the first time in the history of modern civilization and after the overthrow of Baji Rao and Ranjit Singh was heard the voice of Young India in and through that bomb-shell. It was the voice of a human being, not an esoteric creature dealing in the spiritual goods of the other-world.

What he talked was perhaps not clear to many. But how he talked—the manner of his talk—was perceptible to all. It was challenging, it was a call to arms. The voice was that of modern India, an India bent upon a moral and intellectual tug of war with the world today. The audience had come to a Parliament of Religions. The impact of that bomb-shell was religious, no doubt, but more than religious too. It covered the interests of entire human life, embracing as it did the whole problem of inter-racial contacts. The bomb-shell may be said to have announced to the world-pandemonium as follows:—"You, Eur-Americans, from now on be ready to consider yourselves to be the pupils of Asia and, of course, of India also as the creator of modern values,—just as we are not ashamed to declare ourselves as the pupils of Eur-America. Reciprocal discipleship or reciprocal mastership is to be the relation from now on. No one-sided superiority or inferiority complex is to rule the

international pattern to-morrow and day after to-morrow." That was, so to say, the Monroe Doctrine for Asia in the spiritual realm.

It went on, so to say, in the following strain: "You Europeans and Americans must not think that you are born to dominate Asia for all the centuries. Just note that you are not going to have a greater domination on our Asian soil than Asians can have on Eur-American soil. We are going to dominate you ideologically to the same extent and in the same sense as you dominate us in the same field, although in military-political matters you happen to be our masters for the time being. If you want that our ideologies should be off Europe and America, from now on your ideologies should also have to be off Asia." This is the ideological Monroe Doctrine from the Asian side. The doctrine,—implying as it does "Hands off Asia" on the cultural plane,—was enumerated for the first time in the history of modern civilization by a young man born on the banks of the southern Ganges, and he was at once recognized as a re-creator of values, as a remaker of mankind, as a world conqueror. We refer to Swami Vivekananda.

The Ramakrishna Empire

The desire and the power of the Indian people to create and to dominate in the world of modern values have been in evidence uninterruptedly since that event of 1893. The "ideas of 1905" constitute an important landmark as embodying in a concrete form on the Indian soil the spirit of world-conquest manifested by Vivekananda in the U.S.A.

The progress that we have been able to accomplish during the last fifty years, especially since the glorious revolution of 1905,—the *Swadeshi* movement, the *Swaraj* revolution of Young India,—the progress that has been

achieved in industrialization, banking, insurance, commerce, etc., as well as in scientific researches, in activities on the international plane is something of which any people in the world can be proud. The political, economic and cultural activities of Indians—both Hindus and Muslims,—since 1905 are being watched by the entire world. What we are doing at Bombay, Calcutta, Lahore or Madras is attracting notice among all nations. It is being studied in New York, Tokyo, Berlin, Paris, Moscow, Rome and, last but not least, in London. It will not do to be blind to the reality that our thoughts, our aims and our movements are already world-commodities. This little trade union movement over here and that little political activity over there are all being commented upon in the newspapers of the world. India has succeeded in establishing world-contacts. Indians today are thus not tiny little bugs to be crushed out of existence according to the whims of a particular group of individuals living in a certain corner of the earth. India is a power,—of course, a junior power—among the powers of the world. She is influencing mankind in many directions although, no doubt, as yet not in a powerful manner. But men with eyes in East and West can see that Young India is already a creative force and has been establishing an address among the *Vishwa-shakti* (world-forces) in the realm of ideas, ideals and creativities of the ideological type.

Today there is hardly any journal of mathematics, physics, chemistry, geology, botany, zoology, medicine or the other natural sciences conducted by Europeans and Americans which is not publishing something by an Indian scholar or which does not review the work done by Indian scholars. Our Indian antiquarians and historians as well as researchers in the other human and social sciences have also come of age and have been recognized by European

and American savants as their peers. This is a thing which was hardly known even down to 1905. In all these arts and sciences Indians today are not mere learners but have grown—although not in very large numbers yet —into teachers also. It is an aspect of world-domination in the sense of equality and constructive co-operation between East and West which has to be visualized in connection with the new Indian Empire of the twentieth century. Vivekananda was the founder of this new Indian Empire because, in the present writer's opinion, previous to him hardly any Indian had ever been recognized in Europe and America as a world-conquering force.

This new Indian Empire is not identical and is not to be confounded with the influences of ancient Indian culture on the Eur-American culture of the last century and a half as noticeable in the romantic movement, "new thought" cults, theosophy, vegetarianism and so forth. The modern West's interest in the old East, in the Asian literature, art, philosophy, etc., of bygone days, and in Orientalism as a branch of archaeological and antiquarian investigations is certainly an important feature in the contemporary contacts between India and Eur-America. But Vivekananda's pioneering goes much beyond this. It ushers in a new era of modern India's creations in the arts and sciences and co-operation with the modern West in the new problems and achievements of mankind.

Vivekananda is the first man to establish that empire, and it is lucky that with Vivekananda that empire did not cease to exist. He succeeded in leaving behind him a tradition of self-sacrifice, of the glorious vow of poverty, of spirituality combined with organizing power, and that tradition is embodied today in one of his creations, the Ramakrishna Mission. The activities of this

Mission have reached in a somewhat stable albeit modest form several countries of Europe including England. The Mission is represented in South America also. In the United States of America it has centres in nearly a dozen cities. As is well known, the Mission has of course a network of institutions throughout India and Ceylon as well as Burma and the Federated Malaya States. Outside of Indian and Asian frontiers these institutions have served,—although not yet in very considerable proportions,—to bring Eur-American intellectuals, publicists, and culture-leaders into regular intercourse with the organizers of the Ramakrishna Order as well as other Indian scholars, businessmen and travellers. Contacts between East and West are thereby being maintained in Western centres of learning, commerce and politics on terms of equality and mutual good-will. An international co-operation of this type had never been attempted in modern times previous to the establishment of this new Greater India. This is why the present writer has often described the Swamis of the Ramakrishna Mission as constituting the International Spiritual Service and the International Social Service of India. This body of cultural and ideological workers is not less profoundly constructive and significant for India and the world than the Indian Civil Service (I.C.S.), the Indian Medical Service (I.M.S.), the Indian Educational Service (I.E.S.), tht Indian Police Service (I.P.S.) and so forth of the Government of India, or the several services that used to be maintained by the now defunct League of Nations.

The Ramakrishna Empire is not exclusively the work of the Ramakrishna Mission. It is the work of industrialists, of scientists, of antiquarians, of poets, of painters, of religious missionaries, of business magnates, of trade unions, and of political leaders of all denomina-

tions. By political leaders,—although the present writer does not belong to any political party,—we mean not only people above forty but even young men and women between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five who are doing idealistic or constructive work. These young men and women are demonstrating to the world, along with the adults in letters, science and industry, trade union organizers, businessmen and the Ramakrishna Mission that India is out conquering and to conquer. All those men and women, who are trying to crush to pieces the Himalayan obstacles that hamper the progress of India and to promote modern spirituality and society among the Indian people are establishing in their own personalities and in their daily activities that fundamental doctrine of equality between East and West and international cooperation on terms of mutuality.

The Ramakrishna Empire is still in its nonage. It has just commenced its career and is hardly yet adequately known. But among its architects is to be mentioned the legion of men and women who are working at home and abroad in the most diverse fields of thought and action and in the most heterogeneous ways. Whatever is being done by Indians in industry, commerce, science, education, literature, fine arts, politics, labour organization, religion and social service is a contribution to the strengthening of India's claims to recognition as a colleague of the other creative countries of the modern world. Not every builder of the Ramakrishna Empire is a religious preacher. Nor is every builder of this new Indian Empire a Hindu. The Mussalmans as well as the Christians of India have also been contributing to the Greater India as embodied in this Empire. It is not to be supposed that the Ramakrishna Empire is being constructed exclusively by the intellectuals and other high-brows. The industrial workingmen in the factories of India are no

less valuable builders of this organization than the Tatas and other big industrialists. Nay, Indian emigrants in the different overseas lands of the two hemispheres are also powerfully helping forward the evolution of this new Indian Empire in so far as they are exhibiting their creativities in a manner which can be recognized by their non-Indian colleagues as of at least equal worth with their own work in the same lines. Every Indian man and every Indian woman, who embody in their daily thoughts and actions the desire and the power to influence, to convert and to dominate are to be listed in the ever-growing schedule of the pillars of the Ramakrishna Empire.

Why do we call this "Greater India" of today, this new Indian Empire of the twentieth century, the Ramakrishna Empire ? Our logic is very elementary. Vivekananda used to describe all his own activities as the activities of his Master, Ramakrishna. The empire that was brought into being by his personality is therefore aptly to be described, in our estimation, as the Ramakrishna Empire. And this is what has been done on several occasions, at Rangoon, Karachi, Calcutta, Delhi, Patna, Bombay and elsewhere (1936-40).

For this logic we have some historical basis also. It is desirable once more to recall the first ideological empire of ancient and medieval India. That Greater India was the cumulative result of all sorts of Indian thoughts and enterprises carried on for over a millennium and a half. The workers were in many instances Brahminic Hindu in the narrow sectarian sense. Not everybody among the Indian colonizers, missionaries and ideological empirebuilders of those days was thus strictly speaking a Buddhist. But it is very interesting that most of the Indian activities of that long period of history have come to be known in the world rightly or wrongly as Buddhist activities. The Greater Indias of

those days have come to be described as so many bits of Buddhist India outside the Indian frontiers. That remarkable personality, Buddha, has furnished the name of the vast ideological empire of Indians throughout the Asian Continent.

Asia was conquered by the spirit of India as a whole, not by Buddhists as a sect or by Shaivas as a sect or by Vaishnavas as a sect. It is the stories of the *Rāmayaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* that conquered for India the painters, sculptures, poets and preachers of Asia. It is the laws of Manu by which social, economic and political norms of Asia were acculturated to Indian conditions. It is the Ayurvedic system of therapeutics that captured the medical experts of Asia. The *digvijaya* of decimal system of notation brought Asia within the Indian sphere of influence. Buddha was not the only Indian world-conqueror in Asia. And yet India is known in Asia as the land not so much of Rama, Shiva, Manu, Panini, Charaka and others as of Buddha. It is an accident of history perhaps. But it is a reality of international culturt-contact.

Nothing is more curious than the fact that since the days of Yuan-Chwang, the Chinese scholar-organizer-educationist of the seventh century, even the *danton*, the twig that is used as tooth-stick, has been known in China as something Buddhist. And why? Because in the mule-loads of things Indian carried to China by Yuan-Chwang from the land of Buddha were to be found hundreds of articles not excluding the *danton*. It is as if we in Asia were to describe the steam-engine as Christian because in sooth it was imported into Asia along with many other things from Europe whose inhabitants happen to be Christian by faith.

The ideological empire of the Indian people that has been slowly but steadily evolving since 1893 is but an

embodiment of the creative urges of all the self-conscious men and women of India in their entirety. But we are following the precedent furnished by history in order to describe it after Ramakrishna because he was the inspirer of Vivekananda, who, as the representative of Young India, succeeded in laying the first foundation-stone. The Ramakrishna Empire, then, as the successor of the Buddhist Empire, is growing into the second specimen of Indian ideological imperialism, constituting thereby another epoch of India in world-culture.

ONE HUNDRED AND FIFTY-FIVE DATES IN THE HISTORY OF RAJASTHAN

BY

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The Anup Sanskrit Library, Bikaner, has one of the best collections of Bardic MSS. which has been catalogued by L.P. Tessitori. A MS. of great historical importance in this, namely Rājāvāmrī Janamapattriyām, No. 10 in Tessitori's Catalogue Section I, Part II, recently attracted my notice. Tessitori describes it as follows:

"A small guṭakó, $4\frac{1}{4}'' \times 5''$ in size, cloth bound, consisting of 70 leaves. Incomplete, many leaves being lost both at the beginning and at the end. Each page contains from 2 to 4 lines of writing of about 25 Akṣaras, followed by two Kuṇḍalīs, or horoscopical diagrams, arranged on the same line. Pp. 33a—40b, which are inserted in the middle of the MS., are of different paper and in different writing. The MS. was apparently written about 200—250 years ago, probably in the second or third decade of the Saṁvat-century 1700.

The MS. contains a collection of Janmapattrīs, i.e., horoscopes of the birth of the rulers of Bikaner, Jodhpur, and other Rajput states, and also smaller chiefs, as well as imperial princes. Each page contains one horoscope, which consists of two parts, to wit: (a) two to four lines of text, giving the date, hour, and asterism of birth as well as the name of the father, etc., of the new-born one, and (b) two Kuṇḍalīs, or zodiacal diagrams, the one

being the Lagnakuṇḍalī with the names of the signs, and the other the Bhāvakuṇḍalī, without these names.

The horoscopes are given in a very irreguar order. Most of them refer to the Saṁvat century 1600, but since the latest of all bears the date Saṁvat 1719 (p. 36a), it would appear that the collection was made shortly after this year . . . ."

When I examined the MS. I found that the contents viz. the dates were of very great importance to the history of Rajasthan. Tessitori does not give a list of these. Two important works are now available to us on the history of Rajasthan, Tod's Annals and Antiquities of Rajasthan and Dr. Ojha's History of Rajputana, the latter in Hindi. Neither seems to have made use of the Guṭakó under notice. The latter has made use of the Khyāta by Dayāḷ Dās; but the Guṭakó is earlier than this and the evidence contained in it compels attention especially when it differs in certain cases. For instance, according to Tod (Ed. 1920, Vol. II, p. 1131) Bīkāji founded Bikaner in Saṁvat 1545 (A.D. 1489). Tod refers to the opinion of Erskine (Ibid., p. 1123, footnote) according to whom Bīkāji was born in A.D. 1439, left Jodhpur in 1465 and founded Bikaner in 1488. According to Ojha (History of Bikaner, Vol. I, p. 90) Bīkāji was born in Saṁvat 1495, i.e., A.D. 1438 and founded Bikaner in Saṁvat 1545, i.e., A.D. 1488 (Ibid., p. 96). The Guṭakó, however, gives these dates as Saṁvat 1497, *i.e.*, A.D. 1440 and Saṁvat 1520, *i.e.*, A.D. 1463 respectively. Ojha (Ibid., p. 112) gives Saṁvat 1526, *i.e.*, A.D. 1470 as the date of Lūn Karanji's birth; but according to the Guṭako it is Saṁvat 1517. Again, according to Ojha (Ibid., p. 123) Jaith Singhji was born in Saṁvat 1546, i.e., A.D., 1486. In the Guṭakó, however, this

date is given as Saṁvat 1542. Tod (p. 947) assigns the birth of Jodhaji to Saṁvat 1484 and the foundation of Jodhpur to Saṁvat 1515. According to Ojha (Ibid., p. 82) Jodhpur was founded in Saṁvat 1516. The Guṭakō gives Saṁvat 1472 for his birth and 1498 for the foundation of Jodhpur.

The Guṭakó contains some names and dates which are found neither in Tod's nor Ojha's work. This part of it supplements those works. The rest may be taken as corroborative. The information contained in this cannot, therefore, in any way be considered stale.

I give here only the textual portion of the Guṭakó, namely the dates, leaving out the horoscopical diagrams. The publication of this has a value to the history of Sanskrit literature also. Some of the rulers of Rajasthan like Anup Singhji were not only good Sanskrit scholars themselves, but also patronised many Sanskrit authors. The chronology of these rulers will undoubtedly throw important light on the chronology of contemporary Sanskrit authors. For the benefit of English-reading historians I give first a list of names and dates, names being transliterated from Sanskrit as it were with spellings as they are found in the Guṭakó.

1.	Mṛgāvatī	Saṁvat	1666
2.	Amarasiṁha	,,	1694
3.	Balūcāṣā	,,	1647
4.	Sujāṇasiṁha	,,	1651
5.	Sultāna Ājama	,,	1710
6.	Bikāji	,,	1497
7.	Karṇaji	,,	1517
8.	Jayatasiṁha	,,	1542
9.	Kalyāṇamalla	,,	1575
10.	Dalapati	,,	1621
11.	Satarasāla	,,	1669
12.	Jodhaji	,,	1472

13.	Rāva Gaṅgā	Saṁvat	1540
14.	Rāva Jāji	,,	1496
15.	Suratanasiṁha	,,	1705
16.	Siradārasiṁha	,,	1708
17.	Śāstākhāna	,,	1662
18.	Māhāsiṁha	,,	1624
19.	Śivāji	,,	1686
20.	Śāhaji	,,	1655
21.	Jāpharkhā	,,	1666
22.	Harajaśa	,,	1681
23.	Gauḍapradyamna	,,	1670
24.	Rāmasiṁhapūtra	,,	1711
25.	Kīrtisiṁhaputra	,,	1713
26.	Rāyasiṁha	,,	1676
27.	Pṛthvīsiṁha	,,	1709
28.	Rūpasiṁhaputra	,,	1713
29.	Pṛthvīrāja Cahavāṇa	,,	1115
30.	Udesiṁha	,,	1600
31.	Mānasiṁha	,,	1599
32.	Vīramade	,,	1544
33.	Sāvaladāsjī	,,	1615
34.	Sādūla	,,	1625
35.	Rāva Vāghā	,,	1514
36.	Udesiṁha	,,	1594
37.	Sūryasiṁha	,,	1627
38.	Īśvarasiṁha	,,	1698
39.	Kṛṣṇasiṁha	,,	1639
40.	Sabalasiṁha	,,	1664
41.	Rāva Rāma	,,	1586
42.	Candasina	,,	1598
43.	Ratnasī	,,	1589
44.	Bhojarāja	,,	1590
45.	Rāva Jagannātha Kalyāṇamalota (son of Jagannātha Kalyāṇamal)	,,	1653
46.	Rāmasiṁha	,,	1663

47.	Karamasena	Saṁvat	1632
48.	Āsakaraṇa	,,	1627
49.	Mādhosiṁha	,,	1665
50.	Amarasiṁha Bāghelā	,,	1660
51.	Dhīrabala	,,	1622
52.	Dūdāji	,,	1497
53.	Jemala	,,	1564
54.	Sāṅgāji	,,	1638
55.	Rāṇā Udesiṁha	,,	1578
56.	Rāṇā Pratāpa	,,	1597
57.	Rāṇāśnī Amarasiṁha	,,	1616
58.	Rāṇā Sagara	,,	1613
59.	Lūṇa Karṇaji	,,	1542
60.	Rāvala Mālade	,,	1568
61.	Rāva Harirāja	,,	1598
62.	Rāvala Bhīmajī	,,	1618
63.	Rāvala Hararāja	,,	1651
64.	Mānasiṁhajī	,,	1607
65.	Rāyasiṁhajī	,,	1598
66.	Sūryasiṁhajī	,,	1651
67.	Karṇasiṁhajī	,,	1673
68.	Kesarīsiṁha	,,	1697
69.	Dūgarasī Pradyamnajī	,,	1702
70.	Mohaṇasiṁhajī	,,	1706
71.	Raghunāthasiṁhajī	,,	1719
72.	Vanamālīdāsa	,,	1699
73.	Vikramadurgaprathama Sūtrapāta	,,	1645
74.	Vikramadurgakhāta	,,	1645
75.	Vikramadurgaśilānyāsa	,,	1645
76.	Vikramadurgasaṁpūrti	,,	1650
77.	Āṇandakuwarajī	,,	1690
78.	Mādhosiṁhajī	,,	1610
79.	Bhāvasiṁha	,,	1633
80.	Jagannāthajī	,,	1609

81.	Karamacandajī	Saṁvat	1633
82.	Manarūpa	,,	1643
83.	Abhaikarṇaji	,,	1654
84.	Rūpasiṁha	,,	1662
85.	Cīndasiṁha	,,	1633
86.	Pratāpasiṁha	,,	1626
87.	Sakatasiṁha	,,	1629
88.	Salahadīji	,,	1617
89.	Sādulaji	,,	1614
90.	Juñjārasiṁhaji	,,	1647
91.	Vikramāditya	,,	1666
92.	Rājasiṁha	,,	1678
93.	Rāmadāsa	,,	1640
94.	Rāyamallaji	,,	1594
95.	Dvārikādāsaji	,,	1656
96.	Salahadīji	,,	1664
97.	Rūpasiṁhaji	,,	1685
98.	Rāmadāsaji	,,	1607
99.	Mahānanda	,,	1607
100.	Mahānanda	,,	1658
101.	Gopālasiṁha	,,	1671
102.	Nārāmaṇaji	,,	1642
103.	Vīranārāyaṇa	,,	1666
104.	Giridharadāsa	,,	1661
105.	Vīṭhaladāsaji	,,	1655
106.	Vikramāditya	,,	1639
107.	Murāradāsagauḍa	,,	1657
108.	Dalapati	,,	1636
109.	Kṛṣṇadāsa	,,	1607
110.	Aṇīrāya	,,	1640
111.	Aṇīrāyaputra	,,	1668
112.	Aṇīrāyaputra	,,	1670
113.	Anuruddha Gauḍa	,,	1671
114.	Arjjana	,,	1672
115.	Śivarāma	,,	1675

116.	Dānasāha	Saṁvat	1629
117.	Khusaru Suratāṇa	,,	1644
118.	Sāha Murāda	,,	1627
119.	Khānajamā	,,	1655
120.	Mīrjā Mānulaha Mahavatīkhānaputra	,,	1671
121.	Dalela Miṁhati Mahavatīkhānaputra	,,	1670
122.	Mirāja Bahirāma	,,	1667
123.	Khānakhānaputra Elaca	,,	1643
124.	Dārāba	,,	1644
125.	Jahāda	,,	1662
126.	Sahariyāra	,,	1662
127.	Sultāna Paravejaputra	,,	1664
128.	Dāmasāhaputra	,,	1659
129.	Husaṅga	,,	1661
130.	Sultāna Parivejaputra	,,	1671
131.	Khāna Ājima	,,	1668
132.	Khāna Ājama Kanyāputra	,,	1669
133.	Sāhijādī Khākhāni Mal	,,	1626
134.	Sultāna Nisāra Begam	,,	1643
135.	Sultāna Khusarū Patnī	,,	1644
136.	Ājamakanyāputrī	,,	1662
137.	Bāī Mānavatī	,,	1629
138.	Jagatsiṁha	,,	1517
139.	Pṛthvīsiṁha	,,	1709
140.	Iśvarasiṁhaputra	,,	1715
141.	Rāsā	,,	1690
142.	Amarasiṁha	,,	1670
143.	Mahābatakhāṇa	,,	1671
144.	Rājasiṁha	,,	1652
145.	Rājasinghavisanadāsota (son of Rājasingha)	,,	1645
146.	Gopāladāsa, Sundaradāsota	,,	1643
147.	Cāmpāvata	,,	1655
148.	Jujhārasiṁha	,,	1645

149.	Vikramāditya	Saṁvat	1666
150.	Māladeva	,,	1568
151.	Jasavantasiṁha	,,	1683
152.	Bhagavānadāsa	,,	1614
153.	Naraharidāsa	,,	1614
154.	Sakatasiṁha	,,	1624
155.	Dalapati	,,	1625

1 संवत् १६६६ वर्षे कार्तिक श्रुद्ध ७ बुधे उदयात् गत घटी २७ समये मेषलग्नमध्ये। मृगावती बाई राजा सूर्यसिंह जी री पुत्री। राजा जयसिंह गृहे भार्या।

2 संवत् १६३४ वर्षे मगसिर वदि १३ शनौ ३१ चित्रा नक्षत्रे १४ स्वातमध्ये। आयुष्मान योगे १२ सोभाग्यमध्ये। वृश्चक गतांशा ४ दिन गत सर्वरात्रि शेष घटी ९।३१ समये। रावल अमरसिंह जन्म।

3 संवत् १६४७ वर्षे वैशाष वदि १ भौमे उदयात् १८ लग्नकर्कमध्ये राज्य श्री गोपालदासगृहे पुत्रजन्म। बलूचा षाजी राठै डान्व।

4 संवत् १६५१ वर्षे पौषकृष्ण १३ शुक्रे उदयात् ७।१३ मकर लग्नमध्ये राज्य श्री आसकर्ण जो पुत्र सुजाणसिंह जी।

5 संवत् १७१० वर्षे आषाढ़ सुदि १३ भौमे उदयात् गत घटी ७ पल १५ समये सिंहलग्नमध्ये डोरगसाहगृहे पुत्रजन्म सुलतान आजम। बुहराणपुरमध्ये।

6 संवत् १४९७ वर्षे श्रावणसुदि १५ उदयात् गत घटी ४० पल ५० मीनलग्नमध्ये। राव श्री वीकाजी री जन्म संवत् १५२० बीकानेर बसायो।

7 संवत् १५१७ वर्षे माघ सुदि १० बुधे उदयात् गत घटी २९ समये सिंहलग्नमध्ये। राउ लूण कर्णजी जन्म।

8 संवत् १५४२ वर्षे कार्त्तिक सुदि ८ उदयात् गत घटी ४५ पल० समये सिंहलग्नमध्ये। राउ जयतसिंह जन्म।

9 संवत् १५७५ वर्षे माघ सुदि ६ बुधे उदयात् गत घटी २४ पल १ समये मिथुनलग्नमध्ये। राउ कल्याणमल्ल जी जन्म।

10 संवत् १६२१ वर्षे फाल्गुन बदि ७ बुधे उदयात् घटी १४·५५ दलपति जी जन्म। मेषलग्नमध्ये।

11 संवत् १६६९ वर्षे भाद्रपद बदि ५ गुरुवारे घटी ४९ रेवतीनक्षत्रे घटी १९ अश्वनीमध्ये। कुवर सतरसाल जन्म। वृषलग्न-मध्ये।

12 संवत् १४७२ वैशाष वदि ४ बुधे उदयात् घटी १ पल० मूलनक्षत्रे मेष गतांशा ६ राउ जोधा जी जन्म। संवत् १४९८ जेष्ठ सुदि ११ जोधपुर बसायो।

13 संवत् १५४० वर्षे वैशाष सुदि ११ उदयात् गत घटी १५ पल १२ समये कर्कलग्नमध्ये राउ गंगा जन्म।

14 संवत् १४९६ वर्षे भाद्रवा वदि ९ गुरौ घटी ४९ रोहिणी घटी ५७ उदयात् घटी ३४ पल० कुंभलग्नमध्ये राउ—जाजी जन्म।

15 संवत् १७०५ वर्षे चैत्र वदि १ शनौ उदयात् गत घटी १३ पल ५५ समये मिथुनलग्नमध्ये। राणा राजसिंहगृहे पुत्रजन्म। सुरतानसिंह जन्म।

16 संवत् १७०८ वर्षे श्रावण सुदि १५ भौमे उदयात् घटी ४९ पल ३० समये वृषलग्नमध्ये। राणा राजसिंहगृहे पुत्रजन्म। सिरदारसिंह।

17 संवत् १६६२ वर्षे पौष वदि ७ शुक्रे मघा घटी ३६ प ११ वैधृत घटी १४।८। वृश्चकार्का २२।४२ उदयात् घटी ३२ पल ५४ रात्रिगत घटी ६।४२ कर्कलग्न मध्ये। शास्ताखान जन्म।

18 संवत् १६२४ वर्षे आश्विन शुद्ध १२ उदयात् घटी ३५ पल० समये मेषलग्नमध्ये। कछवाहा। माहासिंह जन्म।

19 संवत् १६८६ (First written १६६६ and then corrected) वर्षे फागुण वदि ३ भृगौ रात्रि गत घटी १ पल १ समये सिंहलग्नमध्ये शिवाजी री जन्म।

20 संवत् १६५५ वर्षे फाल्गुन कृष्ण १४ गुरौ रात्रि गत घटी २७ पल ४७ समये मीनलग्नमध्ये। शाहजी राज जन्म।

21 संवत् १६६६ कार्त्तिक शुद्ध ३ शुक्रे ५४। अनुराधायां १० शोभन उदयात् घटी २५ पल० समये मेषलग्नमध्ये। जाफर खाँ जन्म।

22 संवत् १६८१ वर्षे प्र० आषाढ़ शुद्ध ८ सोमे। १७।१६ हस्ते २८।११ परिघे ४९।११ सूर्योदय मिथुनलग्नमध्ये। हरजश जन्म।

23 संवत् १६७० वर्षे माघ शुद्ध १३ गुरौ ३३।२७ आद्रायां ३४।४५ वैधृतौ ७।० उदयात् गत घटी २।५० कुंभलग्नमध्ये। गौड-प्रद्यम्न जन्म।

24 संवत् १७११ वर्षे तत्राधिक भाद्रपद कृष्ण ९ शनौ १५ आद्रायां ४९ सिद्धौ ५ उदयात् घटी ९ पल २० तुललग्नमध्ये। रामसिंह जी गृहे पुत्रजन्म।

25 संवत् १७१३ वर्षे मार्गशीर्ष वदि १३ भौमे २१ चित्रायां ५ आयुष्मानयोगे ३ उदयात् घटी ३८ पल ३६ कर्कलग्नमध्ये। कीर्त्तिसिंहगृहे पुत्रजन्म।

26 संवत् १६७६ वर्षे आश्विन वदि १४ रवौ उदयात् गत घटी २७ समये। मेषलग्नमध्ये। सीसोदिया रार्यासिंह जन्म।

27 संवत् १७०९ वर्षे आषाढ़ श्रुद्ध ५ उदयात् गत घटी ३६ पल ४ मकरलग्नमध्ये। राजा जसवन्तसिंहगृहे पुत्रजन्म पृथ्वीसिंह।

28 संवत् १७१३ वर्षे भाद्रपद श्रुद्ध ३ भौमे ४६।९ उत्तरा फाल्गुनी १५।१० साध्ये २४।५५ उदयात् घटी १५ पल ११ वृश्चक लग्नमध्ये। श्री रूपसिंहगृहे पुत्रजन्म।

29 संवत् ११९५ वर्षे वैशाष वदि २ गुरौ चित्रानक्षत्रे। सिद्धियोगे। गर नाम कर्णे। श्री पृथ्वीराज चहुवांण जन्म। मेषलग्न मध्ये।

30 संवत् १६०० वर्षे पौष शुद्ध ७ भौमे वारे रेवतीनक्षत्रे घटी ४३।४६ दिन गत घटी समस्त रात्रि गत घटी १४।१२ समये तुल· लग्नमध्ये। राउ श्री उदेसिंह देवडासी रोही जन्म।

31 संवत् १५९९ वर्षे मगसिर वदि ८ भौमे घटी ५३ अश्लेषा-नक्षत्रे घटी २२ उदयात् घटी ३८ पल ३०। देवडा मानसिंह जन्म।

32 संवत् १५४४ वर्षे श्रावणवदि १४ श्री सूर्योदये जन्म। राजश्री वीरमदे दूदावत री जन्मपत्री।

33 संवत् १६१५ वर्षे चैत्रमासे कृष्णपक्षे दशम्यां १० तिथौ बुधे वशलो रात्रि जन्म। राजा श्री सावलदा जी रो जन्म।

34 संवत् १६२५ वर्षे प्रथम वैशाष सुदि ११ गुरौ ३ दिन गत घटो सर्व रात्रि घटी २१–१५ समये कुंभलग्नमध्ये। मेष गत दिन १३। कुवर श्री सादूल री जन्मपत्री।

35 संवत् १५१४ वर्षे पोह वदि ऽउदयात् घटी २४ पल ४४ राव वाघा जन्म।

36 सं० १५९४ वर्षे माह सुदी १३ रवौ उदयात् गत घटी २१ पल ३२ समये। राव मालदे सुत। राजा उदेसिंह जन्म।

37 सं० १६२७ वर्ष वैशाष वदिऽऽउदयात् गत घटी ५० पल ३२। राजा सूर्यसिंह जन्म। ०।२०।२७

38 सं० १६९८ वर्षे द्वितीय जेष्ठ वदि १३ गुरौ घटी २०।१९ कृत्तिका ५२।१८ सूर्योदयात् गत घटी १३ पल ३४ समये महाराज कुवार। ईश्वरसिंह जन्म।

39 सं० १६३९ वर्षे ज्येष्ठ कृष्ण २ बुधे रात्रि घटी ९।० मोटा राजा गृहे। कृष्णसिंह जन्म।

40 सं० १६६४ वर्षे भाद्रवा सुदि ३ बुधे उदयात् गत घटी ३४।१७ सबलसिंह जन्म, सूर्य संघोत।

41 संवत् १५८६ वर्षे फागुण सुदि १५ उदयात् गत घटी ८ पल २४ कर्कलग्नमध्ये राव रामस्य जन्म।

42 संवत् १५९८ वर्षे श्रावण सुदि ८ रात्रि गत घटी १०।२६ राव श्री मालदे जी गृहे। चंदसिन जन्म।

43 संवत् १५८९ वर्षे अश्वन सुदि ८ रवौ उदयात् गत घटी ४९।५ राव मालदे सुत रत्नसी जन्म।

44 संवत् १५९० वर्षे मंगसर सुदि ८ सोमे उदयात् घटी ८ पल ३५ समये राव मालदे सुत भोजराज जी जन्म।

45 सं० १६५३ वर्षे वैशाष वदि ७ भृगौ घटी १ पल १० राव जगनाथ कल्याण मलोत ईडरीयो।

46 संवत् १६६३ वर्षे असो वदि २ सूर्योदयात् गत घटी...कर्कलग्न-मध्ये राजा श्री करमसेन जी गृहे पुत्र जन्म रामसिंह।

47 संवत् १६३२ वर्षे पोह सुदी १३ गुरौ उदयात् गत घटी १४।० मीनलग्नमध्ये। उग्रसेनगृहे रा करमसेन जन्म।

48 संवत् १६२७ वर्षे आषाढ़ वदि १ भृगौ उदयात् गत घटी ४८।४९ राव चन्द्रसेनगृहे पुत्र आसकरण जन्म।

49 संवत् १६६५ वर्षे ज्येष्ठ वदी ३ गुरौ उदयात् गत घटी ५५।३२ श्री रत्नजी गृहे। हाडा मधोसिंह जन्म।

50 संवत् १६६० वर्षे चैत्र सुदी १२ सोमे रात्री शेष घटी...पल... समये राजा अमरसिंह बाघेला जन्म ११।१७

51 संवत् १६२२ वर्षे मार्गसिर २ भृगौ उदयात् गत घटी ५७।३६ राजा बीरबलगृहे पुत्र धीरबल जन्म।

52 संवत् १४९७ वर्षे आषाढ़ सुदी ३ उदयात् गत घटी २ पल १३ समये राव जोधा सुत दूदा जी जन्म मेडतीया।

53 संवत् १५६४ वर्षे आसू सुदि ११ रवौ विरमदे जी सुत। जेमल मेडतीया जन्म।

54 संवत् १६३८ वर्षे वैशाष वदी ८ बुधे उदयात् घटी...पल... समये। राणा श्री सांगा जी जन्म चीत्रोड सीसोदिया।

55 संवत् १५७८ वर्षे भाद्रवा सुदी १२ बुधवारे सूर्योदयात् गत घटी पल राणा सांगा गृहे। राणा उदेसिंह जन्म।

56 सं० १५९७ वर्षे ज्येष्ठ सुदी ३ रवौ उदयात् गत घटी ४७ पल १३ राणाप्रताप जन्म।

57 सं० १६१६ वर्षे चैत्र सुदि ७ समये उदयात् गत घटी...पल...राणा श्री अमरसिंह जी जन्म।

58 सं० १६१३ वर्षे भद्रवा वदी २ भृगौ उ० घटी ४७ पल ३३ राणा सगर जन्म।

59 सं० १५४२ वर्षे वैशाष सुदी १४ उ० घटी १।० संमये रावल भाटी जेसलमेर। लूणकर्ण जी जन्म।

60 सं० १५६८ वर्षे महा बदी ऽऽरात्रि गत घटी १७ पल० रावल मालदे जन्म। भाटी। जेसलमेर।

61 सं० १५९८ वर्षे आसोज सुदि ९ उदयात् गत घटी १ पल २७ राव हरिराज जन्म।

62 सं० १६१८ वर्षे मगसिर वदि ११ भौमे रात्रि शेष घटी २ पल... संमये रावल भीम जी जन्म।

63 सं० १६५१ वर्षे चैत्र बदी ६ बुधे श्री सूर्योदयात् गत घटी ९ पल १५ संमये रावल हरराज जन्म।

64 सं० १६०७ वर्षे माह बदी १३ शनौ उदयात् गत घटी ४८।८ मये महाराजा श्री मानसिंह जी जन्म। कछवाह।

65 सं० १५९८ वर्षे शके १४६३ प्रवर्त्ते माने श्रावण मासे कृष्णपक्षे द्वादश्यां १२ तिथौ बुधवासरे घटी २४ आद्रानक्षत्रे चतुर्थपादे जन्म। श्री ५ महाराजा रायसिंह जी जन्म।

66 स० १६५१ वर्षे शके १५१६प्रवर्ते पौष वदि द्वादशी १२ तिथौ... वारे स्वात नक्षत्रे जन्म श्री५ महाराजा सूर्य्यसिंह जी जन्म।

67 संवत् १६७३ वर्षे शके १५३८ प्रवर्त्ते माने महामांगल्यप्रद श्रावण सुदि षष्ट्यां ६ तिथौ बुधवासरे घ० ८।५५ सप्तमी मध्ये। हस्तनक्षत्रे ७ चित्रामध्ये सिद्धियोगे रात्रि शेष घटी ० पल ४५ संमये श्री ५ महाराजा कर्णसिंह जी जन्म।

68 सं० १६९७ वर्षे शके १५६२ प्रवर्त्ते माघ सुदि १ शनौ घटी २१ सह द्वितीयायां २ तिथौ...श्रावण घटी ५३।५४ धनेष्टामध्ये वत्र ७।४० परघमध्ये मकर गत दिन ५ सूर्योदयात् गत घटी ५६।२८ समये श्री ४ केसरीसिंह जन्म।

69 सं० १७०२ वर्षे शके १५६६ प्रवर्त्ते वैशाष सुदि ८ तिथौ बुधवारे ४४।५२ अश्लेषा-नक्षत्रे घटी २३।१ वृद्ध नाम योगे २९।२९ मेष गतांशा २६। सूर्योदयात् गत घट ६।२४ मिथुन लग्नोदय जन्म नाम डूगरसी श्री ४ प्रद्युम्नसिंह जी जन्म।

70 संवत् १७०६ वर्षे शके १५७१ प्रवर्त्ते चैत्र सुदि १४ शनिवारे घ० २८।३५ उत्तरा फाल्गुनी घटी ४१ वृधि नाम योगे ३१।५७ मीन गतांशा २० सूर्योदयात् गत घटी ५७।५२ समये जन्म १२ श्री मोहणसिंह जी जन्म।

71 सं० १७१९ वर्षे शके १५८४ प्रवर्त्ते प्र० चैत्रे वदि ४ सोमेवारे १०।० पंचमीमध्ये चित्रा घटी ७ स्वातमध्ये वृद्ध नाम योगे ११ ध्रुवमध्ये कुंभ गतांशा २० श्री सूर्योदयात् गत घटी २०।५ कर्क लग्न। रघुनाथसिंह जी जन्म। श्री पद्मम्नसिंह जी गृहे।

72 संवत् १६९९ वर्षे शके १५६४ प्रवर्त्ते चैत्र सुदि ३ बुधवारे २६।४४ भरणी नक्षत्रे ७।४० प्रीत घटी ३२।४ मान गतांशा...श्री सूर्योदयात् घटी...पल...धनलग्नमध्ये। वनमालीदास जन्म।

73 संवत् १६४५ वर्षे शके १५१० प्रवर्त्ते फागुण वदि ९ गुरुवारे ३१।३७ अनुराधानक्षत्रे घटी १०।२५ व्याघातनामयोगे २३।५४ समये कुंभलग्नमध्ये। श्री विक्रमदुर्गे प्रथम सूत्रपात।

74 सं० १६४५ वर्षे शके १५१० प्रवर्त्ते फागुण वदि १० भृगौ घटी ३०।६ येष्टग नक्षत्रे ११।९ परत मूलमध्ये हर्षणनामयोगे घटी १९।४५ उदयागत घटी २३।५५ कर्कलग्नमध्ये श्रीविक्रम दुर्गे खात।

75 सं० १६४५ वर्षे शके १५१० प्रवर्त्ते फागुण सुदि १२ सोमे घटी १०।४९ पुष्यनक्षत्रे १७।१० सौभाग्ययोगे ३०।० वृषलग्न-मध्ये श्रीविक्रमदुर्गे सिलान्यास।

76 संवत् १६५० वर्षे शके १५१५ प्रवर्त्ते माघ सुदि ६ गुरौ घटी ५०।० रेवती घटी ४८।० साध्यनामयोगे घटी पल समये विक्रमदुर्ग संपूर्ण।

77 संवत् १६९० वर्षे श्रावण सुदि ४ भौमे घटी ९।० हस्तनक्षत्रे ४१।० साध्यनामयोगे ४६।० कर्क गतांशा २९ रात्रि गत घटी ६। पल ४१ समये। बाई श्री आंणंद कुंवर जी जन्म।

78 संवत् १६१० वर्षे आषाढ़ सुदि ५ राजा भगवन्त-दासगृहे पुत्र माधोसिंह जी जन्म।

79 संवत् १६३३ वर्षे आसु वदी २ सोमे उ० घटी १३।३० राजा भाव-सिंह जन्म। कछवाहा।

80 संवत् १६०९ वर्षे पौष सुदी ९ शनौ उ० ग० घटी २६।१६ राजा जगनाथ जी जन्म कछवाहा।

81 संवत् १६३३ वर्षे मागसिर वदि १४ बुधे उ० ग० घटी ३ पल १ राजा करमचन्द जी जन्म। राजा जगनाथ सुत।

82 संवत् १६४३ वर्षे काती वदी ८ सोमे उ० घ० ४० पल १८ मिथुन-लग्नमध्ये। राजा जगंनाथगृहे पुत्रजन्म। मनरूप।

83 संवत् १६५४ वर्षे द्वितीक आश्वन वदी २ शनौ रात्रि ग० घ० १४ पल० राजा करमचंद्रगृहे पुत्र अभैकर्ण जी जन्म।

84 संवत् १६६२ वर्षे मागसिर वदि ८ भृगौ घटी १८ रात्रि गत घटी १२ कर्कलग्नमध्ये बाली जी पुत्र रूपसींह जन्म।

85 संवत् १६३३ वर्षे फागुण वदी १३ शुक्रे घटी ३२ श्र १९ रात्रि ग० घटी २१।३० धनलग्नमध्ये राजा श्री सूर्यसिंह जी गृहे पुत्र चींदसिंह जन्म।

86 संवत् १६२६ वर्षे आश्विन वदि १४ शुक्रे उदयात् गत घटी ५ पल० राजा भगवंतदासगृहे पुत्रजन्म। रा० प्रतापसिंह।

87 संवत् १६२९ वर्षे जेष्ट शुद्धि ४ गुरौ उदयात् गत घटी ५ १८ वृषलग्नेमध्ये महाराजा मानसिंहगृहे पुत्रजन्म सकत-सिंह।

88 संवत् १६१७ वर्षे माह शुद्ध ४ रवौ ३४ मकरभुक्त २३ रात्रिभुक्ति ०।३७ सूर्योदय २७।३२ राजा भारमलगृहे पुत्रजन्म सलहदी जी।

89 संवत् १६१४ वर्षे जेष्ट शुक्ल २ भृगौ उदयात् गत घटी २१।३० राजा भारमलगृहे पुत्रजन्म। राजा सादूल जी।

90 संवत् १६४७ वर्षे भाद्रवा वदि २ गुरौ उदयात् गत घटी ५७ पल ५० समये सिंहलग्नमध्ये राजा जगतसिंह जी पुत्र झुझार-सिंह जी जन्म।

91 संवत् १६६६ वर्षे अश्विन सुदि ११ शुक्रे। उदयात् ३० वृषलग्न मध्ये झुझारसिंहगृहे पुत्र विक्रमादित्य जन्म।

92 सं० १६७८ वर्षे श्रावण सुदी १५ शुक्रे उदयात् गत घटी ४५।३० राजा आसकरणगृहे राजा राजसिंहजन्म।

93 सं० १६४० वर्षे आसोज सुदी १२ शुक्रे घटी ७।१० राजा राजसिंह-गृहे पुत्र रामदास जन्म। सू ५।१६ ल ६।७

94 सं० १५९४ वर्षे फागुण वदी ८ बुधे मकर भुक्तांशा २६ रात्रिगत घटी ११।० कन्यालग्नमध्ये। रायमल्ल जी जन्म।

95 सं० १६५६ वर्षे कार्त्तिक सुदि २ गुरौ श्री सूर्योदयात् भुक्तघटी २२।० कुंभलग्नमध्ये गिरधरदास जी पुत्र द्वारिकादास जी जन्म।

96 सं० १६६४ आसाढ़ कृष्ण ८ रवौ रात्रिभुक्त घटी ३।३० रा० गिरधरदासगृहे पुत्रजन्म सलह दी जी।

97 सं० १६८५ वर्षे वैशाष सुदि ११ शनौ उदयात् गत घटी २६। राजा भारमल जी गृहे पुत्र-जन्म रूपसिंह जी।

98 सं० १६०७ वर्षे चैत्र सुदि १० भौमे राजि श्री उदाजिगृहे राजा रामदास जी जन्म। सू ११।१९।४३

99 सं० १६०७ माघ बदी ऽऽ शुक्रे उदयात् घटी २८।२६ मीश्र महानंद जी जन्म।

100 सं० १६५८ वर्षे भाद्रपदी वदी ऽऽ सोमे उदयात् गत घटी १६ पल २० दनमणीदासगृहे पुत्रजन्म। महानंद जन्म।

101 सं० १६७१ वर्षे आसोज बदी ८ शुक्रे रात्रिगत घटी २१।१८ समये कर्कलग्नमध्ये। मनरूपगृहे पुत्रजन्म गोपालसिंह जी जन्म।

102 संवत् १६४२ वर्षे जेष्ठ वदि ८ बुधे रात्रिगत घटी ७।३० समये राजा रामदास जी गृहे पुत्र दर्षलय नारामण जी जन्म।

103 संवत् १६६६ वर्षे भाद्रवा वदि ८ शनौ उदयात् गत घटी २।१५ सिंहलग्नमध्ये दलपनारायणजीगृहे वीरनारायण जी जन्म।

104 संवत् १६६१ वर्षे जेष्ठ वदी ५ भौमे रात्री गत घटी ४।९ धनलग्न-मध्ये राजा मानधातागृहे पुत्र राजा श्री गिरधरदास जी जन्म।

105 संवत् १६५५ वर्षे श्रावण कृष्ण ३० शनौ सूर्योदयात् गत घटी २६।२७ धनलग्नमध्ये राजा श्री मानधाता गृहे। राजा श्री वीठल-दास जी जन्म।

106 सं० १६३९ चैत्र वदि ८ शनौ उदयात् गत घटी ४७ पल १५ राजा विक्रमादित्य जन्म।

107 सं० १६५७ वर्षे मगसिर सुदि ६ सोमे उदयात् गत घटी ०।० राजा गोपालदासगृहे पुत्रजन्म। मुरारदास गौड़।

108 सं० १६३६ वर्षे मार्गशीर्ष वदि ६ सोमे रात्रि गत घटी ५।५ दलपति उजेणीया जन्म। सू ७।८।३०

109 सं० १६०७ वर्षे श्रावण बदी १४ शनौ रात्रि गत घटी २३।...श्री-कृष्णदासराज्ञो जन्म।

110 सं० १६४० वर्षे श्रावण बदी ४ शनौ दिन गत १०।३ सिंहलग्न-मध्ये। श्री मदणीराय जन्म। वड गूजर।

111 सं० १६६८ वर्षे द्वितीय आषाढ़ शुद्ध १४ शनौ रात्रि गत घटी १२।३० मेषलग्नमध्ये श्री मदणीराय पुत्र जन्म।

112 सं० १६७० वर्षे जेष्ठ शुद्ध १४ शनौ रात्रि गत घटी १।३० दणीराय पुत्र जन्म। सू० ल० ८।१।४ द ५।१२।२५

113 सं० १६७१ वर्षे चैत्र सुदि १२ शनौ रात्रि गत घटी ०।३१ मीन लग्नमध्ये। राजा वीठलदासगृहे पुत्र जन्म। अनुरुद्ध गौड जन्म।

114 सं० १६७२ वर्षे आषाढ़ सुदि ७ शुक्रे रात्रि गत घटी १ पल ७ राजा वीठलदास गृहे पुत्रजन्म। अर्ज्जन मिथुनांशा २४

115 सं० १६७५ वर्षे भादवा सुदि रवौ श्री सूर्योदयात् गत घटी २१ पल २० धनुमध्ये। राजा शिवरामस्य जन्म। गौड।

116 संवत् १६२९ वर्षे आसु सूदी २ भौमे रा० गत घटी ० पल ३५ दानसाह जन्म। सू ५।९

117 सं० १६४४ वर्षे श्रावण सुदी १३ रवौ उदयात् गत घटी २६।३३ षुसरु सुरताण जन्म।

118 संवत् सं० १६२७ वर्षे आषाढ़ सुदी १४ बुधे रात्रि गत ० पल ३ समये। साह मुराद जन्म।

119 संवत् १६५५ माह श्रुद्ध १४ सोमे घटी ४९ पुक्ष ५१ उदयात् १५।४७ नबाब महवतिषान पुत्र। षान जमा जन्म।

120 संवत् १६७१ वर्षे वैशाष शुद्ध ८ गुरौ उदयात् गत घटी ११।४५ मिरजा मानुलह् महवतिषान पुत्र।

121 संवत् १६७० वैशाष वदि ३ रवौ उदयात् भुक्त ०।२० मेषार्क० मेषलग्नमध्ये। दलेल मिहृति महवतिषा पुत्र।

122 संवत् १६६७ मार्ग शुक्ल ५ शनौ उदयात् गत घटी १५ पल १ महवतिषान पुत्र मिराजा बहिराम।

123 संवत् १६४३ वर्षे जेष्ठ सुदि १ सोमे उदयात् गत घटी ३१।३० वृश्चिक लग्नमध्ये। षानषाना पुत्र एल च जन्म। अक्षभा ५।५

124 संवत् १६४४ वर्षे आषाढ़ वदी ४ वुधे रात्रि भुक्त ५।५५ षानषाना पुत्र। दाराब जन्म ऽक्षभा ७।३०

125 संवत् १६६२ वर्षे कार्त्तिक बदी ७ भौमे सूर्योदयात् गत घटी ०।३७ कन्यालग्ने सहिजादा। 'जहादा जहादा' जन्म।

126 संवत् १६६२ वर्षे मगसिर वदी ३ शनौ रात्रि गत घटी २६।२४ उ० ५४।१५ पातिसाह जहागीर गृहे सह० सहरियार जन्म।

127 संवत् १६६४ वर्षे मगसिर सुदि १३ शनौ उदयात् गत घटी १२।० सुलतान परवेज गृहे पुत्रजन्म।

128 संवत् १६५९ वर्षे कार्त्तिक वदी ३० भौमे उदयात् गत १।११ तुला लग्न दामसाह गृहे पुत्रजन्म।

129 सं० १६६१ वर्षे वैशाष सुदि २ शनौ उदयात् १।१७ वृषलग्न दानसाहि पुत्र हुसंग जन्म।

130 सं० १६७१ वर्षे फागुण सुदि २ रवौ रात्रि गत घटी ४।० सुलतान परिवेज गृहे जन्मपुत्र।

131 संवत् १६६८ वर्षे वैशाष सुदि १४ भौमे दिन गत घटी २२।१५ सुलतान षुसरू गृहे पुत्र जन्म। षांन आजिम।

132 संवत् १६६९ जेष्ठ वदी ११ शुक्रे उदयात् ९।३० सुलतान षुसरू पत्नीषानं आजमकन्या पुत्रजन्म।

133 संवत् १६२६ वर्षे मार्ग शुद्ध ११ शनौ। साह अक्वबर गृहे पुत्री-जन्म। साहिजादी षानिमल। रात्रि गत घटी २५।१६

134 संवत् १६४३ वर्षे जेष्ठ बदि ४ भौमे रात्रि गत घंटी ६।२० पातिसाह जांहागीर गृहे पुत्रीजन्म। सुलताण निसार बेगम। षुसरू भग्नी।

135 सं० १६४४ वर्षे वैशाष वदि ६ रवौ उदयात् गतघटी १२।१५ षांन आजिमगृहे कन्या प्रसूता सुलतान षुसरू पत्नी।

136 सं० १६६२ वर्षे मागसिर वदि ५ भौमे रात्रिगत ८।३७ सू १६।२ श्रुलतान षुसरू गृहे आजम कन्या प्रसूता पुत्रीजन्म।

137 सं० १६२९ ज्येष्ठ सुदी गतघटी २०।२६ राजा श्री उदेसिंह जी गृहे भार्या राणी श्री कछवाहा पुत्रीजन्म बाई मानवती।

138 सं० १५१७ वर्षे मार्ग कृष्ण ३ रवौ सूर्योदयात् गतघटी २४।२५ जगत्सिंहस्य जन्म। राजा बासूपुत्र।

139 सं० १७०९ वर्षे आषाढ़ सुदि ५ गुरौ रात्रि घंटी ३।४२ ल १० मध्ये जसवंतसिंह गृहे पुत्र पृथ्वीसिंह।

140 सं० १७१५ वर्षे भाद्रवा वदि १३ सोमे सूर्योदयात् गत घटी २७ राव श्री ईश्वरसिंह गृहे पुत्रजन्म।

141 संवत् १६९० वर्षे शके १५५५ आश्विन शुद्ध १० बुधे घटी ३३ पल २० श्रवण घटी ०।४७ सह धनिष्टा। शूल २४।४१ अत्रो-दयात् गतघटी १ पल ४१ समये तुलालग्नमध्ये। अमरसिंह गृहे पुत्र। रासाजन्म।

142 संवत् १६७० वर्षे पौष शुद्ध ११ रविवारे घटी ४९।३० भरणी घटी ५५ पल ३४ सिद्धिनाम योगे घटी ५४।३ धन गतांशा १२ रात्रि गतघटी २ समये मिथुनलग्नमध्ये। राव अमरसिंह जन्म। नागोरी।

143 संवत् १६७१ वर्षे शके १५३६ प्रवर्त्ते ,वैशाष सुदि १ गुरौ उदयात् गतघटी ११।४५ समये मिथुनलग्नमध्ये। महवतिखान पुत्र लोहराम खा जनम। नामांतरं। महावत खान। पल भा ५।५०

144 संवत् १६५२ वर्षे शके १५१७ कार्त्तिक शुद्ध ८ गुरौ घटी ३८ धनिष्ठा नक्षत्रे ५२ अ श्री सूर्योदयात् गत घटी १ पल ७ समये वृश्चक लग्नमध्ये। राजा गजसिंह जन्म योधपुरे। पल भा ५।४५

145 सं० १६४५ वर्षे माह सुदी...भौमे उदयात् १।७ समये राजसिंघ विसन दासोतजन्म। मेडतिया।

146 सं० १६४३ वर्षे फागुण वदि ३ भौमे उदयात् ५३।५१ गोपालदास सुंदरदासोत जन्म मेडतिया।

147 सं० १६५५ वर्षे भाद्रवा वदि ३ सोमे उदयात् गतघटी १८।४५ सूर्यमलपुत्र महेसदासोत जन्म। चांपावत।

148 संवत् १६४५ वर्षे आश्विन शुद्ध ६ सोमे घटी १० सह ७ येष्टा घटी २७ सौभाग्य घटी ४।३१ कन्या गतांशा १६ उदयात् गतघटी २४ पल २० समये कुंभलग्नेमध्ये। झुझारसिंह जन्म। प्रसिद्ध योगराज।

149 संवत् १६६६ वर्षे अश्विन शुद्ध १३ रवौ दिनगत समस्त रात्रि गतघटी ७।० समये वृष लग्न मध्ये झुझारसिंहात्म विक्रमादित्य जन्म।

150 संवत् १५६८ वर्षे शके १४३३ मार्गशीर्ष मासे कृष्णपक्षे प्रतिपदा १ भृगौ ४१।१५ आर्द्रा ४७।१३ श्रु...योगे १९।३७ उदयात् गतघटी ५०।२४ तुला लग्नमध्ये। रावमालदेवजन्म।

151 संवत् १६८३ वर्षे शके १५४८ पौष वदि ४ भौम उदयात् गतघटी पल ३२ समये मेषलग्नमध्ये। राजा जसवंतसिंह जन्म बु...न्हपुरे।

152 संवत् १६१४ वर्षे आसोज बदी १४ भौमे मोटा राजापुत्र भगवानदासस्य जन्म।

153 सं० १६१४ काती वदि २ रवौ मोटा राजा जी पुत्र नरहरिदासस्य जन्म।

154 सं० १६२४ वर्षे पौह सुदि १४ सोमे राजा उदेसिंहसुत सकतिसिंहस्य जन्म।

155 सं० १६२५ वर्षे चैत्र वदि ९ रवौ राजा उदेसिंह गृहे दलपति जन्म।

A NEW SOURCE OF INDIAN HISTORY: THE VIJÑAPTIPATRAS

BY

PT. HIRANANDA SASTRI, M.A., D.LITT.

The main sources of Indian history are generally known. The history of ancient India could not have been written but for the inscriptions, the coins, the accounts by foreigners and the legends or traditions preserved in the epics or similar works. These important sources have been, and are still being studied and compiled with a view to prepare a connected account of India's past. The patient and laborious researches of Indologists have resulted in the production of some very learned books giving us a systematic account of history of such a vast country as India. The students of Indian history know them and there is no need of dilating on or mentioning them here. My zeal for collecting illustrated manuscripts has enabled me to find another and hitherto untapped source. Though I have dealt with it in a memoir* which has already been published and placed before scholars yet a brief review of that interesting theme may well be presented to our learned historian in whose honour this volume is being published.

This new source is the old letters of solicitation and invitation which were sent by the Jainas to their *gurus* especially on their new years' day. The religious year of the Jainas commences with the *sāmvatsarika* or the annual day, which is the concluding day of the *Paryushaṇā* festival. Paryushaṇā is the most important of the

* *Ancient Vijñaptipatras*, by Dr. H. Sastri, Baroda state, 1942, pp. 1—80, plates I—XVIII.

Jaina festivals, falling in the month of Bhādrapada (August-September) and lasting for eight days beginning from the twelfth day of the dark half of that month. On this his most auspicious day, every Jaina has to think of his past deeds, the sins of commission and omission, and take a vow to perform virtuous deeds in the coming year. He seeks pardon for his sins directly or through letters if the person whose pardon is sought is staying at a distance. These letters are termed *kshamāpanā* or *Vijñaptipatras*. They may be addressed by individuals to friends or relations and others, or by one *Jaina-saṅgha* or community to another. The latter, with which we are mainly concerned, are meant to be an imitation to the preceptor or *āchārya* requesting him to spend the next *chaumāsā* or the rainy season with the inviting community. It seems to have been the custom of the *Śvetambara* Jains to send such communications. While making the request and recounting the good deeds done and describing the excellences of the preceptor, mention is usually made of the ruler of the country, of his capital and chief exploits and of the locality in which the *āchārya* resides. These descriptions are given along with illustrations showing the bazars, the streets, the mansions and the well known places of the capital or the place of invitation, evidently with a view to attract the invitee. These illustrations also show the costumes of the persons represented in them and give an idea of the life of the people of the locality. In giving such descriptions and pictures, these letters allude to historical events as well as matters of ethnographical, religious and social interests and it is on this account that they are of value. These letters have never before been studied from this point of view and that is the reason why they form a new source of Indian history.

These letters were either written by a *saṅgha* (Jain community) to a monk, or by one Jaina

monk to another or by the guru to the pupil and *vice versa*. They were invariably written in the form of a scroll. First of all an auspicious pitcher was drawn: then came the eight sacred objects, viz., Brāhmaṇ, cow, fire, gold, clarified butter, sun, water and king, or lion bull, elephant, water jar, fan, flag, drum and lamp. Below this group are represented the fourteen dreams which the mother of a *Jaina Tirthaṅkara* dreams. These dreams are of the (1) white elephant, (2) white bull, (3) white lion, (4) goddess of wealth, (5) garland of sweet-scented mandāra flowers, (6) white moon, (7) radiant red sun, (8) celestial banner, (9) golden pitcher, (10) lotus lake, (11) milky ocean, (12) celestial abode, (13) vase of jewels, and (14) clear fire. After these are drawn other scenes and representations of the palaces of the ruler of the country and the locality from which the letter is despatched. These representations contain the pictures of some important buildings, bazaars, streets, religious structures, wells, tanks, streams, scenes of festivity and of the Jaina processions or gathering or congregations to which the Jaina monk sermonizes. After these pictures the text of the letter is written either in Sanskrit or in Prakrit, i.e., the local dialect or in both, partly in prose and partly in verse. The text has a traditional commencement. It begins with the salutations to a Jiva or Jivas, the liberations of the world, after which a eulogistic description of the residence of the preceptor is given. It is followed by the praise of the people with whom the invited teacher lives as well as of the people around him and of the inviting community. After this came the solicitations for forgiveness for the shortcomings of the invitees and then the invitation—the main object of the epistle. This is usually followed by the signatures, or the names of the signatories or the principal persons sending the invitation.

Importance of the Epistles.

The importance of these epistles lies in the fact that while describing the localities concerned and mentioning the local chiefs, they provide us with interesting details regarding arts and crafts, and material for the study of social and religious customs as well as a study of the growth of dialects and ethnography. These points are well illustrated in the several epistles on scrolls which have been noticed by the writer of this paper. The epistle giving the *Firmān* of Jehangir is a very important document and may be briefly noticed here by way of illustration. This scroll is unique in that it gives the contemporary portraits of Jehangir and his successor Shah Jehan by Salivahana, the celebrated painter of the courts of Akbar and Jehangir. It is dated in the Vikrama year 1667 (i.e., A.D.) and records the proclamation by the beating of drums which the Mughal Emperor Jehangir issued prohibiting animal slaughter during the *Paryushaṇā* week throughout the empire.

As will be seen from this brief notice the *Vijñaptipatras* are a fruitful source of Indian history, particularly of western India where the Jaina community is mainly congregated and where they probably originated. I have examined in detail twenty-six such epistles or scrolls in my memoir alluded to above. No doubt many more are lying unexamined in *bhandaras* and private collections. The present article is intended to arouse interest in such documents so that further light may be shed on the history of India.

THE MARATHA MARITIME POWER—A REVIEW

BY

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In a letter dated the 16th August, 1659, the Governor of Goa warned his royal master of a new menace to the Portuguese power in the Indian waters; a son of Shahaji had launched a fighting fleet in the neighbourhood of Bassein. This is the first recorded notice of the Maratha navy so far available to us. In 1756 Clive and Watson stormed Gheria, and in the conflagration caused by the cannonade perished the mighty fleet that had so long challenged the combined sea powers of the western coast. The history of the Maratha maritime power thus barely covers a brief century. These hundred years again may be divided into four distinct periods. The first two decades (1659-1680) witnessed the beginning of the Maratha navy. It was obviously a period of experiments. The next twenty years form a blank. The future of the Maratha state was hanging in the balance, and the navy was in a state of suspended animation while the army was engaged in a life and death struggle. But it may be safely presumed that the Marathas still held their own against their Muslim adversaries on the sea, but contemporary records are so meagre that we are constrained to leave these fateful decades out of consideration. Then followed the most glorious age in the annals of the Maratha navy. Kanhoji Angria and his son Sekhoji held the supreme command of the fleet for thirty eventful years (1703-1733), and the Marathas in their newly realised strength scoured the sea with such confidence and purposeful energy that before long a powerful Anglo-Portuguese alliance was concluded over which the Maratha

diplomacy and valour scored a notable victory. The last twentythree years witnessed the decline and fall of the Maratha maritime power. Sambhaji and Tulaji had many brilliant achievements to their credit but the House of Angria, divided and disunited, was no match for the combined might of the Peshwa and the English East India Company. The Angrias of Colaba did indeed continue the old traditions of the family after the fall of Gheria and the *Ranger* incident proved that the Peshwa's ambition was by no means limited to the mainland, but the palmy days of the Maratha navy were long over, and with the destruction of Tulaji's fleet at Gheria vanished for ever the Maratha hold on the Arabian sea.

It may be pertinently asked whether the Maratha fleet played its rightful part in making the history of the Maratha people and shaping the destiny of the Maratha state. It will be futile to essay a simple answer to this apparently simple question. We do not know what definite objects Shivaji had in view when he launched his fighting fleet. In the absence of authentic contemporary documents we can only try to estimate the success and failure of his policy in the light of actual achievements, but inferences, however logical, cannot have the force of precise knowledge. That the elimination of the Muslim naval state of Janjira was one of the principal aims of Maratha maritime policy can be more or less definitely assumed. This objective had been consistently pursued by every head of the Maratha state from Shivaji to Baji Rao II, but the ill success of their efforts was not due to the prowess of the Sidis but to the English preference for a weak neighbour. The Sidi found a never-failing friend in the rulers of Bombay whenever his island was seriously threatened by the Marathas. Shivaji probably expected his fleet to maintain the supply of much needed food grains unimpeded when the land communication with

their sources was cut off. Such a contingency actually arose fifteen years after his naval policy had been formulated when Bahadur Khan tried to starve his people by forbidding all export of provisions from Gujarat. It is also likely that inspired by the example of the Portuguese and the English, Shivaji turned his fleet into an additional source of revenue by enforcing his sovereignty over the sea in the usual way and by participating in the lucrative trade with the lands overseas. Of the three probable objectives, therefore, the Maratha fleet attained two, though the conquest of Janjira remained a cherished but unrealised dream.

A military leader of Shivaji's genius must have perceived the advantages of combined naval and military operations in an area running for hundreds of miles along the sea. But only once was his navy seriously called upon to cooperate with the army. In 1664 the Dutch heard a rumour that Shivaji's fleet was sailing north to join his mobile land forces in the first sack of Surat, but the report ultimately proved unfounded. Next year, however, Shivaji made an effective use of his fighting fleet in the Barcelore expedition when he embarked on the first and probably the only sea voyage of his life. The success of that undertaking probably induced Shivaji to try the experiment once again five years later, and Dariya Sarang set out for an unknown destination with 160 sails. The magnitude of the expedition caused no little anxiety at Bombay and Surat, but it ended in a fiasco and the squadron received a rude hammering from a numerically inferior Portuguese fleet on its return journey. The ill-success of 1670 probably put a premature stop to this important experiment which might have yielded great results, and radically influenced the future military strategy of the Marathas. Shivaji survived only ten years more, but before he died he had the satisfaction of seeing his naval

policy fully vindicated. The Sidi of Janjira was to him an insufferable nuisance. His boats and men raided Shivaji's coast with impunity, and carried off prisoners of all ages and sexes to be sold as slaves whenever they could. Worse still they often treated the neutral island of Bombay as their base of operation. Unwilling as the English merchants were to alienate Shivaji on whose lands they depended for the supply of their fuel, they could not bring any effective pressure to bear upon the Sidi. The ruler of Janjira professed to serve the Moghul emperor, and could always count on the support of the Governor of Surat whose ill-will the East India Company's servants dare not incur so long as they had their principal factory and headquarters in that city. The Sidi turned a deaf ear to the expostulations and remonstrances of the English, and merrily went on with his predatory practices in complete disregard of the feelings of his helpless hosts. When his protests at Bombay proved unavailing, Shivaji decided to secure a convenient station whence his seamen could keep a vigilant eye on the harbour of Bombay and its visitors. The sea is dotted with tiny islets off the Bombay harbour, and one day in September 1679 Mai Naik, Shivaji's admiral, seized Kenery or Khānderi and held it against all the force that the English and the Sidi could bring. This was the last achievement of the Maratha fleet during the life time of its founder, but it demonstrated the utility and the future possibility of the navy for purposes offensive and defensive.

The naval achievements of the Angrias are now fairly well-known, and need not be retold here. Suffice it to say that for half a century Kanhoji and his sons held their own against the sea-faring nations of Europe, and the country powers of their own coast. After the rise of Kanhoji, the Admiral of the Fleet was for all practical purposes a semi-independent chief of the Maratha empire

and although he ordinarily co-operated with the military units of the empire, he cared more for his personal interests than for the general welfare of the state as a whole. Consequently the Maratha navy did not play a vital part in the history of the nation, and the empire survived the fighting fleet for six decades without suffering any appreciable loss of prestige and power. Strange though it may appear at first sight, the failure of the navy to influence to any perceptible extent the normal course of the national life is not altogether inexplicable.

Unlike the Maratha army, the navy was not a national institution. The Maratha peasant felt quite at home on the saddle, but he did not take kindly to the sea. The *Desh* or the Maratha country proper was cut off from the sea by the lofty Western Ghat ranges, and only the Koli and Bhandari fisherman turned seawards for their living while those who preferred a more promising career in the army or the civil administration turned eastward to the court. Shivaji had, therefore, to recruit his naval officers from the sea-faring castes and communities of the Konkan, and Muslim adventurers found ready employment in his fleet from which even Portuguese captains were not excluded. Within two decades of Shivaji's death, competent Maratha admirals were found to command the fleet, but even during the palmy days of the Angrias, foreigners of doubtful ability and unknown antecedents were warmly welcomed in the Maratha naval service. When Shivaji rose to power there was no room for foreigners or even Purvia mercenaries in the army. It was in the days of the Peshwas that the national character of the army was lost. But the navy was from the beginning manned by recruits of non-Maratha origin, for the fisherfolk of the Konkan must have formed an infinitesimal fraction of the population in those days, and the community could not provide the necessary quota of

sailors and gunners even in normal times. In every country the mercantile fleet forms the real school for seamanship, and, in time of war, sailors from merchantmen are drafted to men-of-war. The principle was not unknown to the Maratha rulers, but the navy was an exotic plant and did not thrive in the uncongenial environments of the Maratha country. If the experiments of 1665 and 1670 had been repeated, and if the advantages of combining naval and military strategy had been fully comprehended, the state might have taken due care to provide for a strong navy and its improvement. As it was, the utility of the navy was not properly appreciated, and it was permitted to have an isolated existence of its own, until the insubordination of the hereditary admirals drew upon it the Peshwa's wrath and led to its annihilation. The very hills that contributed to the martial qualities of the Maratha made him an indifferent and unwilling sailor, and a perverted policy, in its attempt to bend, broke a potential prop gone out of its proper place.

The political isolation of the navy also augured ill for its future. Instead of remaining a branch of the fighting forces of the state, the navy became under the Angrias an independent state within the state with irremovable hereditary commanders, who wielded sovereign authority while paying nominal homage to a *de jure* potentate. A very able exponent of Japanese imperialism has recently drawn pointed attention to the importance of diplomatic preliminaries to a successful campaign. No state can afford to let its armed forces be caught unawares by a superior enemy or combination of enemies. The diplomats must set the stage and fix the hour before the army or the navy can strike, and military and diplomatic efforts must be co-ordinated to ensure the success of a projected campaign. It is the business of the diplomat to secure suitable allies for his state, if neces-

sary, and effect the complete isolation of the enemy if possible. An able admiral may sometimes be an astute diplomat, but such a combination of military and political genius is rare in every country, in every age. Fortunately for the Maratha navy it found such a rare genius in Shivaji to control its policy and operations in the critical days of its infancy. Despite the provocations offered by the Sidi, Shivaji steadily refused to break his friendly relations with Bombay, and the Khanderi expedition was so timed as to guarantee its success even if the English had elected to cast their lot with the other belligerent. Kanhoji Angria could hold his own against any of his neighbours in a naval engagement or diplomatic intrigue. In 1712 he found himself simultaneously at war with four different powers, the Portuguese of Goa, the Sidi of Janjira, the English of Bombay and the dominant faction in the Maratha empire. Although he had suffered no reverse, he quickly settled his differences with the English without any reference to his nominal suzerain and came to terms with Shahu. It is to be noted that in his agreement with Shahu, he wisely relinquished his inland conquests for islands and harbours which could be easily held by his fleet. He made a correct estimate of the declining Portuguese power, and an understanding with the Sidi was for the time being out of the question. The peace with the English did not, for reasons which we need not examine here, last long, but Kanhoji obtained welcome support from Satara against the Anglo-Portuguese alliance of 1721. Maratha diplomacy isolated the English before long and the Portuguese concluded a separate treaty with the Chhatrapati. With characteristic moderation Kanhoji kept himself in the background, and it was suggested that as a subject and servant of Shahu he had no independent status. Kanhoji's son and immediate successor Sekhoji took equal care in cultivat-

ing the friendship of the Peshwa, and everything went well so long as he lived. His brothers Sambhaji and Tulaji were intrepid sailors but indifferent diplomats. Sambhaji readily co-operated with the Peshwa in his war with the Portuguese, but he often allowed himself to be diverted by easy prizes when a knock-out blow at the Portuguese fleet would render the enemy *hors de combat.* He had indeed opened friendly negotiations with the English but his terms were such as no self-respecting power would accept, though the avowed hostility of the Peshwa and the rebellion of his brother Manaji called for an immediate truce, if not permanent peace, with Bombay. While his father and elder brother studiously avoided all unequal combats, Sambhaji threw his gauntlet right and left ready to fight any power that might accept his challenge. With a disloyal brother intriguing with an unfriendly Peshwa and the English in his rear, he recklessly went on making fresh complications and new enemies. It is true that he did not deviate from the traditional practices of the coast, but it was certainly a criminal folly on the part of a man in his position to stick to his rights to the point of driving all the western powers of the coast to the opposite camp. He was a veritable Ishmael of the sea, his arms against everybody else and everybody's arms against him. When Tulaji succeeded his brother in the chief command of the Maratha fleet the political isolation was complete, but he did not do anything to repair his position. Futile negotiations were from time to time opened with some of his neighbours but none but the Portuguese were in a mood to treat with him, and they were not in a position to see him out of the wood. The Peshwa should have taken a more far-sighted view of things, but in his blind jealousy, he did not hesitate to make a common cause with the English against the only unit of the empire which could harass

the western power in its native element. Recent apologists have argued that the Peshwa was highly incensed with Tulaji for his ruthless persecution of the Brahmans, but it cannot be ignored that the Peshwa had concluded a pact with the Portuguese as early as 1740 with a view to exterminate the Angria. Common dislike formed the only bond between the Peshwa and the English, and the latter saw that the ruin of an enemy did not lend to the naval aggrandisement of a potential rival. If the Angrias had not asserted their virtual independence, the fleet might have remained an integral part of the fighting forces of the Maratha state, and played a more important part in the history of the Maratha nation. Divided from its parent state, deprived of the protection of its natural guardian, isolated from its probable allies, the Maratha fleet failed to hold its rightful place in the Maratha empire, and fell an easy prey to an unnatural Anglo-Maratha alliance.

Within its own limits the Angrian fleet had attained a fairly high standard of efficiency. It formed by common consent an excellent school for sailors. Appaji Gopal, who commanded Gaikwad's fleet, and Ismail Khan who earned the sobriquet of 'Valoroso' or valiant in the Portuguese service had served their apprenticeship in the Angria fleet. But it is to be regretted that the Maratha captains made no attempt to improve the technique and tactics they had inherited nor did they show any predilection for scientific investigations. Although the Angrias strove their best to enlist their European captives in their service, no serious effort was ever made to study the western art and science of navigation or to explore the seas beyond their limited range of cruise. In addition to this intellectual apathy should be added a remarkable lack of idealism, which contributed not a little to the final downfall of the Maratha sea power. The army

was to a certain extent imbued with Shivaji's ideals which often enabled the Maratha chieftains to unite in the face of a common danger and national disaster, but the last two Angrias gave no evidence of patriotism or a sense of racial solidarity. A fighting force must have a dynamic programme of progress to maintain its vigour and vitality. It must either rise from strength to strength or yield to a more enterprising power. The Maratha navy failed to keep pace with the progressive west, and its fall was a question of time. But for the suicidal feud of the Angria brothers and the blind jealousy of the Peshwa, the Angria's fleet might have survived for a few years longer, but there could not be any doubt about its final collapse. Daring sailors alone cannot make a great navy, well-equipped ships alone cannot make a strong fighting fleet; sea-power must have its foundation in the national will, it must draw its inspiration from national aspirations, it must derive its sustenance from patriotic ideals. Unfortunately for the Maratha navy it lacked that inspiring idealism and national support which alone might have sustained it against superior forces and crushing disasters.

ATTENTION AND MYSTICAL DISCIPLINE: A PSYCHOLOGICAL APPROACH

BY

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INTRODUCTORY

A long process of concentration on the object of spiritual quest is deemed essential for spiritual adjustment in many patterns of religious culture. The practice of concentration has also been regarded as an important phase of mystic discipline that often overreaches the schemes of social religion. In fact, the mind which cannot concentrate is sometimes said to be totally unfit to attain the higher reaches of spiritual life. The first *Jhāna* of Buddhism, for instance, is described as a state in which "attention is applied and sustained, which is born of solitude and filled with zest and pleasurable feeling." And this is the avenue of further progress on the way of wisdom. In the *Yoga* scheme, again, the capacity for concentration is the indispensable condition of mystical ecstasy.[1] The mind must be one-pointed in order to penetrate into the life of the spirit.

The phenomenon of attentional adjustment seems to be both a test and a technic. A mind that cannot concentrate would also be found wanting in certain essential qualities necessary for progress on the mystic way. Concentration is a technic; for it is cultivated by a long course of psycho-physiological discipline that aims at achieving quiescence of turbulent desires and proliferation

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* The editors very much regret that Prof. N. N. Sen Gupta who was associated with the Volume from the very beginning, has now passed away.

[1] Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychology*, p. 97. *Yoga-sūtra*, i. 1. See also the *Bhāshya*. *Gītā*, ii 66; note the concept of *Bhāvanā*.

of favourable emotions and attitudes. A mind practised in concentration can use all its innate and acquired tendencies as urges to spiritual advance.

Concentration as a phase of mystic discipline is always undertaken in the setting of a particular religious ideology and myth. The Buddhist attempts to subdue the carnal desires by a contemplation of the foulness of the body. Hence, he seeks to direct his attention upon the loathsome aspect of the body and its organs. "Just as a clever butcher", says the text, . . . " when he has slain an ox, displays the carcase piecemeal at the cross ways as he sits, even so does a monk reflect upon this very body." There are other practices of concentration which bring about many transformations of consciousness in consonance with the Buddhistic outlook and ideology. Hence the author concludes:

"Therefore the wise should not be negligent
In constant application to this mode
Of concentration-culture, which has such
Advantages, and purges passion-taints."[2]

The Vaishṇava, on the other hand, prescribes other objects that fit in with its special aim, method and outlook. The devotee is asked to concentrate, for instance, upon the episodes presented in the Kṛishṇa-mythology. A Vaishṇava text, suggests the following among others as a fit topic for concentration: "Concentrate on Kṛishṇa, whose body is aglow with the rays of millions of suns which are, at the same time, soothing as the beams of as many moons. Think of the divine form as pervading the whole universe and recite the mystic syllables." The devotee is again asked to concentrate on the scene depicted in the Gītā where Kṛishṇa is discoursing to Arjuna

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[2] *The Path of Purity*, II, Ch. xi, pp. 402 and 431. (P.T.S. Trans. Series).

on the vital truths of the life of the spirit. Each task of concentration is intended to place the mind in a well-defined context of theories, images, myths and emotions.

In the beginning, the mind moves from the one plane to the other: from the plane of normal life to that built up by religious concentration. These, however, slowly blend into each other in the course of religious life. A new field comprising all the diverse orders of facts that mind takes account of, takes shape sometimes gradually, and sometimes with dramatic suddenness. This new scheme of things eventually secures control over both body and mind determining the direction of sentiments and interests and the course of behaviour. An integral personality emerges in this manner as the fruition of the discipline of concentration.

I.—*In the Upanishadic Tradition*:

(i) The concept of *Dhyāna* is well-known as a technique of spiritual orientation in the early Aryan tradition. "*Dhyāna*", says Śaṅkara in his commentary to an Upanishad text, "is the one-pointedness of mind directed to gods, etc., as described in the traditional texts or *Śāstras*. The process of *Dhyāna* maintains its object in an unchanging condition and gives rise to a continuous succession of mental states possessing a specified common character and determined by a well-defined *set*." Attainment of every kind of wealth, position, or learning, represents at least partial success in concentration. Quarrelsome people, scandal-mongers, and people who are ever ready to point out other peoples' faults to them, are far from the path of concentration and remain small men.[3] The way to life of the spirit, then, lies through concentration.

Another Upanishad text defines the rôle of concentration after the analogy of striking fire by friction.

[3] Comm. to *Chhāndogya*, VII. vi. 1.

"One's own body is the piece of wood to be lighted. *Praṇava* is the piece to be rubbed against it. Concentration is the process of friction. It is in this way that the latent spiritual reality can be discerned." The task of concentration, then, must have a two-fold support in the mystic formula, the *Praṇava*, and in the psycho-physical changes that it induces, in the course of recital of the *Praṇava*.

The same text proceeds to describe the technic. "May the Sun", says the text, "direct and fixate my mind to the Brahman; may it fill my body and its senses with heavenly illumination that makes all truth and reality manifest." The concept of the Sun is very important in this context. It seems, as the Upanishad proceeds to describe in the same chapter, that various *sensory experience* arise in the course of the *Yoga* practice. One of these is called the 'Sun'. If we understand the prayer cited above in this context, it means that the mind is focussed on the reality through the meditation of the *experience* called 'Sun'. It appears that there are facts in Christian mysticism that conform to this interpretation. Jacob Boehme, for instance, speaks of waiting for and attending the *supernatural and divine light as the superior light appointed to govern the day, rising in the true east which is paradise*. This "light" is said to break forth "as out of the darkness within thee through a pillar of thunder-clouds". Even the technic in the two cases has some resemblance. "Cease from thine own activity", says Boehme, "steadfastly fixing thine eye upon one point, and with a strong purpose relying upon the promised grace of God in Christ." Such orientation of the mind and of the entire personality to God will, as the practice consummates itself, reveal a new order of experience. "So shall thy light break forth as the morning; and after the redness thereof is passed, the Sun himself, which

thou waitest for, shall arise unto thee." This new light should prevail over the 'light of nature': the human reason and the senses. It is only thus that man's mind approaches God.[4]

(*ii*) Contemplate the Self as the *Haṁsa*, the Swan, the symbol of identity of the ego and the reality, suggests a text. It should be thought of as resting on a lotus with eight petals; particular parts of its body should be imagined to represent the Fire, Moon, Rudra and Rudrāṇī, and to the aglow with the rays of millions of suns. Various mental changes seem to arise in the course of such concentration on the petals of the lotus. In one case, it is an inclination to good deeds; in another, it is a disposition to sloth and sleep; in a third, we have the growth of mental crookedness; and in a fourth, there develops a tendency towards sin. A condition of intellectual lucidity, a desire to play games and to move about, an inclination to amorousness and to acquisition of things also arise. There also develops an attitude of disinclination to all material things and enjoyments, a life of conscious harmony and intellectual lucidity. And finally the supreme state of non-relational consciousness, free from all material images, slowly grows entirely dissolving the mind in the sound and the symbolic meaning of *Om*.[5] The account reads like one of the oscillation of two planes of experience ultimately reaching its consummation in integration.

(*iii*) The five types of '*vital air*' were also used as objects of fixation of attention. It is supposed that there are five kinds of 'air' circulating in the body, each kind being defined by the manner and direction of its circulation. Man concentrates on each of these processes of circulation in order to attain a state of bliss. Such

[4] Boehme, *The Supersensual Life* (Allenson), pp. 40—43.

[5] *Haṁsa-Upanishat.*

fixation, considered as a psycho-physical process, involves tension in certain mechanisms of adjustment and relation in others. It is likely that there would be a state of relaxation of the psycho-physical system with respect to certain *organic sets* representing desires and emotional fixations. This is likely to ensure a sense of relief and even of joy. The field of attention comprising, as it would, of mere breathing processes or sometimes points of fixation on imaginary processes, resembles the contracted field of attention in hypnosis. Two consequences ensue from this: (a) partial relaxation and relief from organic tension give rise to a sense of pleasure: (b) it becomes possible, in the absence of rival contents in the field, to induce an ideology of the scheme of religious life more easily.

(*iv*) The Upanishad texts often speak of three different phases in the process of 'holding' of the mind—of arresting its tendency to oscillate. These are placidity of mind (*Prasāda*), immobility of attention (*Niśchālya*) and concentration (*Nivesha*, *Niyoga*). The three appear to be inter-dependent and represent the nuances of attentional process. Concentration is the process of fixation of mind to a process, object or part of the body. It is a phenomenon in which the range of oscillation of mental operations is restricted within narrow limits. "As a tortoise withdraws its limbs within its shell, withdraw the mental operations in the same way within the region of the heart. Limit the mental functions to the process of recital of the *Praṇava*, Om." Such limitation finally leads to a state of immobility of the mind; and this condition in its turn induces a sense of joy. The technics for this type of practice are many.

Another text suggests the following: Withdraw the mind from its normal objects. Fixate it on the notion that there is a unison of consciousness pervading all partts of

the body. Fixate upon this as pure consciousness. This is *Dhāraṇā*. When the awareness of the attentional process itself no longer figures in the field of conciousness there is a state of *entire absorption of the mind*, the state of *Samādhi*. The end of these operations seems to be to induce a condition in which there is consciousness but no mental activity or perception of change. It is an objectless *pure consciousness* and sometimes described as the re-absorption (*Laya*) of the mind in its base or the non-mental consummation of mind (*Amanībhāva*).[6]

The technic of attention considered in this section aims at two types of transformation which commence when the mind is disoriented from its normal setting. The mental operations break away from their objects; their changes are controlled within narrow limits; a condition of relative tranquility develops. Two lines of progress are suggested from this point. (i) The mind may orient itself to a new ideology which builds up a new field of attention. It competes with the normal contents of consciousness, interpenetrates with them and thus brings about a new personality-synthesis. A new range of ideas and feelings, a new scheme of values and conduct and finally, a new outlook gradually emerges. (ii) Or, the quiescent mind finally loses itself in an undifferentiated expanse of pure consciousness. It is an objectless awareness interwoven with subtle strands of joy and peace. Nothing but this exists for the mind, and it becomes the sole reality. Both of these courses of discipline have their adherents in the later history of Indian thought.

II.—*In Buddhism*:

We find in Buddhism an elaborate consideration of attention under two main heads. On the one side, we

[6] *Kshurikā-Upanishat*, 3. *Maitrāyaṇī*, IV. 3—9. *Maṇḍala-brāhmaṇa-Upanishat*, 1.

find an analysis of forms and functions of concentration in the context of spiritual life. On the other side, we find descriptions of the different objects to which attention could profitably be directed for spiritual purposes. We shall discuss these two topics separately.

A General Analysis of Attention in Early Buddhism:

(i) *Various Types of Attentional Phenomena*:

Several different terms are employed in Buddhism to indicate the different phases of the attentional process. *Manakkāra, Manasikāra, Ekaggatā, Vitakka and Vichāra* are some of the important concepts. The first of these indicates a process of conscious selection that arises with a specified object-reference. This signifies that the process in a question is a *specific attentional act* rather than the *attentional set*. As the text says: "It does not go anywhere and everywhere."[7] The term *Manasikāra* seems to connote the general *attentional attitude* in entertaining any thought. The state of one-pointedness concentration or *Ekaggatā* seems to signify a condition of fixation. This is evident from the theory that 'concentration lasts as long as a desire lasts.' *Vitakka* is defined as adaptation of attention and *Vichāra* its persistence.[8] All of these operations are essential for the adjustments demanded in the course of spiritual discipline.

(ii) *Contemplation or Jhāna as Application of Attention.*

Concentration is defined in the context of spiritual discipline as "collectedness of moral thought." It is defined in the *Vibhaṅga* as "Indifference, mindfulness,

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[7] *Abhidhammāvatāra* (P.T.S.), Ch. viii, Verses 510-11.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 25. Rhys Davids, *Buddhist Psychology*, p. 89.

awareness, ease, as well as collectedness of mind." The stage of supreme exaltation, *Ekodibhāva*, which arises in the course of contemplation is said to be a "synonym for concentration." It seems to possess, as a psychological process, two principa features. (a) The mental states should be "well-placed" or mutually adjusted in reference to an object-situation in such a manner that they can remain in this specific configuration for the desired length of time. This phase is called *Samādhāna.* (b) Secondly, there should be no change in the character of the configuration itself; nor should there be any 'wavering' from fixation. This is called *Avikkhepa.*

Concentration may be viewed as of two kinds: *Access concentration* and *Ecstasy concentration.* The former prepares for the higher reaches of spiritual life and the latter sustains the ecstasy-experience that finally emerges. The preparation for the first *Jhāna* itself brings in its wake the subsequent adjustments needed for its practice. Finally, the way is made easy for the rise and maintenance of ecstasy. The first state is *Access-concentration* and the second, the *Ecstasy-concentration.* The Buddhist writers have employed several other principles of classification. These are: (i) presence or absence of 'rapture' in concentration, (ii) ease or indifference associated with the process, (iii) direction of concentration to spiritual or to material objects. The practice of *Jhāna*, then, is the culture of various patterns of concentration. It is, as the text says, "applied thinking, sustained thinking, rapture, bliss, and colectedness of mind."[9] The varieties of contemplative life are defined probably with greater clearness mainly in terms of attention in another manual. It is said that there are five types of *Jhāna*, the first of which is associated with (i) *vitakka*, (ii) *vichāra*, (iii) *pīti* (friendli-

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[9] *Path of Purity*, II, pp. 170 ff.

ness, (iv) *sukha* (joy), and (v) *ekaggatā* (one-pointedness).[10]

(iii) *The Effect of Concentration*:

Success in concentration appears to possess in this context several esoteric properties such as causing rebirth in a better world. It possesses several other properties as well. It is said that concentration is the avenue through which reality can be known in its true nature. "Monks, practise concentration. A monk who practises concentration knows a thing as it really is." The practice of concentration is said to favour "the attainment of cessation from perception." Since the end of the mystic quest is often the denial of the world, the perceptual processes must cease in order that the final consummation may be reached.[11]

B. *Special Applications of Attention*:

Attention must be sustained on objects. The character of object on which mind concentrates would naturally determine the course of transformation that takes place in the mind. Fixation of attention on specified topics and things brings in its wake particular sets of attitudes and feelings. The process of concentration, therefore, induces in the mind a specific object-situation and a particular order of feelings and attitudes; it also inhibits all other processes that do not fit in with this pattern. A new configuration of states and functions instals itself in this way as the dominant principle of mental life.

(i) *The Phenomenon of "Intent Contemplation."*

(*a*) One of the objects of intent contemplation is the human body itself. The seeker after realisation is en-

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[10] *Abhidhammāvatāra*, XIV, 910, XXIV, 1394.

[11] *Path of Purity*, II, pp. 430-31.

joined on fixating on the body as a collection of limbs. The body is, again, viewed as "sprung from parents' blood and seed, in nature impure, putrid and ill-smelling, disturbed by passion, hatred, delusion . . . full of a hundred thousand diseases." The body is also thought of as impermanent and changing. It grows and decays by regular stages, according to laws which no one can alter.

"The Bodhisatva must regard the body as running from nine apertures. He must regard the body as a dwelling place for eighty-thousand broods of worms . . . The Bodhisatva must regard the body as the food for others, of wolves and jackals; as an excellent machine, a collection of tools fastened together by bones and sinews."

Finally, the body is thought of as mere matter; and matter tends to be viewed as extension. "This body is like space." Thus he contemplates the body like space. 'That is all space', he thinks. For the full understanding of the body his intellect does not direct itself to anything else, does not divert itself thither or fix itself there."

(*b*) A similar analysis is carried through with respect to feelings. "Whatever feeling he (the seeker) has, he understands that it is impermanent . . . What is pleasant is impermanent, what is painful is unpleasant, and what is indifferent is unsubstantial." But the procedure is not intended to annihilate feeling. The aim of the technique seems to be to develop an affective *Anlage* as the context of all orders of feeling. "For himself" says the text, "he does not aim at the destruction of feelings. Whatever feeling he has, it is permeated with great compassion."

(c) The sensory phenomenon is another object towards which attention is directed. "Sensation has been defined as experience. But by whom is that sensation felt? There is no experience other than Sensation." Memory

and intelligence and other functions are to be retranslated into the sensation and realised as such, so that there remains nothing in the operations of mind other than a flux of sensations. "As Wisdom" says the text, "so this Sensation is calm, pure and bright."

There are two important points in this procedure of concentration. (*i*) It has been experimentally verified that attention directed to complex mental operations leads to their disintegration. Each phase of a mental function appears as a sensory-experience without any background of meaning. It is, thus, possible to understand how consciousness becomes merely a plane of sensory-experience through the operation of attention.[12] (*ii*) A sensory plane of mental life, which leaves no residue of meanings and settings in the unconscious, would naturally be 'pure bright and calm.' Empiricism and sensationalism acquire, in this manner, a new meaning in the context of the Buddhist discipline.

(*d*) A similar introspective and attentional operation is directed to thought processes. Phenomenally described, thought is "formless", unseen, not solid, unknowable, unstable, homeless." In regard to its location in the world of experience, thought is not internal, "not outside him (the observer), nor in the conformations, nor in the elements, nor in the organs of sense." Yet, the object of thought and the thought itself are the same. It is finally concluded that thought cannot observe itself. "As the same sword blade cannot cut the same sword blade, as the same finger tip cannot touch the same finger tip, so the same thought cannot see the same thought." Buddhism does not accept James' view that the passing thought is the thinker.

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[12] Washburn and Severance, *Am. Jl. Psych.* 1907, pp. 182—86. Sen Gupta, *Sir Ashutosh Silver Jubilee Vol.* (*Science*), pp. 155—161.

What is the significance of the life of thought? Thought is ever restless, "like a monkey or like the wind." It is "lightly turning, sensual, moving amid the six objects of sense, one thing after another." Thought can, however, be utilised when it is intent, immobile and concentrated. The real nature of thought is "like illusion." It arises and passes away, like a flash of lightning. Yet, we can speak of a process of "edification" of thought in which it is directed towards renunciation for the purpose of inculcating in the personality the principles of spiritual life.

(*e*) Attention, again, is directed in the course of Buddhist discipline, to the nature and constitution of the universe. All things dissolve into elements. But these are mere abstractions. "In them there is no substance, there is no being, or living being, or creature of human being." They are the products of conceptual construction. "If they are brought about, they arise; if they are not brought about, they do not arise."

The elements build up things and events when they form aggregates. The phenomenon of aggregation depends upon primary and secondary causes. These causes, according to Buddhism, link themselves into a chain, the chain of twelve causes, the *Paṭiccasamuppāda*, which is the one fixed point of reference in the Buddhistic universe. The process of concentration, then, transforms things and events into aggregations. Further attentional practice dissembles these into elements. These in their turn are seen as work of the mind. Mental life, as we have seen in the previous section, sheds its certainty and sense of reality under the scrutiny of attention. The universe thus dissolves into a series of names. But "Name is a matter of habit." Everywhere reigns "emptiness: nowhere are gods, Nāgas or Rākshasas. Men or no men, all are known as that." When the world to which the

desires are fastened becomes a mere cipher of experience, man's spirit achieves true freedom and purity. It is under such conditions can the true meaning and values of spiritual life infuse themselves upon the mind. This seems to be the end of the Buddhist technic of attention.[13]

(ii) *The Kasiṇas. The Practice of Concentration with Material Aids*:

Buddhism prescribes several types of contemplative devices as aids to the process of transformation that spiritual discipline aims at. There is a definite method of employing material aids for ensuring concentration and inducing a specific order of psychic change. These aids are called *Kasiṇas* and are ten in number. They are earth, water, heat, air, blue-green, yellow, red white light, and the separated spaces. Each of these is fixated through a particular type of mental operation. The earth-device, of all of these, is considered in one of the authoritative texts in great detail. The rest repeat the same technic. We shall, therefore, follow mainly the procedure of the earth-device, the *Paṭhavī-kasiṇa*, in our exposition of the method.

The earth-device is intended to secure a durable and progressive concentration of attention as a preparation for the *Jhānas* or contemplative life. These arise from "sustained thinking, rapture, bliss, collectedness of mind." It is necessary to alienate the mental operations from their normal objects in order that the desired consummation may be reached. The *Kasiṇas* are the technics that serve to detach the mind and also to develop "sustained thinking."

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[13] *Śikshāsamuchchaya*, Ch. xiii.

(*a*) *The General Conditions of Kasiṇa*:

The *Kasiṇas* involve several preliminary steps. (1) The practice needs a specific attitude or mental set which defines the aim of the practice and engenders confidence in its success. Thus, it is enjoined that the monk should inculcate the following idea: "By means of this practice I shall be freed from old age and death." (2) The culture of a favourable emotional disposition is also regarded as an essential for the process. The spiritual aspirant thus adopts a "reverential attitude of mind and in a loving mood binds his heart to the object," that is to say, to the object of attention. (3) The body should be freed from all that may operate as impediments. Thus, the long hairs should be cropped short, nails, etc., should be cut and, in general, the body must be secured from all irritating stimulation. (4) The mind of the aspirant is further to be freed from the petty worries of daily life. He should repair his robes and his begging bowl and clean his furniture and his room, before he begins his practice of concentration. (5) The place, lastly, in which the practice is to begin, should be carefully selected. Such a place should be a dwelling which is "neither too far nor too near, is easy of access, not crowded by day, with little sound or noise at night, scarcely exposed to wind, heat and crawling creatures."

(*b*). *The Material Device of Kasiṇa*:

The material upon which the monk is required to concentrate in the *Earth-device* is a quantity of earth of a particular quality. The object of concentration becomes unsuitable for the purpose if wrong colours are mixed. Hence, the clay of the Ganges stream is recommended. The device should not be set up in the middle of the monastery where distractions are many. It should be

within the confines of the monastery and in a covered place.

There are two kinds of device, movable and stationary. In the former case, a cloth or a piece of leather is tied to four sticks. On the cloth is spread finely ground earth from which all foreign matter has been eliminated. In the case of stationary device the sticks should be driven into the ground and creepers should be planted round the device. The size should be "that of tray or of pot-lid." The earth on its receptacle should be "smooth like the surface of a drum."[1]

(c). Posture and Mental Adjustment:

The monk, after he has performed his ablutions, should sit at a distance of about forty-five inches from the device. Too close a position would give a view of details of the fault of the device, engrossing the attention. The position and the posture must both be comfortable so that they do not impede attention.

Even the manner of looking at the device is specifically prescribed. "By opening too wide, the eye gets tired and the circle becomes too clear on which account the sign does not manifest itself to him. When the eye opens too narrowly, the circle does not become clear, the mind slackens; thus, again, the sign is not manifested. Therefore like a man who sees the reflection of his face on the surface of a mirror, he should open the eye with an even gaze." The monk should begin by reminding himself that the device would prove efficacious as it has been to the various Buddha-personalities through the ages. He should also have faith in the ultimate success of his spiritual undertaking.

(iii) What Kasiṇa Aims at?

The act of concentration seems to consist of three phases. In the first phase, the monk tries to abolish the

sense of separation from his particular device and the earth as an extended reality. "He (the monk) should let the device and the physical basis assume one and the same colour." Secondly, the monk directs his attention to the *concept* earth, helping the mind in its task by a recital of one of the synonyms of the term "earth". The third phase is called the *grasping of the sign*. So far as I am able to understand, it consists in the comprehension of the *full connotation* of the term "earth" together with a generalised image.

A note on this last point may define the nature of the experience that seems to be aimed at here. An image of an object when it appears in consciousness may undergo four types of change. (a). It fluctuates and gradually passes out of the field of attention, to reappear in dreams and day-dreams and also suddenly in moments of relaxation. (b). It may acquire a meaning and a verbal symbol which obscure the image-experience. In this way, it becomes a concept. (c). It stimulates associated images and builds up with them an entire configuration. (d). Lastly, it becomes a generalised image of the type that mediæval realism spoke. The image "table" comes to possess a character of such wide generality that it can represent any particular kind of table. So far as I have been able to gather from the description, the fourth type of experience seems to be aimed at in the practice of *Kasiṇa*.

It is thus enjoined in the case of *Paṭhavī-kasiṇa* that once the sign, has been grasped, the devotee should not sit at the place of the *Kasiṇa*-stimulus. "He should enter his abode; there he should sit and develop." He must take all care not to make any delay in the continuance of the practice. "Then, if the tender concentration perishes for any reason of inappropriateness, the monk should go to the place where the *Kasiṇa* object is, "take the sign,

come back, and sitting in comfort, develop it; he should repeatedly lay it to heart, consider it with applied and sustained thinking."

The distinction between this type of image of the *Kasiṇa object* and that which arises at the first moment when the monk fixates, is that "in the former the fault of the device appears; the latter is like the disc of a mirror taken out of a bag, or a well-burnished conch-vessel. It possesses neither colour, nor form". The absence of impurity seems to exclude after-image and eidetic image. The absence of colour and form seems to exclude the memory image. "To the winner of concentration", says the text, "it is just a mode of appearance, and is born of perception." This suggests the exclusion of the concept. Hence, I suggest that the *Kasiṇa* aims at developing a *generalised image which is psychologically midway between the conceptual processes, on the one hand, and the perceptual processes on the other.*

The purpose of developing a generalised image of this type seems to be three-fold:

(*i*) Since the senses are normally oriented to external objects, an image of this order would do less violence to human nature than fixation upon a conceptual object. It would be a better device than fixation upon memory images inasmuch as the latter are more fluctuating. Thus, a generalised image offers a better opportunity for steady application of attention. A concept trails away into new meanings. The memory image brings ever new associations in their wake. The generalised image remains relatively constant and is thus a better object of fixation.

(*ii*) Secondly, such generalised images seem to constitute the natural territory of mind in which the purely subjective and the object-contents meet. It is well-known that some of the processes of spiritual discipline aim at cultivating a kind of *spiritual cyclopean eye* which stands midway between introversion and extroversion. Fixation upon a generalised image may, in a sense, be the beginning of the *cyclopean outlook.*

(*iii*) A generalised image of this type, appearing both to the sensory function and the intellect, inhibits all particular mental functions *by virtue of its uniformity of constitution.* All is earth, air, fire or water. The other mental functions, associations, memories and attitudes are inhibited by the persisting uniformity of the *Kasiṇa-image.* At the same time, the initial beliefs with which the practice begins, have a chance to proliferate on the relatively empty field of consciousness. It is thus that the *ecstasy-concentration* grows. The pattern of mind resembles that so often found among people on a holiday who gaze out at sea or look down upon the plane from the top of a hill. Both of these are said to expel the presistent thoughts and memories of daily life from the mind.

III

The Technic of Attention in the Kāshmir Śaiva School

The most varied methods for securing concentration of attention for spiritual discipline are adopted by the Kashmir Śaiva school. These range from the adjustment of attention to specific sensory objects to fixation upon social situations, that offer fulfilment of instinctive drives to the intent contemplation of conceptual constructions. The aim of attentional discipline is to develop a non-relational (*Nirvikalpa*) mode of consciousness. This signifies a mode of experience that no longer fluctuates, lying midway between the opposite poles of subject-object consciousness and of internality and externality. It is said to be devoid of sensory contents and to implicate a sense of vastness, of the infinite expanse of reality. The feeling of self-hood and the consciousness of the body totally disappear.[14]

(i) *Sensory Objects of Attention*:

(*a*) One should fixate on hollow vessels such as jars, taking care not to pay any attention to the sides and the base. When concentration is complete and the mind rests on the object of fixation, the desired non-relational state arises.

(*b*) It is again, suggested that the eyes should be directed to treeless regions at the base of hills. All the mental states disappear and the predispositions (*Vṛitti*) that build up mental configurations, diminish in their potency.

(*c*) One should stand near wells or other deep depressions and look downwards. If one stands, says the commentator, on the top of a hill and looks downward, the same purpose will be served. When the plane of experi-

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[14] *Vijñāna-Bhairava*, 26, 32, and 40.

ence becomes non-relational the habitual mental states and operations subside.

(*d*) Fixate visual attention on any object and immediately withdraw it. The mental functions would come to a cessation; they would lapse into a non-relational state.

(*e*) Fixate attention on the tones produced from a stringed musical instrument. The pitch of these tones should be serially given from the higher to the lower scales. When the sensory experience ceases, the mind becomes "like the supreme space-expanse"; it becomes dissociated from all experiences past and present.[15]

(*f*) Keep up a continuous fixation on the placid sky. The mind becomes immobile and enters into the nature of the *Bhairava* representing an expanse of non-relational consciousness.

(*g*) It is recommended that the eyes should be fixated on the sun at day time, on the moon at night, and on the glow of the lamp inside the house. The mind under such condition slowly touches upon the pure consciousness.

(*h*) A finger or any other part of the body may be pierced with a needle. Attention should be fixated to such parts. The mind under such conditions smoothly proceeds to the *Bhairava* state.

These are some of the methods suggested in a text which is regarded as authoritative by competent scholars. These are probably many more of such methods. The aim of all of them seems to be to induce a non-relational plane of experience.

(ii) *Fixation upon Imaginal Objects*:

(*a*) Think of the skin of your body as the base of all inert matter and external objects. Think of the interior of the cover of skin as empty. Your self-consciousness

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[15] *Ibid.*, 41, 59, 60, 77, 84, 93, 115, and 120.

will disappear and a consciousness of supreme expanse will gradually grow upon the mind.

(*b*) Picture to yourself that the fire of final dissolution has caught the big toe of your right leg. Imagine that the whole body is burnt into nothingness. A placid self-illuminating and, therefore, conscious reality emerges out of such contemplation.

(*c*) The whole universe should be pictured as consumed by the fire of dissolution in the same way. A self-consciousness as the residual reality would finally emerge.

(*d*) Concentrate your mind on the idea, says the text, that the universe all around you is entirely empty. The field of knowledge becomes non-relational and the mind finally loses itself in the vast expanse of reality.[16]

(*e*) Think of a night of impenetrable darkness, says the text. Concentrate on the image of darkness with eyes closed. The Bhairava, as represented by the non-relational state will descend on your mind. Concentrate on the darkness around you with the eyes open. The same goal will be reached.

Many such situations are recommended for attentional fixation. The ends sought are three-fold: *the attainment of a state of pure consciousness devoid of any definite content, of self-consciousness or 'I'-consciousness, and of a non-relational plane of experience.*

(iii) *Concentration upon Certain Momentary Phases of Experience: The Middle State (Madhyabhāva).*

(*a*) A sense of reality is said to dawn upon the mind when two different ideas are entertained and when they are simultaneously and completely inhibited, attention being given to a contentless consciousness which constitutes the interval between the two ideas.

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[16] *Ibid.*, 48, 52, 53, 87 and 88.

(*b*) The same principle is suggested in a simpler form. When a specific meaning-configuration fades away and consciousness through skilful practice, is maintained in an objectless condition, a vivid sense of reality gradually appears.

(*c*) When the mind ceases to think of gross objects, attention is to be directed to internal states. The mind reaches a non-relational plane and a sense of reality emerges.

(*d*) When the adjustment of a sense-organ for the perception of external objects ceases or when a sensory process is inhibited through its *rivalry* with others, consciousness lapses into an objectless state. Fixation upon such consciousness leads to the growth of a sense of reality.

(*e*) A desire or impulse about to take shape should at once be brought to an end. Mind relapses into a state of placidity. Fixation upon consciousness in its pure and objectless state is a step towards the comprehension of reality.

(*f*) A dual operation of attention is suggested in the following method: let the mind be directed to objects that stimulate the emotion-impulse systems, such as, sex, anger and greed. Such concentration leaves a residual awareness which is the essence of the conscious reality. Concentration upon this phase would naturally lead to the revelation of the nature of reality.[17]

Attention in these instances is directed to *transitional states of consciousness*. It is a difficult task of introvert self-observation, rendered more uncertain by the rarity of the states. Yet it is not impossible to secure the conditions necessary for such manipulation of attention. The psychology of such fixation will be considered later.

[17] *Ibid.*, 61, 62, 80, 89, 101, 116, and 129. Also note the commentaries to the verses.

(iv) *Attention Directed to Certain Conceptual Constructions* :

(*a*) It is recommended that attention should be concentrated on the *inspiratory and the expiratory pauses neglecting altogether the processes of inspiration and expiration.* In the alternative, attention may be directed to the state when air has been completely breathed in. Under such conditions, says the text, there arises a sense of joy similar to the joy of sex.

(*b*) There are words in Sanskrit that end in an aspirate sound. It is recommended that attention should be fixated on the aspirate alone, leaving out the other vowels and consonants. When the mind loses all other contents excepting this, it comes into contact with the reality as pure consciousness.

(*c*) Conceive of your consciousness as an entity apart from your body. Think of this consciousness as belonging to other bodies as well. Direct your attention to the conception of a consciousness as common to all bodies. A few days of such attentional practice, says the text, cultivates the feeling that one's consciousness expands all over the universe.

(*d*) When the attention is directed to one object, all other things should be thought of as nothing. Thus, the higher degree of attention, the focus, is directed to the object, while the field of dispersed attention consists of a sense of nothingness. Such contemplation leads to quiescence of all mental activities.

(*e*) When the awareness of 'I' and 'Mine' ceases and attention is directed to the conception of nothingness, says the text, the conscious life comes to its own natural state of balance and quiescence.[18]

The object of attention, in all these instances, is a

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[18] *Ibid.*, 68, 91, 107, 122, and 131.

meaning that intellect seizes upon. The conceptual processes isolate and define a specified phase of conscious-life which normally appears as a short-lived moment in the continuum of experience. Such fixation is said to secure balance and quiescence of mind, expansion of consciousness and revelation of reality.

(v)

Psychological Theory of the Śaiva Technic

(1) *What the Technic Aims at*:

The technic of attention described in the preceding section is said to usher in several types of psychological state.

(*a*) In the first place, attention to certain types of objects precipitates a non-rational plane of experience which is often said to herald the rise of the *Bhairava* state. The latter is described in the following manner: there arises an internal sense of joy blended with a complete awareness of the ego or the I-feeling (*Ahantā*); there emerges a sense of freedom from all rational experience; the whole universe and the self are felt as a single completed reality. The manifoldness of experience lies latent in the mind as in the *Madhyamā* state, "in the manner of ovules inside the pod."

(*b*) The second type of experience which the technic aims at securing is pure consciousness, as a general expanse of mere awareness without any object. It also aims at projecting ("expanding" and "spreading" are translations of the term) the pure awareness grasped in self-observation to all things in the universe. The world thus becomes a vast expanse of consciousness.

(*c*) Thirdly, there arise in this technic, a supreme sense of reality which may attach itself to any of the planes of experience described above.

(*d*) Fourthly, the process of fixation of attention is correlated with a sense of joy. (This last phase has been explained in another paper previously published.)

(*e*) And lastly, the process of fixation and the consequent transformation of mental functions bring into relief a vivid sense of the self. The explanation to be aimed at in this section will consist in exhibiting how the process of attentional fixation may produce these changes in the field of consciousness.

(2) *Sensory Attention and its Possible Consequences*

Attention directed to sensory phenomena is said to give rise to a non-relational field of experience. The process may be described in the following manner :—

(*a*) The process of fixation in the context specified above, involves: (i) the inhibition of all tendencies to action; (ii) A strict limitation of attention to a specified phase of experience, *e.g.*, attention to a sound and not to the instrument, to the base of the hill and not to the surroundings, to the small injury on a finger and not to any other part of the body (iii) the consequent inhibition of the function of judgment which usually accompanies the action attitude and the tendencies of integration operative in the field of perception.

(*b*) Such fixation induces what in structural Psychology, is called the '*process*'-attitude as distinguished from the '*meaning*'-attitude.

(*c*) Experimental evidence shows that the continuum of experience divides itself, under such condition, into a number of phenomenal units. It is found, for instance, that there appear in aesthesiometric experiments "several perceptive forms between exact oneness and clear twoness. Under the *process*-attitude all of these intermediate forms are reported. Under the *stimulus*-attitude, however, whatever is not one, is reported as two. The

experiments of Britz, again, showed how in the Tachistoscopic presentation of coloured geometrical figures, forms not presented were reported by the subjects. Dallenbach also found a similar phenomenon in his experiments on attention. The subjective forms comprise from 'spots', 'flicks' and 'blurs' to well-defined geometrical figures.[19]

(*d*) The continuity and unity of experience is thus broken up into phenomenal phases which are usually observed as parts of a single field in an immediate mode of awareness. The inhibition of the reaction attitude and of the processes of perception and association places the experience of the environment on the lower level of attention,— in the field of "apprehension" in Wundt's sense. Hence, the whole field of consciousness comprising the focus and the fringe becomes a field of non-relational experience.

(*e*) A non-relational field of experience is said to convey a sense of reality that no other form of knowledge possesses. Such experience, according to Bradley, carries a "sense of living emotion" and comprises "everything of which in any sense I am aware"; it is a "knowing and being in one."[20] It is also the neutral base from which opposing types of beliefs and judgments may emerge, as Bradley's own dialectical presentation shows. It is possible, then, that a new scheme of beliefs and judgments will take shape in the context of the principles, attitudes and imagery of the Śaiva cult.

(*f*) Again, the non-relational experience considered in this context is very similar to the fore-conscious of Freudian Psychology. It is the point of confluence of

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[19] Fernberger, 'An Experimental Study of the Stimulus Error'; Dallenbach, 'Subjective Perceptions', *Jl. of Exp. Psychology*, 1921, pp. 62—76, and pp. 143—163.
Sen Gupta—"Joy" "Delight" and "Consolation" as Phrases of Mystical Experience (*Rev. Phil. and Religion*, 1940).

[20] *Essays on Truth and Reality*, Ch. vi.

the unconscious and conscious stresses and trends of the personality. As perceptions and ideals become articulate in beliefs and judgments the nuances of the unconscious tendencies interlace with the thought processes. There grows up in this manner, a new plane and pattern of personality in the wake of the technic of attention dissolving the ordered scheme of daily experience into the melting pot of non-relational immediacy.

(3) *The Theory of Attention to Image-objects*:

Attention directed to objects and situations represented in terms of images, gives rise to three types of transformation :—

(i) There is a growth of non-relational experience.

(ii) A self-illuminating conscious reality is immediately felt.

(iii) A witnessing consciousness, i.e., a self-conscious observer of mental functions, gradually emerges. It is necessary to explain how these transformations take place.

(a). The imaginable situation to which attention is fixated in the Śaiva technic is a visual expanse. The picture of void or of the dense darkness of the night, both build up a vision of uniform expanse. But such uniformity would break up into phenomenal units in the course of attentional exercises as considered above. A non-relational experience will emerge in the same manner as in the case of a sensory continuum.

(b). A fixation on the picture of dissolution of the body and of things of the universe, leaves the mind without any content. A contentless consciousness, then, is grasped in immediate experience and becomes, for this reason, the sole reality. For, imagination has dissolved away everything else.

(c). The mechanism of the witnessing consciousness is somewhat different. The feeling of self-hood is a complex of organic and kinaesthetic sensations according to both James and Wundt. It may be physiologically correlated with a complex process of circulation of the nervous impulse between the various cortical and thalamic regions. Thus, the self-feeling may be represented as (i) a system of memories (cortical associations), (ii) a system of emotions, inpulses and organic sensations (thalamic associations), (iii) a system of idea or plans connected with the action and emotional functions (thalamo-cortical associations), and (iv) an experience of durable unity or subjective point of reference (correlated with a nodal point in the circulation of the nervous impulse).

The image of dissolution of the world upon which attention is fixated gradually leads to the cessation of the memory pictures and of emotions. The inhibition of the action , attitude, and disappearance of specific objects of the environment dissolve the ego conceived as a process of realisation of a plan or idea. The self-feeling is thus experienced as a durable unity— as a point of reference that persists *vis a vis* the image of the void into which all else has been dissolved.

The psychological constitution of this point of reference or the witnessing consciousness is of considerable theoretic interest. Freud suggests that the separation of an observing function from the totality of mental life is most likely a normal process. The witnessing ego is the super-ego which represents the parental function, an impression of which every mind carries within itself. The separation of the super-ego is really a schism between the traditional authority and the desires and impulses of the individual.[21] This interpretation, however, would

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[21] Freud, *The New Introductory Lectures*, pp. 83—86.

not readily be applicable in the present context. For, in the instances that we are considering, the impulses and the objects which they implicate have both, for the time being, lost their specificity in the general expanse which imagination is called upon to represent to the mind. The punitive function that the tradition and the parental authority imply, has no part to play when both impulses and their objective have come to nought.

We may approach the problem on the basis of the analysis of self-consciousness or the pure 'I' offered by James and Wundt. Though old, there is nothing of a more recent date to supersede the perspicacity of the view. According to James, the self is the "intermediary between ideas and overt acts and would be a collection of activities, physiologically in no essential way different from the activities themselves. . . . The nuclear self would be adjustments collectively considered."[22] Hence, the constituents of the self-feeling, conceived as a psychological complex, are the organic and kinaesthetic sensations.

Wundt also thinks of the experience of self as a permanent mass of feelings immediately or remotely subject to will. He speaks of two kinds of awareness of the self : a wide and a narrow one. In the former case, every mental act comes to standing relation to the will. In the latter case, the self-feeling adheres more upon the "inner activity of apperception, over against which our own body and all representations connected with it, appear as external objects, different from our proper self". The consciousness "contracted down to the process of apperception" is called by Wundt, the 'Ego'.[23]

Wundt postulates a specific function of apperception, with a well-defined physiological basis. The consciousness that arises as a resultant of this function is, for him,

[22] James, *Principles*, i, p. 302.
[23] *Ibid.*, p. 303; Wundt's view quoted in the foot-note.

the self-consciousness. The questionable validity of the conception of apperceptive function and the more questionable validity of localisation of that function, render the notion of the self in this narrow sense insecure. Hence, neither Freud's nor Wundt's views are of help to us in this context.

I suggest the following interpretation in the light of these theories: when the external world dissolves into a sense of uniform emptiness, attention directed to this expanse of void builds up either a non-relational field in the manner considered above, or it recoils towards other termini. The other dominant sensory object is the complex of organic and kinaesthetic sensations of which James and Wundt speak. These become better integrated and more vivid in the field of attention. For, the organic sensations do not usually yield to attentional analysis. There is no chance, therefore, of their building up *phenomenal phases* as in the cases of visual and auditory sensations.

All experience that man acquires enters into fusion with this group of dominant sensations and are part and parcel with the ego-feeling which is the correlate of the organic-kinaesthetic sensation-complex. The experiences which are not assimilated into this complex are inhibited due to their small attention value. Hence, there remains only the ego-feeling as the residual experience.

(4) *What Attention to Conceptual Constructions Achieves*:

Attention directed to the phases of sensory experience and conceptual constructions are said to achieve four different kinds of result: (a) feeling of joy resembling that of sex, (b) realisation of pure-consciousness, (c) the whole universe as consciousness or expansion of consciousness, and (d) a sense of balance and quiescence. We shall try to understand how far these consequences may be

expected to ensue from the specific type of attentional adjustment.

(a). A sense of joy of a specific order arises when attention is fixated to the inspiratory and the expiratory pauses. In the phenomenon of abdominal breathing and in the respiration of the intercostal type, there is also a movement, more or less extensive, of the reproductive organs. The sensations from these are obscured by those of deep respiration in the normal course of things. When, however, the pauses are fixated, the feeling of pleasure from the stimulation of the reproductive mechanism readily blends with the experience of relative relaxation. Hence, arises the joy that resembles the pleasure of sex. I follow in this interpretation very largely the idea conveyed to me by one whom I have every reason to believe, to be skilled in the breathing practices and to be a reliable observer.

(b). The short lived aspirate sound at the close of a syllable, called in Sanskrit the *Visargaḥ*, when isolated from the rest of the syllable, is the last phase of expiration. When attention is fixated to it, there is seemingly an empty awareness. For, the dying phase of expiration does not provide consciousness with any vivid content. And the feeling of relative relaxation that accompanies the process of expiration blends with such awareness. This is probably the pure consciousness referred to in the practice.

(c) Fixation of attention upon consciousness as distinct from the body, is said to lead to the experience of the world as pure consciousness. The phase of consciousness grasped within the span of the particular act of attention spreads all over the universe. The phenomenon can be explained in the following way: when attention is directed to self, or consciousness itself, one grasps an organic-kinaesthetic sensation-complex, a *bewusstseinslage* or some experience similar to the *Pure-phi*, which is an experience

of pure change or movement. The successive acts of attention serve to define the character of this experience as they do in the *Ausfrage* experiment. If one observes his experience in the light of what is called the *process-attitude*, the pure experience appears merely as a phase of a total mental operation. Men and things of every day experience remain in the background. When one assumes the *meaning-attitude*, the pure experience slides into the background and the meanings, objects and contents gain in vividness. If these two attitudes oscillate, pure consciousness would appear to interlace with all the objects of daily experience. These would, then, appear to possess the pure consciousness that attentional practice has singled out. There would be an expansion, of the consciousness felt by the individual subject. Or, again, the technic of attention may cure some kind of a balance or a middle position between the two attitudes. In that case, too, the pure consciousness would seem to pervade the entire world of men and things.

(d) A sense of peace and balance is said to set in, when there is a fixation of attention on a specified object on the one hand, and 'thinking away of the rest of the world', on the other hand. The interpretation seems to be as follows. Each object and situation is a terminus for a group of emotions and reaction attitudes. A world of manifold objects and situation, then, would be likely to precipitate a conflict between these response patterns. When it becomes possible to think away the external world, incongruity of emotions, rivalry of the several motor attitudes, and the sense of incoherence of ideas, all cease. The process of fixation on a single object makes such inhibition easier and, at the same time, serves to direct the interests already dissociated from their objects, to a new terminus, namely, the object of fixation. A condition of peace and quiet would thus set in to the extent to

which the twofold act of attention and inhibition succeeds.

(iv) The Role of Attention in the Scheme of Spiritual Discipline:

A Resumé and Conclusion.

The process of attention is utilised for many purposes in our daily life. We attend to things for their clear perception and retention, for precise comprehension and evocation of latent associations, for withdrawing our mind from unpleasant situations and for gaining an easy control over our mental life. The scheme of spiritual discipline, too, utilises the technic of attention for securing a number of ends.

(*i*) We have seen that a common technic of attention is to project all mental functions upon mythic scenes and mythical personalities. This type of culture is recommended alike in Christianity and in the various strands of Hindu tradition. It seems to serve three different purposes:

(a) The myth-pictures, like dreams, possess a manifest as also a latent meaning. Just as a dream haunts the mind suffusing all thoughts and feelings with its implicit significance, so does the myth. The mythic objects thus displace the normal perceptions and ideas. The latent significance of myths steals into the fringe of consciousness and insinuates itself into the unorganised mass of purposes and meanings yet to take shape. The process of attentional fixation of mythic images and scenes thus transforms the conscious states impregnating them with a new strand of meanings concealed in the myths.

(b) The new perspective of mind serves to interlace the mythic images with the facts and events of daily life and thus to give rise to a new plane of experience. This order of mental life which refers neither to the facts of the external world nor to a conceptual scheme, henceforth undergoes a process that the Gestalt school calls 'structuration' as attention dwells on it continuously.

(c) The new order of experience thus established in the field of attention reacts and is reacted upon by the entire range of the personality-processes, manifest and latent, the processes of knowledge, desire, feelings, purposes and attitudes. Thus, a new kind of integration is achieved between the vital, experiential and the mythic planes, between the conscious and the unconscious thoughts and impulses.

(*ii*) Such integration, inasmuch as it resolves the endemic conflicts of mind, secures a certain degree of stability for the mental personality and a sense of independence of the forces of environment that operate upon man The personality can alter its orientations to things and its inner dispositions at will. It can also carry its spiritual adjustments and objects across the vicissitudes to which the mental life is subject. For, the mythic pictures have become 'generalised' images in the course of attentional fixation. This is the kind of transformation that occurs in the case of the Buddhist *Kasiṇas*. Henceforth, they attain a peculiar status: (1) they do not change with the changing moods and thus give rise to a sense of their objectivity; and (2) yet, they remain the content of a particular mind. In this manner, the personality can dwell

in a *milieu* of things, ideas and personalities that it itself creates.

(*iii*) The practice of attention by this method thus helps to secures a condition of introversion. For, the mind need not make any excursion outside of itself for any adjustment that implicates an emotion or an abiding purpose. This is what the *Yoga-sūtras* describe as the process of *Dhāraṇā* and this is what the Buddhist technic of attention aims at.

(*iv*) Such withdrawal of the personality from its setting in the world of men and things works a profound change in the psycho-physical organism. Its moods, and impulses, its ideas and outlook, in fact, its whole character gradually alters its pattern. Side by side, there occur profound physical changes. These send the signals of their progress and direction in the form of sensory and attitudinal experiences, of which there are many instances in the writings of the mystics, both Eastern and Western. The personality, psychically and physicaly, becomes renewed into a fresh configuration.

(*v*) Out of the perpetual process of renewal that lends novelty and romance to the seeming monotony of the mystic life, are born two characteristic modes of experience :

(a) There grows upon the mind a sense of unison with the ideas and the mystic personalities that attention selects out of the rich pattern of tradition and culture. The identity of the self with the *Haṁsa*, the symbol of reality, considered in another paper, is an instance in point.[24] This may, probably, be similar to the phenomenon described by

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[24] 'The General Theory of Recital'. See *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, 1941. (*Ajapāmantra*).

Freud as the process of identification of the ego with the super-ego.[25]

(b) The continued process of attention upon the mythic scenes naturally induces change in the object of fixation. The personalities, Rādhā and Krishṇa, Christ, Mary and the angels of whom the mediæval saints speak, appear in the course of the practice of attention in varying rôles and configurations. Such change reflexively alters the *Aufgabe* that lies implicit or explicit in the process of attentional preparation. A changing *Aufgabe* induces new attitudes and new *Bewusstseinslagen*. These, however, are processes that are said to be free from sensory contents; they may be regarded as phases of consciousness that have not taken up any sensory or conceptual form. It is for this reason that Kāshmir Śaivism prescribes fixation of attention upon the transitional phases of sensory and emotive experience. Attentional process serves in this manner to bring into relief the phase of consciousness, that survives, even when all the meanings and images that senses and interest of action impose upon it, are subtracted.

Such a residual consciousness must in some sense be timeless. For, it eludes the change and transformation that go on in the world of perception and are reflected into the mental life. For, the pure consciousness rejects all material and sensory images and imports. And this

[25] Freud, *The New Introductory Lectures*. See the Chapter on the Anatomy of the Mental Personality.

is one of the senses in which the technic of attention achieves the mystic end.

The technic of attention, then, serves the mystic end in several ways. It integrates the different orders of impulse and experience. It infuses a new meaning and purpose into thought and conduct. It directs the mind from its setting in the world of things, inwards into its own essential being. It raises the self to a new plane in unison with the reality that it seeks and perseveres for by constant fixation. And it gives a taste of pure consciousness of a plane of life that denies all that is subject to change and death.

MAHĀVĪRA NIRVĀṆA AND SOME OTHER IMPORTANT DATES IN ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY

BY

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There is almost a general agreement amongst the modern scholars that Buddha died within a few years of 480 B.C. Elsewhere I have argued afresh for 487 B.C. as the date of Buddha Nirvāṇa.[1] There is a great deal of uncertainty even now as regards the equally important date of Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa. The traditional chronology of the Śvetāmbara sect of the Jains given in Tapāgachha Paṭṭavalī[2] and Merutuṅga's Vicārśreṇī,[3] which has been

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[1] "Buddha Nirvāṇa and some other dates in Ancient Indian Chronology". Indian Culture, Vol. V, No. 3, pp. 305 ff; and also "Chronology of the Aśokan Inscriptions". Journal of Indian History, Vol. XVII, Part 3.

[2] जं रयणि कालगओ अरिहा तित्थंकरो महावीरो ।
तं रयणिं अवणिवई अहिसित्तो पालओ राया ॥१॥
सट्ठी (६०) पालयरण्णो पणवण्णसयं तु होई तंदाणं (१५५) ।
अट्ठसयं मुरियाणं (१०८) तीसच्चिअ पूसमित्तस्स (३०) ॥२॥
बलमित्त—भाणुमित्ता सट्ठी (६०) वरिसाणि चत्त नहवाणे (४०) ।
तह गद्दभिल्लरज्जं तेरस (१३) वरिस सगस्स चऊ (४) ॥३॥
—*Tapāgachha Paṭṭavalī.*

[3] जं रयणिं कालगओ अरिहा तित्थंकरो महावीरो ।
तं रयणिमवंतिवई अहिसित्तो पालगो राया ॥
(वीरनिव्वाणरयणीओ चंडपज्जोयरायपट्टम्मि ।
उज्जेणीए जाओ पालयनामा महाराया ॥)
सट्ठी पालगरन्नो पणवन्नसयं तु होइ नन्दाणं ।
अट्ठसयं मुरियाणं तीसच्चिय पूसमित्तस्स ॥
बलमित्त—भाणुमित्ताण सट्ठि वरिसाणि चत्त नहवहणे ।
तह गद्दभिल्लरज्जं तेरस वासे सगस्स चऊ ॥
विक्कमरज्जाणंतरसतरसवासेहिं वच्छरपवित्ती ।
सेसं पुण पणतीससयविक्कमकालम्मि य पविट्ठं ॥
विक्कमरज्जारंभा परओ सिरिवीरनिव्वुई भणिया ।
सुन्न-मुणि-वेय-जुत्तो विक्कमकालाउ जिणकालो ॥
श्रीवीरनिर्वृतेर्वर्षैः षड्भिः पन्चोत्तरैः शतैः ।
शाकसंवत्सरस्यैषा प्रवृत्तिर्भरतेऽभवत् ॥ —*Merutuṅga's Vicārsreṇī.*

made familiar by European scholars like Bühler, Jacobi and Charpentier, puts Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa 470 years before the Vikrama era. As the beginning of the Vikrama era synchronises with 58 B.C. these traditions give 528 B.C. as the date of Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa. These traditions record that Mahāvīra died on the same night as Pālaka was anointed king in Avantī, and 470 years between Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa and the commencement of the Vikrama era are made up of the reign-periods of the following kings and dynasties:

	Years.
Pālaka	60
Nandas	155
Mauryas	108
Puṣyamitra	30
Balamitra and Bhānumitra ...	60
Nahavāṇa or Nahavahaṇa ...	40
Gardabhilla	13
Śaka	4
	470

After this in Merutuṅga's Vicārśreṇī we have 135 years assigned to Vikramāditya and his dynasty, after which, or 605 years after Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa, comes the Śaka King who displaces the dynasty of Vikramāditya.

Much credit has not been given by modern scholars to the Jain traditional date of 528 B.C. for the death of Mahāvīra. This date puts too big a gap between Buddha and Mahāvīra to make them contemporaneous, which fact is so clearly implied in both the Buddhist as well as the Jain traditions. This difficulty was pointed out by Jarl Charpentier. He observes, "The Jains themselves have preserved chronological records concerning Mahāvīra and the succeeding pontiffs of the Jain church, which may have been begun at a comparatively early date. But

it seems quite clear that, at the time when these lists were put into their present form, the real date of Mahāvīra had already either been forgotten or was at least doubtful. The traditional date of Mahāvīra's death on which the Jains base their chronological calculations corresponds to the year 470 before the foundation of the Vikrama era in 58 B.C., *i.e.*, 528 B.C. This reckoning is based mainly on a list of kings and dynasties, who are supposed to have reigned between 528 and 58 B.C., but the list is absolutely valueless, as it confuses rulers of Ujjain, Magadha, and other kingdoms; and some of these may perhaps have been contemporary, and not successive as they are represented. Moreover, if we adopt the year 528 B.C., it would exclude every possibility of Mahāvīra having preached his doctrine at the same time as Buddha, as the Buddhist texts assert; for there is now a general agreement among scholars that Buddha died within a few years of 480 B.C.; and therefore some fifty years would have elapsed between the decease of the two prophets. But we are told that Buddha was 80 years old at his death, and that he did not begin preaching before his 36th year, that is to say, at a time when Mahāvīra, according to the traditional date, was already dead. Finally, both Mahāvīra and Buddha were contemporaries with a king of Magadha, whom the Jains call Kūṇika, and the Buddhists Ajātaśatru; and he began his reign only eight years before Buddha's death. Therefore, if Mahāvīra died in 528 B.C., he could not have lived in the reign of Kūṇika. So we must, no doubt, wholly reject this date."[4] Following Jacobi[5], Charpentier adopts 468 B.C. as the date for Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa on the authority of the Jain author Hemachandra. As he argues, "The

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[4] Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 155-156. See also his article 'The Date of Mahāvīra', IA, Vol. XLIII, pp. 118 ff.

[5] Kalpasūtra, pp. 8 ff.

dynastic list of the Jains mentioned above tells us that Candragupta, the Sandrokottos of the Greeks, began his reign 255 years before the Vikrama era, or in 313 B.C., a date that cannot be far wrong. And Hemachandra states that at this time 155 years had elapsed since the death of Mahāvīra which would thus have occurred in 468 B.C."[6]

The great difficulty in accepting 468 B.C. as the date for Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa will be that it will place Mahāvīra's death several years after that of Buddha. The traditions preserved in the Buddhist Pali canon clearly tell us that Nigaṇṭha Nātaputta, i.e., Mahāvīra, died at Pāvā a little before Buddha.[7] Jacobi and Charapentier have rather lightly set aside this old Buddhist tradition. They have also been wrong in denouncing the traditional chronology of Jains as "absolutely valueless."[8] The chief reason for their so discrediting the Jain chronological traditions is based on the belief that it refers to the kings of Magadha. As Charpentier observes, "As for the statements made in them, they are of a somewhat mysterious nature. Pālaka, king of Avantī, is here mixed up with the Nanda and Maurya dynasties and Puṣyamitra of Magadha, and with several rulers, of Western India, among whom Gardabhila is elsewhere stated to have been the father of Vikramāditya, and Śaka a prince belonging to the non-Indian dynasties of North-western India. Jacobi has already shown that the introduction of king Pālaka of Avantī into this list, which

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[6] Cam. Hist. of India, Vol. I, p. 156.

[7] Dīgha Nikāya, III, pp. 117, 209; and Majjhima Nikāya, II, pp. 243 ff. We are told here that while Buddha stayed at Sāmagāma, the report was brought to him that his rival had died at Pāvā, and that the Nigranthas, his followers, were divided by serious schisms. According to Jain traditions also Mahāvīra died at Pāvā.

[8] Compare the remark of Charpentier quoted above.

must from the beginning have been intended to give the names of the kings of Magadha, as Mahāvīra belonged to that country, seems highly suspicious."[9]

It is not correct to treat these Jain chronological traditions as referring to the kings of Magadha. In fairness to these traditions it should be noted that all the kings and dynasties mentioned in these are definitely known to be connected with Central and Western India; of course, some of them ruled over a big empire covering other parts of India including Magadha. About Pālaka there is no doubt that he was the second king of the Pradyota dynasty of Ujjain. About him Charpentier himself observes that he is "identical with Pālaka, son and successor of Pradyota, King of Avantī, and brother of Vāsavadattā, queen of the famous King Udayana of Vatsa. As this Udayana was a contemporary of Mahāvīra and Buddha, it is quite possible that his brother-in-law Pālaka may have succeeded to the throne in a time nearly coinciding with the death of Mahāvīra."[10] The Nandas too ruled over Western India. Nandivardhana the first king and founder of the Nanda dynasty figures alike in the Paurāṇic lists of the kings of Magadha as well as Ujjain. There is not the least doubt of the rule of the Mauryas over Central and Western India, for which there is ample inscriptional as well as traditional evidence. The same can be said about Puṣyamitra and the Śuṅga dynasty he founded, to which probably Balamitra and Bhānumitra of the Jain list also belong. Nahavāṇa, who, as we shall see later on, is correctly identified with Nahapāṇa, again undoubtedly belonged to Central and Western India. Gardabhila is also associat-

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[9] IA, Vol. XLIII, p. 121.

[10] *Ibid.*, p. 121.

ed in Kalakācārya Kathā[11] and other Jain traditions with Ujjain. He was driven out from here by the Śakas, whom Kālaka, according to the Kalakācārya Kathā, brought to Ujjain from the western bank of the Indus via Saurāṣṭra. The traditions persistently aver that after a short rule the Śakas were driven out of Ujjain by Vikramāditya, son of Gardabhila. Purāṇas also mention a Gardabhila dynasty of seven kings, which appear to be contemporary of the Andhras. After the Gardabhilas the Jain traditions have the Śaka king. Śaka rule in Central and Western India in the early centuries of the Christian era is also an undoubted fact. It may not be difficult to find reason for the importance given by the Jains in their chronology to the rulers of Central and Western India. With Aśoka's patronisation of Buddhism and the Śuṅgas and the Kāṇvas after the Mauryas upholding the orthodox Brahmanism, the connection of Jains with Magadha and Eastern India became less and less intimate, and the scene of their activities shifted to Mālwā and Western India with Ujjain as its chief centre.

Thus, it is wrong to treat these Jain chronological traditions as entirely valueless. It may be useful to estimate the truth underlying these traditions by comparing them with other Jain chronological traditions and also with the Paurāṇic and the Buddhist traditions bearing on them. We must remember, as pointed out by Merutuṅga,[12] that in these traditions complete dynastic list in each case is not given and sometimes only certain important ruler is mentioned, and under his name total reign of the whole dynasty given.

We have another Śvetāmbara Jain chronological tradition, slightly different than the above, given in

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[11] W. N. Brown, The Story of Kālaka.

[12] इह यदा यो राजा स्यातिमानभूत्, तदा
तस्य राज्यं गण्यते, न तु पट्टानुक्रमः। *Vicārsreṇī.*

Titthagolīpainnaya, which gives the following chronology:[13]

Pālaka	... ...	60 years.
Nandas	... ...	150 ,,
Mauryas	... ...	160 ,,
Puṣyamitra	... ...	35 ,,
Balamitra and Bhānumitra	...	60 ,,
Nabhasena	... ...	40 ,,
Gadabhas	... ...	100 ,,

This tradition also places the Śaka King after Gadabhas, 605 years after Mahāvīra's Nirvāṇa.

The Digambara sect of the Jains has preserved chronological traditions, which excepting in one or two important respects are not far different from the Śvetāmbara ones given above. Tiloyapaṇṇati[14] and Jinsena's

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[13] जं रयणिं सिद्धिगश्रो श्ररहा तित्थंकरो महावीरो ।
तं रयणिं अवंतीए अभिसित्तो पालश्रो राया ॥६२०॥
पालगरण्णो सट्ठी पुण पण्णसयं वियाणि नन्दाणं ।
मुरियाणं सट्ठिसयं पणतीसा पुस्समित्ताणं ॥६२१॥
बलमित्ता-भाणुमित्ता सट्ठा चत्ता य होंति नभसेणो ।
गद्दभ सयं एकं पुण पडिवन्नो तो सगो राया ॥६२२॥
पंच मासा पंच य वासा छच्चेव होंति वाससया ।
परिनिबुअस्सऽरिहतो तो उप्पन्नो सगो राया ॥६२३॥

Shantilal Shah: "The Traditional Chronology of the Jainas'.' P. 16 f.

Shah regards Titthagolīpainnya as the oldest Jain chronological work. He assigns it to the early part of the fourth century A.D.

The above verses from Tithagolīpainnya are also quoted by Muni Darshan Vijya in his "Paṭṭavalī Samucaya," p. 197.

[14] जक्काले वीरजिणो णिस्सेयस संपयं समावण्णो ।
तक्काले अभिसित्तो पालयणामो अवंतिसुदो ॥१५०५॥
पालकरज्जं सट्ठिं इगिसयपणवण्ण विजयवंसभवा ।
चालं मुरुदयवंसो तीसं वस्सा सुपुस्समित्तस्स ॥१५०६॥
वसुमित्त अग्गिमित्ता सट्ठी गंधव्वया वि सयमेक्कं ।
णरवाहणा य चालं तत्तो भत्थट्ठणा जादा ॥१५०७॥
भत्थट्ठणाण कालो दोण्णिसयाइं हवंति बादाला ।
तत्तो गुत्ता ताणं रज्जे दोण्णि य सयाणि इगितीसा ॥१५०८॥
तत्तो कक्की जादो इंदसुदो तस्स चउमुहो णामो ।
सत्तरि वरिसा आऊ विगुणियइगिवीस रज्जंतो ॥१५०९॥

Harivaṁśa Purāṇa[15], important Digambara texts, give the following chronology:

Pālaka	...	60	years.
Vijaya Kings (Nandas?)	...	155	,,
Muruda Kings (Mauryas?)	...	40	,,
Puṣyamitra	...	30	,,
Vasumitra and Agnimitra	...	60	,,
Gandhavas or Rāsabhas	...	100	,,
Narvahāṇa	...	40	,,
Bhathaṭṭhaṇa	...	242	,,
Guptas	...	231	,,
Kalki	...	42	,,

णिव्वाणे वीरजिणे छव्वाससदेसु पंचवरिसेसुं ।
पणमासेसु गदेसुं संजादो सगणिओ अहवा ॥१४९९॥

Tiloyapaṇṇati (Jiavraja Granthamala Sholapur, under print).

[15] वीरनिर्वाणकाले च पालकोऽत्राभिषिच्यते ।
लोकेऽवंतिसुतो राजा प्रजानां प्रतिपालकः ॥४८७॥
षष्टिवर्षाणि तद्राज्यं ततो विषयभूभुजां ।
शतं च पंचपंचाशद्वर्षाणि तदुदीरितं ॥४८८॥
चत्वारिंशत्पूरूढानां भूमंडलमखंडितं ।
त्रिंशत्तु पुष्पमित्राणां षष्टिर्वस्वग्निमित्रयोः ॥४८९॥
शतं रासभराजानां नरवाहनमप्यतः ।
चत्वारिंशत्ततो द्वाभ्यां चत्वारिंशच्छतद्वयं ॥४९०॥
भद्रवाणस्य तद्राज्यं गुप्तानां च शतद्वयं ।
एकविंशश्च वर्षाणि कालविद्भिरुदाहृतं ॥४९१॥
द्विचत्वारिंशदेवातः कल्किराजस्य राजता ।
ततोऽजितंजयो राजा स्यादिंद्रपुरसंस्थितः ॥४९२॥
वर्षाणां षट्शतीं त्यक्त्वा पंचाग्रं मासपंचकं ।
मुक्तिं गते महावीरे शकराजस्ततोऽभवत् ॥५५१॥
मुक्तिंगते महावीरे प्रतिवर्षसहस्रकं ।
एकैको जायते कल्की जिनधर्मविरोधकः ॥५५२॥

Jinasena Harivaṁśa Purāṇa, Ch. 60.

In the manuscript of this work used by K. B. Pathak, Guptas are given 231 years गुप्तानां च शतद्वयम् । एकत्रिंश्च वर्षाणि कालविद्भिरुदाहृतम् ॥ I.A. Vol. XV, p. 142). If we assign 231 years to the Guptas then only we shall get 1000 years, mentioned in these traditions as the interval between the death of Mahavira and that of Kalki. 231 for the Guptas also given in Tiloyapaṇṇati appear to be the correct version.

The MS. used by Pathak has Muruḍa instead of Puruḍa and Bhattuvāṇa instead of Bhadrāvāṇa. The MS. used by Jayaswal

This tradition thus gives 1000 years between the death of Mahāvīra and the end of the reign of Kalki. These Digambara texts also separately record that 605 years elapsed between Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa and the Śaka King, but unlike the Śvetāmbara ones, they do not give any details of the reign-periods during this interval.

All the Jain traditions given above assign 60 years to Pālaka. This may include, as suggested above, not only the reign-period of Pālaka but also of his successors in his line. Sixty years of the reign-period for Pālaka is implied by the tradition reported by Hemacandra who says that Nanda became king sixty years after Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa.[16] This probably refers to Nandivardhana, who succeeded Pālaka's dynasty in Ujjain. The Purāṇas record conflicting chronologies for the Pradyota dynasty. However certain Paurāṇic traditions seem to indicate that five kings in Pradyota line, all of whom appear to be his sons, perished after a reign of 52 years.[17] This comes near the sixty years assigned to Pradyota's son Pālaka in the Jain traditions.

As regards the Nandas the Jain traditions given above assign to them a period of 155 or 150 years. On the other hand, as noticed above, Hemacandra gives 155 years between the death of Mahāvīra and the accession of Candragupta Maurya,[18] which may not be far from the truth. If we knock out of it 60 years assigned by him as the period between the death of Mahāvīra and the accession of the Nanda king, it will leave 95 years for the Nandas. The Ceylonese Buddhist traditions seem to

(In. An. Vol. 46) has Vijya instead of Vishya and Bhaṭṭanāṇa in stead of Bhadranāṇa.

[16] अनन्तरं वर्द्धमानस्वामिनिर्वाण—वासरात्
गतायां षष्ठिवत्सर्यामेष नन्दोऽभवन्नृपः ॥ (परि. ६. २४३)

[17] Pargiter DKA., p. 68.

[18] एवं च श्रीमहावीरमुक्तेर्वर्षशते गते ।
पंच-पंचाशदधिके चन्द्रगुप्तोऽभवन्नृपः ॥ (परि. ८. ३३९)

give 90 years to the same dynasty.[19] The Purāṇas again record conflicting chronological traditions about the Nanda dynasty. But a total of hundred years for all the Nandas is suggested by certain Paurāṇic traditions, which say that after the Nandas had reigned for one hundred years Kauṭilya uprooted them, and the sovereignty passed on to the Mauryas.[20] This may be more or less correct tradition.

As regards the Mauryas there seems to be great uncertainty about their reign-period in the Jain traditions given above. One Śvetāmbara tradition assigns 160 years to them another 108 years, and the Digambara traditions assign to this dynasty only 40 years. The last seems to be of no value as the reign-period of the first three great Mauryas, Candragupta, Bindusāra and Aśoka, itself comes to 85 years according to the unanimous tradition recorded in the Purāṇas,[21] and 93 years according to the Ceylonese Buddhist traditions.[22] There is also no doubt, as is evidenced by inscriptional records as well as the traditional accounts, that the rule of these first three great Mauryas extended to Central and Western India. The association of Samprati, grandson of Aśoka and a great patron of Jainism, with Central and Western

[19] Suśunāga . . . 18.
Kālāsoka . . . 28.
Ten sons of Kālāsoka . . . 22.
Nine Nandas . . . 22. Cam. His. of India, Vol. I, p. 189.

Susunāga of the Buddhist traditions has been correctly identified with Nandivardhana and Kālāsoka with Mahanandin by S. N. Pradhna, "Chronology of Ancient India," p. 220 ff.

[20] Pargiter, DKA, p. 69.

[21] The Purāṇas gives the following reign-periods for these monarchs. Candragupta, 24 years. Bindusāra, 25 years. Aśoka, 36 years. Pargiter, DKA, p. 70.

[22] The traditions as preserved in Mahāvaṁśa give the following chronology of the reign of these three kings. Candragupta, 24 years. Bindusāra, 28 years. Aśoka, 41 years. (Four years before his coronation and 37 years after it).

India is also very strongly attested by the Jain traditions.[23] Only in certain Purāṇas we get a complete record of the chronology of the Maurya kings, which is as follows:[24]

Candragupta	...	...	24 years.
Bindusāra	...	...	25 ,,
Aśoka	...	...	36 ,,
Kunāla	...	...	8 ,,
Bandhupālita	...	...	8 ,,
Daśona	...	...	7 ,,
Daśaratha	...	...	8 ,,
Samprati	...	...	9 ,,
Śāliśūka	...	...	13 ,,
Devadharman or Devavarman			7 ,,
Śatadhanvan	...	...	8 ,,
Bṛihadratha	...	...	7 ,,
		Total ...	160 years.

Against this total of 160 years obtained by adding the reign-periods of the various Maurya Kings, some of the Purāṇas give a total of 137 years for the Maurya dynasty. A comparison of the Paurāṇic and the Jain traditions concerning the reign-period of the Mauryas will make us give more credit to a total reign-period of 160 years to this dynasty. In any case it must be noted that if we assign 100 years to the Nandas and 160 years to the Mauryas we get a total of 260 years for these two dynasties, which is very near 263 years (155+108) assigned to these two dynasties, in the traditions recorded in Tapāgachha Paṭṭavalī as well as in Merutuṅga's Vicārśreṇī. Thus

[23] We gather from the Jain work Dipalika Kalpa of Jinsundara that Samprati became king of Ujjan 300 years after Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa.

दिनतो मम मोक्षस्य गते वर्षशतत्रये। उज्जयिन्यां महापुर्यां भावी संप्रति भूपतिः ॥

[24] Pargiter DKA. Also compare Cam. Hist. of India, Vol. I, p. 511.

we can safely take 263 years of these Jain traditions as the correct total for these two dynasties, although we shall have to assign 160 years to the Mauryas and the remaining 103 to the Nandas as suggested by the critical examination of the Jain and other traditions.

After the Mauryas all the Jain traditions except one assign 30 years to Puṣyamitra and after him some traditions assign 60 years to his son and grandson, Agnimitra and Vasumitra, others assign these 60 years to Balamitra and Bhānumitra, who also, as suggested above, appear to belong to the Śuṅga dynasty. Against the 90 years assigned to the Śuṅgas in the Jain traditions, the Purāṇas assign a total reign-period of 112 years to this dynasty. This discrepancy between the Jain and the Paurāṇic total for this dynasty may be due to the fact the Jain traditions give its reign-period in Central and Western India, whereas the Paurāṇic traditions record the total reign-period of the dynasty in Magadha: As suggested by the rise by the Andhras; the influence of the Śuṅgas ceased earlier in Central and Western India than perhaps in Magadha and Eastern India: The Sānchī inscriptions of the Andhra king Sātakarṇī[25] may indicate that the influence of this dynasty had reached Central India in the first century B.C. On the other hand "it is indeed doubtful if the Andhras ever ruled in Magadha".[26] Ninety years of the reign-period in Central and Western India assigned to the Śuṅgas in the Jain records may be a correct tradition.

So far from Pālaka down to the end of the Śuṅgas the dynastic succession list, apart from differing reign-periods in certain cases, is the same in all the Jain traditions. It is after this that serious discrepancy appears amongst the

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[25] Lüders, 'List of Brahmi Inscriptions', No. 346.

[26] Cambridge History of India, Vol. I, p. 224.

various Jain traditions. The Śvetāmbara traditions quoted above from Merutuṅga's Vicārśreṇī, Tapāgachha Raṭṭavalī and Titthagolīpainnaya place 40 years of Nahavāṇa after Balamitra and Bhānumitra. After Nahavāṇa Tappāgachha Paṭṭavali and Vicārśreṇī assign 13 years to Gardabhila and 4 to the Śakas. Then comes Vikramāditya. Vikramāditya according to the Jain traditions was the son of Gardabhila.[27] Vikramāditya and his dynasty can therefore be treated as the Gardabhilas. Merutuṅga's Vicārśreṇī gives 135 years to Vikramāditya and his dynasty or 152 years to the whole Gardabhila dynasty including the inter-regnum of 4 years for the Śakas. After the Gardabhila dynasty comes the Śaka King. This happened 605 years after Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa. Titthagolīpainnya after Nahavāṇa's 40 years assigns 100 years to the Gardabhas, by which apparently Gardabhilas are meant. No mention is made here separately of Gardabhila, the Śakas or Vikramāditya. According to this tradition one hundred years assigned to the Gardabhas, perhaps, cover the thirteen years of Gardabhila, four of the Śakas, and after it the reign of Vikramāditya and his dynasty. This tradition also places after the Gardabhilas the Śaka King, who came 605 years after Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa.

The Digambara Jain traditions, on the other hand, after the sixty years of Vasumitra and Agnimitra assign one hundred years to the Gardabhilas, whom Tiloyapaṇṇati calls as Gardhavas and Harivaṁśa Purāṇa as Rāsabhas. 'Rāsabha' seems only a translation of 'Gardhava' both meaning 'ass'. It is a common practice in Indian traditions to etymologically explain personal and tribal names. We may recall the story given in the Kalakācārya Kathā of the King Gardabhila being called by this name

27 Merutuṅga's Vicārśreṇī.

as he mastered the magic known as 'Gadabhi,' 'she ass'.[28] Elsewhere we have suggested that Gardabhila may be identical with Khāravela of the Hāthīgumphā inscription fame. We have tried to show there that like Gardabhila Khāravela also belonged to the first century B.C. Khāravela's conquest of Western and Central India are attested by his inscription. Gardabhila may be a translated form of the name Khāravela, "Khar" also like 'Gardabha' meaning ass. The same process of translation can be traced in Jinasena calling Gardbhilas and his dynasty as Rāsabha kings. Our surmise is that the dynasty founded by Khāravela is the same as the Gardabhilas of the Jain and the Paurāṇic traditions. If this surmise is correct then the 13 years of reign and conquest of Kharavela mentioned in the Hāthīgumphā inscription will correspond to the reign of 13 years assigned to Gardabhila in the Jain traditions, in which case the victorious career of Khāravela or Gardabhila came to an end after his defeat by the Śakas. It has also been surmised that Vakradeva of Khāravela's dynasty may be the famous Vikramāditya, who drove the Śakas out of Ujjain.[29]

After the Gardhavas or Rāsabhas (Gardabhilas) these Digambara Jain traditions place Nahavāna whom they call as Narvāhaṇna, and these traditions also like the Śvetambra ones assign him 40 years. After Nahavāna comes Bhathaṭṭhana, than the Guptas and after the Guptas comes Kalki. These traditions count 1000 years between the death of Mahāvīra and that of Kalki. It is interesting to note that these Digambara chronological traditions unlike the Śvetāmbara ones do not refer to Vikramāditya. They are preoccupied chiefly in establishing a chronology to show a difference of 1000 years between Mahāvira Nirvana and Kalki. The Śvetambara chronological traditions

[28] Brown: The story of Kālaka.

[29] Nagpur University Journal, No. 8.

on the other hand are chiefly concerned with the Śaka king who is placed 605 years after Mahāvīra Nirvāna. They are not concerned with Kalki and do not carry the chronological list beyond the Śaka King. But the most important difference between the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara Jain chronological traditions is that in the former Nahavāna is placed after and in the latter before the. Gardabhilas.

Nahavāna is in all probability, as is generally believed by modern historians, the same as Nahapāna, the Mahaksatrap of Kshaharāta family, who is mentioned in several inscriptions and a large number of whose coins is also discovered. The Nāsik inscription of the queen Gotamī Balaśrī, mother of Gautmiputra Śātakarnī informs us that her son Gautmīputra Sātakarnī rooted out the Khakhata (Kshaharāta) family and restored the glory of the Śātavāhanas.[30] As pointed out by Jayaswal[31] according to the Jain traditions preserved in Āvaśyaka-sūtra-niryukti it was Nahavāna or Nahapāna who was defeated and killed by the Śātavāhana king Gautmīputra Śātakarnī. This is also borne out by the fact that Gautmīputra Śātakarnī re-struck the coins of Nahapāna. The modern historical researches put Nahapāna in the period after the commencement of the Vikrama era. Most of the scholars assign him to the end of the first and the beginning of the second century A.D.[32] It seems that the Digambara chronological traditions are more correct in putting Nahavāṇa or Nahapāṇa after the Gardabhilas, which will make him a post-Vikrama figure. He is wrongly put by the Śvetṇmbara traditions before Vikramāditya, the Śakas and Gardabhila. As we have tried to show above, the

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[30] Lüder's Brahmi Inscription No. 1123.

[31] JBORS., Vol. 16 (1930), p. 248 ff.

[32] Vincent Smith, Rapson, R. G. Bhandarkar and Raychaudhri give c. 125 A.D. as the date for the defeat of Nahapana by the Andhra King Gautamiputra Satakarni.

rest of the Śvetāmbara chronological traditions preserved in Tapāgachha Pāṭṭavalī and Merutuṅga's Vicārśrenī from Pālaka down to the first Śaka occupation of Ujjain for four years and their being driven out of there at the beginning of the Vikrama era, *i.e.*, in 58 B.C., appear to be correct and reliable. If we take out 40 years of Nahavāṇa from 470 years, the interval given in these tradition between Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa and the commencement of the Vikrama era, the difference between these two important events will be 430 years. This will give (430 +58) 488 B.C., as the date of Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa. This will place Mahāvīra's death about a year before that of Buddha, who died, as suggested above, in 487 B.C. These two dates will reconcile most of the Buddhist as well as the Jain traditions about these two great religious teachers.

If we follow the Jain traditions of Titthagolīpainnya in assigning 160 years to the Mauryas, which as discussed above, also seems to be the total of the individual reign-periods of the Maurya Kings given in certain Purāṇas, the placing of Nahavāṇa in the post-Vikrama period gives us, according to the Śvetāmbara chronology 267 years (160 Mauryas + 90 Sungas + 13 Gardabihlas + 4 Śakas) between the beginning of the reign of Candragupta Maurya and the commencement of the Vikrama era, *i.e.*, 58 B.C. The commencement of the Candragupta's reign will thus fall in (267 + 58) 325 B.C., which, as we have elsewhere[33] argued, on other grounds also appears to be the most likely date for the beginning of the reign of this great monarch.

If our surmise that Gardabhila is identical with Khāravela is correct then thirteen years of Khāravela's reign and conquest mentioned in the Hāthīgumphā inscrip-

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[33] "Beginning of Candragupta Maurya's Reign" Proceeding of the III Indian History Congress (1939), p. 371; also republished Journal of Indian History, Vol. XIX, Part I.

will correspond to the reign of thirteen years assigned to Gardabhila in the Jain traditions, and it will fall between 75 and 62 B.C. After this comes 4 years of the Śaka occupation and then the conquest of Ujjain by Vikramāditya which happened in 58 B.C. This also may be a correct historical tradition. To Vikramaditya and his dynasty Merutuṅga assigns 135 years. Kālakācāraya Kathā also tells us that Vikramāditya's dynasty was uprooted by another Śaka King, who established an era of his own when 135 years of the Vikrama era had elapsed.[34] If we accept these as correct historical traditions we get (135—58) 77 A.D. as the end of the reign of the dynasty of Vikramāditya or the Gardabhila dynasty.

As regards Nahavāṇa or Nahapāṇa, a critical examination of the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara traditions given above and also the light thrown on him by modern researches make it clear that he came after the Gardabhilas. This will place the commencement of Nahavāṇa's reign in 78 A.D. Nahavāṇa in the Digambara Jain chronological traditions stands in the same place which is given to the Śaka King in the Śvetāmbara traditions. This Śaka King in both these traditions is placed in the post-Vikrama period about 605 years after Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa. It then appears that Nahavāṇa or Nahapāṇa is the Śaka King of both these traditions, who, as discussed above, in the Śvetāmbara traditions is put by mistake also before Gardabhila. Nahapāṇa, according to the inscriptions, belonged to Kshaharāta family which was of the Śaka extraction. We know from the inscriptions that the Śaka princes Liaka, Patika, Ghatāka and Bhūmaka were other members of the same Kshaharāta family. Ushavadata, son-in-law of Nahapāṇa is distinctly mentioned as a Śaka in the inscriptions.

[34] Brown: The Story of Kālaka, p. 60.

The conclusion we have drawn from a critical study of the various Jain traditions that Nahapāṇa was the Śaka King, whose rule commenced from 78 A.D., bears out the suggestion of Raychaudhri that "it is probable that the era of 78 A.D. derives its name of Śaka era from the Śaka princes of the House of Nahapāṇa."[35] All the Jain tradtions assign 40 years of reign to Nahavāṇa or Nahapāṇa, whose reign therefore lasted upto 605 years (430 between Mahavira Nirvana and Vikrama + 135 of Vikrama's dynasty + 40 of Nahavāṇa) after Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa. It thus seems that the Jain counting of 605 years between Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa and the Śaka King, perhaps, refers to the period between the death of Mahāvīra and that of Nahavāṇa. Starting with the commencement of the reign of Nahavāṇa or Nahapāṇa in 78 A.D. the end of his forty years reign will fall in 118 A.D. which will then be the date of the defeat of Nahavāṇa or Nahapāṇa by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi.[36]

The Śvetāmbara chronological traditions given above stop with the Śaka King, who as shown above is identical with Nahavāṇa. But the Digambara traditions carry the chronology after Nahavāṇa and assign 242 years to Bhathaṭṭhaṇas. After Bhathaṭṭaṇas these traditions assign 231 to the Guptas, and after the Guptas 42 years

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[35] Political History of Ancient India (4th ed.), p. 406.

[36] If the dating in the inscriptions of Nahapāṇa are from the beginning to his reign, which is placed according to the calculations given above in 78 A.D., then these inscriptions will suggest a reign of about 46 years to Nahapāṇa. If we take 46 years as the reign-period of Nahapāṇa his defeat at the hands of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī will fall in (78+46) 124 B.C. It may be that these inscriptions may be dated in an era commencing with Bhūmak the predecessor of Nahapāṇa and perhaps the founder of Kshaharāta rule in Western and Central India. And the popularly used Śaka era commenced with the beginning of the reign of Nahapāṇa under whom alone the Kshaharātas rose to great supremacy in Central India. In this case the persistent Jain tradition of 40 years of reign of Nahavaṇa or Nahapaṅa may be correct.

to Kalki, and thus count 1000 years between Mahāvīra and Kalki. The difficulty with the Digambara chronological list is that it neither refers to Vikramāditya nor to the Śaka King, whose eras provide the important land marks in the Indian chronological reckonings and help us in their conversion into now commonly used Christian era: Kalki too is an unknown entity.

The Digambara chronological list places a difference of 485 years between the death of Mahāvīra and that of Nahavāṇa and 515 years between the death of the latter and Kalki. This cannot be treated as correct since the Digambara chronological list has made a serious mistake in assigning 40 years to the Mauryas against a probable reign-period for this dynasty of 160 years. If we add these 120 years to 485 years already given in this list between Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa and Nahavāṇa we get the total of 605 years, which as discussed above, is the correct difference from Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa to the end of Nahavāṇa's reign. We may recall that the Digambara works like the Svetāmbarā ones also distinctly record the tradition that the Śaka King came 605 years and five months after Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa, and as suggested in the Digambara work Trilokasāra of Nemicandra the difference between Śaka King and Kalki is that of 394 years 7 months.[37] There seems to be little doubt that the two traditions refer to one and the same Śaka King, and he, as discussed above, appears to be no other than Nahavāṇa or Nahapāṇa.[38] Thus according to the chronology as we have reconstructed from the Jain sources Nahapāna's reign commenced in 78 A.D. and ended in 118 A.D. and about 394 years after this, *i.e.*, in 512 A.D. ended the reign of Kalki. This may perhaps refer to the end of the reign

[37] पणछस्सयवस्सं पणमास जुदं गमिय वीर णिव्वुइदो ।
सगराजो तो कक्की चदुणवतियमहियसगमासं ॥८५०॥
Nemicandra: Thilokasāra. Manikcandra Digambara Jain Mala.

of the Hun King Toramāṇa, who also displaced the Guptas in Central India, and who, as suggested by Jayaswal, also died about 512 A.D.[39] Toramāṇa like his son Mihirakula may have been a great oppressor and the Jain records may have preserved the tradition of his cruel rule in the account they give of Kalki.

If it be true that Kalki of the Jain traditions stands for Toramāṇa, it may not be difficult to account for the period of about 394 years assigned by the Jain traditions between the end of Nahavāṇa's reign and that of Kalki. After Nahavāṇa the Digambara Jain traditions assign 242 years to Bhataṭṭhaṇas. One is tempted to identify them with Śātavāhanas who, as we know, overthrew Nahavāṇa or Nahapāṇa. But the supremacy of the Śātavāhana did not last long in Central India as almost on their heels we have the rise in this area of the Śakas of the family of Chashṭana. 242 years may be taken to cover the reign in this region both of the Śātvāhanas and after that of the line of Chashṭana and Rudradāman. This seems likely as both these dynasties were contemporary. It is interesting to note that Alberunī puts the beginning of the Gupta era in 242nd year of the Śaka era. It is now generally assumed that the Gupta era began with the rise of the Guptas and not after their extermination as suggested by Alberunī. If, as argued above, the Śaka era commences with the reign of Nahavāṇa or Nahapāṇa in 78 A.D. the rise of the Guptas will take place 242 years after it, *i.e.*, in 320 A.D. This gives us an interval of (242—40) 202 years between the end of the reign of Nahapāṇa and the beginning of the

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[38] It is interesting to note that all the Jain traditions speak of a Śaka King who is placed 605 years after Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa and not of any Śaka dynasty. We know that the Kshaharāta family came into prominence in Central and Western India with Nahapāṇa and it also ended with him.

[39] An Imperial History of India, p. 61.

Guptas. It seems in recording 242 years as the interval between Nahavāṇa and the Guptas the Digambara traditions have counted from the beginning of the reign of Nahavāṇa or Nahapāṇa and not from its end. The mistake may have occurred because Nahavāṇa or Nahapāṇa and the dynasty here called as Bhathaṭṭhaṇas were perhaps contemporaneous and the total for this dynasty would therefore cover also the reign of Nahavāṇa.

Accordng to the modern historical studies the Guptas, whose rise commenced about 320 A.D., towards the close of the fifth century were displaced in Central India by the Hun King Toramāṇa. If Toramāṇa's death is placed about 512 A.D., it will give us a period of (512—320) 192 years from the rise of the Guptas to the end of Toramāṇa's reign. The total period from the end of Nahavāṇa or Nahapāṇa's reign to the end of Toramāṇa's reign will then be (202+192) 394, which is the same as the difference between the reign of the former and that of Kalki as suggested by the Jain traditions. It thus seems the traditions of a difference of 605 years and 5 months assigned in the Digambara Jain traditions between Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa and the Śaka King as well as of 394 years and 7 months between the latter and Kalki or of a difference of 1000 years between Mahāvīra Nirvāṇa and the end of the reign of Kalki or Toramāṇa are historically correct.

As regards 231 years of the Guptas given in the Digambara traditions, these may refer to their dynastic total, from their rise to the rise of the Maukharis, who snatched the supremacy of North India from the Guptas about 554 A.D., when according to the Harāhā inscription the great Maukhari King Iśānavarman was on the throne.[40] 554 A.D. falls 234 years (554—320) after the

[40] C. F. Raychaudhari: "Political History of Ancient India, p. 531.

rise of the Guptas. Assuming that Iśānavarman came to the throne a few years earlier, 231 years assigned to the Guptas in the Digambara traditions would appear to be correct. Similarly if Kalki is identical with Toramāṇa 42 years assigned to him in the Jain traditions may be his total reign period. The silver coins of Toramāṇa are dated in the year 52. If this dating is in terms of his own era beginning with his reign, then Toramāṇa apparently had a long reign,[41] beginning of which were perhaps laid in North-Western India, which, as indicated by his inscription at Kura in the Salt Range,[42] formed part of his empire. He must have conquered Mālwā in the latter of his reign.

We sum up in the following table the chronological data presented in the above discussion.

Mahavīra Nirvāṇa	488 B.C.
(Buddha Nirvāṇa)	487 B.C,
Accession of Candragupta Maurya ...	325 B.C.
Gardabhila's (Khārvela?) occupation of Mālwā	75-62 B.C.
First occupation of Ujjain by the Śakas ...	62-58 B.C.
Vikramāditya's (Vakradeva?) reconquest of Ujjain	58 B.C
Beginning of the Śaka King Nahapāṇa's reign ...	78 A.D.
Defeat of Nahapāṇa by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇī...	C. 118 A.D.
The end of the reign of Kalki (Toramāṇa ?) ...	512 A.D.

[41] Ep. Ind., Vol. XIV, p. 115 ff.
[42] *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 238 ff.

A PEEP INTO THE EARLY HISTORY OF TANTRA IN JAIN LITERATURE

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The origins of Tantrism in India are not thoroughly explored but sufficient material has been brought to light to show that rites and beliefs closely similar to those found in the later systematised Tantras have a hoary antiquity. Belief in magic and witchcraft is primitive and the use of charms, amulets and the like was universal from very early times.

Elements of various tantric rites are distinctly traceable in the Vedic times, and the general view is that the Tantras originated from the Saubhāgya-Kāṇḍa of the Atharva-Veda.[1] The practice of worshipping symbolical diagrams has been traced in the Atharva-Veda and the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka.[2] The latter mentions a distinct tantric charm[3] which, according to Sāyaṇa, pertains to *abhicāra* rites. This charm contanis letters such as *khaṭ*, *phaṭ*, etc. The mystic syllable *phaṭ* is also found in the Vājasaneyī.[4]

Rites and ceremonies, similar to the later *ṣaṭ-karmas*, found in the Vedic literature suggest early origin of Tantric beliefs and rites. For instance, RV. x. 162 is a curative spell to drive out diseases; RV. i. 191 and vii. 750 are charms intended as antedotes against poison

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[1] Cintaharan Chakravarti, *Antiquity of Tantrism*, IHQ., VI, pp. 114 ff.

[2] R. Shamasastri, Ind. Ant., 1906, pp. 262-67.

[3] *Tait. Ār.*, iv, 27.

[4] *Vāj. Saṁ.*, vii, 33.

while vi. 52, and vii. 104 aim at driving away the demons and remind us of the *māraṇa-karma* of later literatures.[5] Broadly speaking, the Vedic sacrifice itself is a Tantra, wherein a particular rite is supposed to be endowed with some mystical power to bring about the desired result.

The contents of the Atharva-Veda are primarily, magic, charm, sorcery, etc., and the rites of Atharva-Veda have a closer similarity with those of the Tantras.[6]

The Arthaśāstra of Kauṭilya furnishes evidence of the existence of growing Tantric activity of the age. The author gives mantras for causing deep slumber as also the rites connected with them. Oblations are offered to deities like Amile, Kimile, Vasujāre, Dantakaṭake, and *Cāṇḍāli*, Kumbhī and others.[7] Patañjali, too, had to refer to the efficacy of mantra and drugs for the attainment of perfection.[8]

Buddhist literature furnishes for us ample evidence of the existence of beliefs in magic, mysticism and practice of earlier forms of Tantric rites in at least the fifth century B.C., the age of Buddha and Mahāvīra. In Buddha's times, 'people were steeped in absurd superstitions and invariably sought to have short-cuts to salvation by easy methods—by the practice of mantras, the practice of self-mortification, and by various other practices, some of which were filthy and revolting. We have conclusive evidence that recourse to mantras was widely taken, as they were believed to bestow magical powers to the individuals practising them . . . Buddha had to incorporate some sort of mantras, Dhāraṇīs, Mudrās and Maṇḍalas

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[5] Also see *Tait. Saṁ.*, ii, 3. 9. 1, *Tait. Br.*, ii, 3. 10.

[6] Compare for instance AV. iii. 25 and Kauśika sūtra, 35.

[7] *Arthaśāstra*, xiv. 3.

[8] *Yogasūtra*, iv, i.

so that those that might wish to have prosperity in the present birth would feel satisfied by practising them.'[9]

The Brahmajāla-sutta refers to a large number of Vidyās condemned by Buddha as crooked, which shows that there were other Vidyās which were not crooked. The Mañjus'rī-mūla-kalpa gives a number of Mantras, Mudrās, Maṇḍalas and Dhāraṇīs which must have taken their origin in the early centuries B.C. and, if one may presume, from the time of Buddha himself.[10] Buddha recognised the *ṛddhis* or supernatural powers, and four *iḍḍhipadas* conducive to the attainment of supernatural powers. Buddha is said to have expressed his disapprobation of the wanton display of supernatural powers by his disciple Bharadvāja.[11]

It would be interesting to investigate the teachings of Mahāvīra in order to ascertain how far Mahāvīra and his disciples, the contemporaries of Buddha, believed in supernatural powers. It will also be interesting to collect the evidence furnished by the earliest known Jain works regarding the origin of belief in Tantric rites.

Like Buddha, Mahāvīra also believed in supernatural powers which he called *Iḍḍhis* (*Ṛddhis*) or *Laddhis* (*Labdhis*). The various classes of *Iḍḍhis* are discussed in the Bhagavatī Sūtra.[12] The Aupapātika also refers to Jain monks endowed with various types of *labdhis*.[13] In reply to the questions put forth by his chief disciple Gautama, Mahāvīra is said to have explained

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[9] Benoytosh Bhattacarya, *Esoteric Buddhism*, pp. 17 ff.

[10] Benoytosh Bhattacarya, *op. cit.*, pp. 18-19.

[11] Benoytosh Bhattacarya, *Tantric Culture amongst the Buddhists*, Cultural Heritage of India, II, p. 209.

[12] *Bhagavatī sūtra*, 8. 2.

[13] *Aupapātika sūtra*, 15. The Jain monks following Mahavira are also said to have knowledge of *vidyās* (*Vijjāhara*). A list of various labdhis is found in *Pravacanasāroddhāra*, 270, 1506 ff. Also see *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, I, pp. 68 ff.

the types of labdhis in the Bhagavatī Sūtra.[14] Gods and siddhas are said to possess powers of transformation and supernatural cognition. Indra performs this feat and changes his form while performing the birth-bath ceremony of a Jina. *Iddhimanta* is one who has the powers like amarṣauṣadhi, etc., and the Arhats, the Cakravartis, the Vāsudevas, the Baladevas and the high-souled pious saints are said to be *iddhimantas*.[15] An interesting discussion between Mahāvīra and his disciple Gautama recorded in the Bhagavatī Sūtra may be noted. The pupil asks whether a sādhu, meditating on the soul, can or cannot, by his power of *Vakriya-labdhi*, stand on the edge of a razor or a sword, without being injured at all. To this the Jina replies in the affirmative and further adds that similarly a sādhu can enter a big fire and so on.[16] In the same text we find Gautama asking Mahāvīra about the types of *Cāraṇas* and their magic powers.

Cāraṇas are those saints who can move in space. They are of two kinds: Jaṅghā-Cāraṇas and Vidyā-Cāraṇas or saints having the labdhis of the same name. The former obtain the labdhi by practising penance with four days' fast while the latter do so with three days' fasts and a study of the Vidyā from Pūrva-texts.[17] Thus the magical power was to be obtained by reciting the Vidyā or the magic formula. Again the Uttarādhyana[18] says that a monk should not think that one who practises penance does not acquire *iḍḍhi*. *Iḍḍhi* has been explained

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[14] *Bhagavatī*, Śatāka 8, uddeśa 2. See also *Tattvārtha Sūtra*, 2. 2. 46—49 and commentaries thereon.

[15] *Sthānāṅga*, 5. 2. sūtra 440.

[16] *Bhagavatī*, 18. 10. For Vaikriya-samudghāta see *Bhagavati*, 2. 2.

[17] *Ibid.*, 20, 9. Also compare *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, I, pp. 68-69; *Aupapātika Sūtra*, 15, p. 29; Comm. to *Yogaśāstra* of Hemacandra, I, 9; *Pravacanasāroddhāra*, 595—601, p. 168.

[18] *Uttarādhyayana*, II. 44.

by commentators as the *sampat* acquired by the practice of penance and destruction of various types of karmas.[19] The Niśītha Cūrṇi, composed by Jinadāsa in the seventh century explains *iddhi* as the supernatural power acquired by the practice of vidyā or tapa.[20] These *labdhis* were later on classified into twenty-eight types.[21]

People believed in the efficacy of spells and charms and experts in this art were not wanting. Practice of spells, supertitious rites or divination was however condemned as *khudda vijjā*.[22] References to mantra and vidyā again are not wanting in the Jain Āgamas. The Sthānāṅga refers to *mantasoya* (mantras'auca), and *manta* (mantraśāstra) or the science of mantras.[23] The Aupapātika says that the *therās* (sthavirās) following Mahāvīra knew both *vijjā* and *manta*.[24] Mantrapiṇḍa and Vidyāpiṇḍa or the alms obtained through the practice of mantra or vidyā are strictly prohibited.[25] The Samavāyāṅga mentions a list of *pāpaśrutas* or sinful sciences wherein are included the Bhauma, the Utpāta, the Svapna, the Antarikṣa, the Vyañjana, the Lakṣaṇa, the Vikathānuyoga, the Vidyānuyoga, the Mantrānuyoga, the Yogānuyoga, and other sciences.[26] The Mahāniśītha,

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19 See commentory of Abhayadeva on *Sthānāṅga*, 5. 2. sūtra 440.

20 *Niśītha Cūrṇī* 1, quoted by *Abhidhāna Rājendra*, I, p. 582.

21 *Pravacanasāroddhāra*, 1492—1508, p. 430; *Triṣaṣṭiśalākāpuruṣacarita*, I (G. O. S., Vol. LI), pp. 75-76 n.; *Yogaśāstra* of Hemacandra, I. 8-9.

22 *Uttarādhyayana Sūtra*, XX. 45.

23 *Sthānāṅga*, 5. 3. sūtra 449; 9. 3. sūtra 678.

24 *Aupapātika Sūtra* 16. The comm. of Abhayadeva says: विधाः प्रज्ञस्यादिकाः मन्त्रा हरिणेगमेष्यादिमन्त्राः

25 *Uttarādhyayana*, XV. 7-8; comm. on XXIV. 12; *Piṇḍaniryukti*, 499.

26 *Samavāyāṅga Sūtra*, 29, pp. 48-49. Abhayadeva in his commentory explains Vidyānuyoga as रोहिणीप्रभृतिविद्यासाधनाभिधायके शास्त्रे।

supposed to have been composed a little later, gives the *vijjā* for throwing the scented powder (vāsakṣepa).[27] It also gives the *Śrutadevatā-vidyā* and the *Vardhamāna-vidyā*.[28] The science of warding off of evil spirits is referred to by the Vipāka Sūtra as a part of the eight-fold Āyurveda.[29] The *Jāṅgoli-vijjā* or the Vidya for removing the effects of poisons, etc., is known to the Sthānāṅga.[30] The Mahāniśītha also refers to malefic tantric practices,[31] used against ghosts, demons, diseases, etc.

Both the Buddhist and the Jain sources demonstrate the popularity of spells, magic, mantras, vidyās, science of divination, etc., in the time of Mahāvīra and Buddha. Like Buddha, Mahāvīra also could not totally discard the belief in magic powers and supernatural cognition obtained through penance. Again, since practice of mantras or vidyā is prohibited for the sake of alms, it is quite clear that his followers did practise mantras and vidyās. The twelfth Aṅga text, composed by the Gaṇadhara, now totally lost, contained fourteen *pūrva*-texts, one of which was known as the *Vidyānupravāda-pūrva* and dealt with a number of powerful vidyās and their practices.[32]

The Sūtrakṛtāṅga refers to *Antaddhānī vijjā*[33] while the Nāyadhammakahāo refers to the *utpatanī* (*uppayaṇī*)

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and Mantranuyoga as चेटकादिमन्त्रसाधनोपायशास्त्राणि while Yogānuyoga is वशीकरणादियोगाभिधायकानि हरमेखलादि शास्त्राणि These have been repeatedly condemned by the Jain texts. It would be interesting to note that the comm. on Sūtrakṛtāṅga, 1. 8. explains पापश्रुतमन्त्र as the abhicāra-mantras of the Atharva-veda.

[27] *Mahāniśītha Sūtra* (MS. No. 165, B.O.R.I.) folio 17.

[28] *Ibid.*, folios 2 and 56. Vardhamānavidyā invokes Jayā, Vijayā, Jayantā and Aparājitā.

[29] *Vipāka Sūtra*, I. 7, p. 74.

[30] *Sthānāṅga*, 8. Sūtra 611; also *Vipāka*, op. cit.

[31] *Mahāniśītha*, folios 45-46.

[32] M. D. Desai, *History of Jain Literature*, pp. 27 ff.

[33] *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, 2. 2. 15.

vidyā;[34] the text also shows that thieves knew certain vidyās and mantras useful in the theft or robbery, one of them being the power to open any lock.[35] Again, a certain lady named Poṭṭilā is reported to have requested a group of Jain nuns to show her some powder, mantra, rite, *bhūtikarma*, or *vas'īkarma*, etc., whereby she can regain the love of her husband.[36] The description of the venerable ascetic Sudharmā, one of the disciples of Mahāvīra, is also noteworthy inasmuch as he is said to be conversant with both *vijjā* and *manta*, along with many other things.[37]

Sūtrakṛtāṅga, the second Aṅga text, gives a list of forbidden sciences—*pāpaśrutas*—which includes divinations of various sorts and the following *vidyās*: *Vaitālī, Ardhavaitālī, Avasvāpanī, Tālugghāḍaṇi, Śvapāki, Sovāri, Dāmilī, Kāliṅgī, Gaurī, Gāndhāri, Āvedanī, Utpatanī, Jambhanī, Stambhanī, Lesanī, Āmayakaraṇi, Viśalyakaraṇī, Antardhānī* and so forth.[38] Again the Sthānāṅga refers to the *Mātaṅga Vidyā* which the commentator explains as a vidyā for knowing the past history.[39]

The Jain Āgamas furnish another type of evidence also. In the Nāyādhammakahāo, Kṛṣṇa is said to have entered the *Pausadhaśālā* for three days and practising penance, propitiated the god Susthita, the lord of the

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34 *Nāyā*, XVI. 129. (Vaidya's ed.), p. 189.

35 *Nāyāddhammakahās*, XVIII. 141, pp. 209-10.

36 *Ibid.*, XIV. 104, p. 152.

37 *Ibid.*, I. 4, p. 1.

38 "......वेयालिं अद्धवेयालिं ओसोवणिं तालुग्घाडणि सोवागिं सोवारिं दामिलिं
कालिङ्गिं गोरिं गन्धारिं आवेयणिं उप्पयणिं जम्भेणिं थम्भणिं लेसणिं
आमयेकरणिं विसल्लकरणिं पक्कमणिं अन्तद्धाणिं आयमिणिं एवमाइआओ
विज्जाओ अन्नस्स हेउं पउज्जन्ति......। —*Sūtrakṛtāṅga*, 2. 2. 15.

39 See *Abhidhāna Rājendra*, VI. 250; see also *Paumacariya*, 7. 142.

Lavanoda ocean.[40] The god manifested himself before Kṛṣṇa. Abhayakumāra, the son of the well-known king Śreṇika, eager to fulfil the wish of his step-mother by obtaining rainfall out of season, decides to call his divine friend from the Saudharma heaven. Observing complete celebacy and the *aṭṭhama* fast, he enters the *Pauśadha-śālā* where he rests for three days on the darbha-grass alone and discarding all ornaments and weapons, remains steadfast in his vow. As soon as the god came to know of this, he transformed his body with the help of the power known as the *vakriya-samudghāta*, hurried towards the *Pauśadhaśālā* and fulfilled all the desires of the prince and his mother. Finally the prince again entered the *Pauśadhaśālā* and after finishing due offerings, respects and thanksgiving to the deity, bade him farewell.[41]

Both the incidents narrated above give us an insight into the mode of propitiating deities in earlier times. Deities manifested themselves to their devotees who practised certain kinds of penances and fulfilled their desires.

The Jain texts also describe in detail the worship of the Jina performed by Devas and human beings like Draupadī. The Jain ritual was, therefore, fast growing and the eight-fold mode of worship and the obligatory rites (āvaśyaka) have been described by the Āgama literature.

Muni Kalyāṇavijaya has shown[42] that the Jain Prābhṛta literature once formed part of the now lost *pūrvas*. He has also shown that references in the Jain Sūtras and later literature prove the antiquity of the Prābhṛta texts. These texts are of four classes : the Siddha Prābhṛta, the Yoni Prābhṛta, the Nimitta Prābhṛta and the Vidyā

[40] *Nāyā.*, XVI. 129, p. 190.

[41] *Nāyā.*, I (Vaidya's ed.), pp. 13 ff.

[42] *Jain Yūga*, 1. 1 (आपणां प्राभृतो) pp. 87—94.

Prābhṛta. The Siddha Prābhṛta, now extinct, contained, according to the Kahāvalī of Bhadreśvara, the mystical arts of working supernatural things with the help of the *pāda-lepa*, *añjana*, powders or pills. The Jain traditions describe the account of how Pādalipta used to fly in the air with the *pāda-lepa*. The Yoni Prābhṛta dealt with the science of creating beings with the help of certain artificial means. The saint Siddhasena Sūri created horses with the help of this science according to the evidence of the Niśītha Cūrṇī. The Nimitta Prābhṛta contained the science of predictions based on earthquakes, dreams, movements of heavenly bodies, signs on human bodies, and so on. Gośālaka Maṅkhaliputra was well-versed in this science as reported by the Bhagavatī Sūtra. The now extinct Cuḍāmaṇī and the still available Aṅgavijjā are works of this class of Jain literature. Lastly, the Vidyā Prābhṛtas described the sādhanas of various vidyās and mantras. Great Jain Ācāryas like Vajra svāmī, Ārya Khapuṭa, Pādalipta, Haribhadra, Helācarya, Indranandī, Hemacandra and others are well known in Jain traditions as masters of this class of literature and mantras and vidyās. The Prābhṛtas are supposed to have been composed in the age of Bhadrabāhu in c. 300 B.C.

Bhadrabāhu himself is reported to be the author of the famous Uvasaggahara-stotra, which is supposed to have great powers and used in various tantric sādhanas.[43] The Piṇḍaniryukti written by the same saint refers to the story of the Bhikṣūpāsaka Dhanadeva who made use of vidyās for obtaining food. At the end of the story, the author condems such misuse of the vidyās as sinful.[44] The Jain traditions also record that Sthūlibhadra the great Jain Ācārya and pupil of Bhadrabāhu, was also punished for his abuse of the power obtained through

[43] *Mantrādhirajacintāmaṇi*, pp. 1—13.

[44] *Piṇḍaniryukti*, 495—497.

vidyā.[45] It is, therefore, certain that in the two or three centuries preceeding the Christian era, Jainism already knew of both the pure and the impure forms of mantras and vidyās. Then comes the age of Ācāryas like Ārya Khapuṭa, Ārya Vajra and Pādalipta who have been noted as masters of mantras and vidyās. These saints flourished in the first two centuries of the Christian era, Khapuṭa being a little older. This was the age of the division of the Jain Saṅgha into Śvetāmbara and Digamabra sects. Vajraswāmī is reported to have preserved the *ākās'a-gāminī-vidyā* from the mahāparijñā-adhyana of the Ācārāṅga Sūtra.[46] He is also said to have obtained the lore of flying through the air and the *vaikriya-labdhi* from some Jṛmbhaka gods. He transported certain monks by his magic carpet (which flew through the air) from the Northern India which was affected by famine. He was a *pāyānusārī* having the power to trace the missing word.[47] Vajraswāmī flourished in the sixth century, after Mahāvīra (496—584 A.M.) and is the reputed author of the first work on the *Varddhamāna-vidyā*. This text is now extinct but the available Jain *Kalpas* on the *Varddhamāna-vidyā* refer to him as the earliest author of such a text.[48]

According to the Jain traditions Khapuṭācārya flourished in the year 484 after Mahāvīra in the city of Bhṛgukaccha (modern Broach) where by his mystic power he made the Buddha image bow down its head and thus vanquished his Buddhist opponents.[49] Kālakācārya, who

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[45] *Pariśiṣṭaparvan*, Canto 9, verses 77—83, 101—113.

[46] *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi*, p. 394; *Āvaśyaka Sūtra*, 8. 46; *Pariśiṣṭa*, Canto XII, verses 307—310.

[47] *Pariśiṣṭa*, XII. verses 140—60, 280—291, 307—334, 375—388.

[48] See *JISOA*, Vol. IX, pp. 50-51.

[49] *History of Jain Literature* (in Gujarati), M. D. Desai, pp. 99-100. *Caturviṁśatiprabandha* (ed. by Kapadia), pp. 18—22.

flourished earlier than both Khaputa and Vajra (453 years after Mahāvīra) is famous in the Jain traditions for his knowledge of the Nimittaśāstra and the mystic lore.[50] Gardabhila, his enemy, practised the *Gardabhī-vidyā*.

Pādalipta, the pupil of Nāgendra, is well known for his magic power of flying through the air, obtained by applying some *lepa* (ointment) to the soles of his feet. He was a contemporary of the King Hāla, a Sātavāhana, of the Deccan.[51] Another magic performed by this saint was the total removal of the unbearable headache of a certain Murunda king.[52] The Jain traditions also note that Nāgārjuna, a pupil of this Pādalipta, was taught the Vidyā for flying through the air. He is reported to be well-versed in the knowledge of the Prābhṛtas, especially the Siddha Prābhṛta. With the help of the same type of magic power obtained through *pādalepa*, five hundred tāpasas used to cross a river and the Jain saint Ārya Samita Sūri, again, using a yoga-cūrṇa stopped the current of the river and converted these tāpasas to Jain faith.[53] Ārya Samita Sūri flourished c. 560-70 years after Mahāvīra, and was a pupil of Siṁhagiri.

544 years after Mahāvīra arose a schism in the Jain Saṁgha, known as the Trairāśika Nihnava. Two rivals of different schools are said to have made use of minor vidyās of snakes, scorpions, etc., against each other.

But the most valuable evidence of the growth of the Jain Tantra in the early centuries of the Christian era is supplied by the Paumacarium of Vimala Sūri. According to the author himself, the work was composed 530 years after the death of Mahāvīra, though such an

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50 For an account of Kalakācārya, see Brown, *The Story of Kālaka*.

51 *Caturviṁśatiprabandha*, p. 24.

52 *Piṇḍaniryukti*, 498.

53 *Pariśiṣṭa*, XII, verses 69—99.

early date as 4 A.D. is not generally accepted and Jacobi puts him in the second or third century A.D. The text deals with the story of Rāma, wherein the author describes the *Vidyādhara-vaṁśa.* Again, Rāvaṇa and his brethren are said to have propitiated several vidyās, amongst whom are found names like *Prajñapti*, *Kaumārī*, *Aṇimā*, *Laghimā*, *Vajrodarī*, *Vāruṇī*, *Aiśānī*, *Vijayā*, *Jayā*, *Vārāhī*, *Kauberī*, *Yogeśvarī*, *Cāṇḍālī*, *Manah-stambhini* and so on.[54] In another place Rāvaṇa's sādhana of the Bhaurūpā vidyā is described. In a temple of Śāntinātha, Rāvaṇa sits in meditation and controls his mind against all distractions attempted by others. Bahurūpā is here called a Mahāvidyā.[55] Paumacariyum also refers to other vidyās amongst which one *Sīhavāhinī* (*Siṁhavāhinī*) bestowed upon Padma by a god is noteworthy.[56] In another place we meet with a *Sarvakāmā-vidyā*, of eight letters, obtained in only half-a-day, by muttering it for one lac of times. Another vidyā, with a *parivāra* of ten thousand crores of mantras is said to have been made up of sixteen letters.[57]

It would be interesting to know what is meant by mantra and vidyā. Jain writers have drawn a line of distinction between mantra and vidyā. Both possess magic powers no doubt, but while mantras are letters like *Om*, *Hrim*, *Svāhā*, etc., presided over by male deities and mastered by mere repeatition,[58] vidyās are combinations

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[54] *Paumacariyam*, 7. vv. 135 ff, pp. 41-42. Cf. also *Padmapurāṇa* of Raviṣena, 7. vv. 323 ff.

[55] *Paumacariyam*, 68, pp. 223-24.

[56] *Ibid.*, 59, verse 84.

[57] *Ibid.*, 7, verses 107-108.

[58] मंत्राः प्रणवप्रभृतिकाः अक्षरपद्धतयः। *Piṇḍaniryukti*, quoted in the *Abhidāna Rājendra* VI, p. 23. Also cf. मंत्रो देवाधिष्ठितोऽसाधनो वाऽक्षररचनाविशेषः। *Pañcāśaka*, 13.

of words invoking female divinities and mastered only by the practice of the prescribed rite (sādhana).[59]

According to the Jain traditions, there were 48,000 vidyās. Once upon a time, when the first Jina Ṛṣabhanātha was practising penance, Nami and Vinami went to him and began worshipping him with the desire of obtaining worldly prosperity from the Lord. But the great sage was in meditations and remained unconcerned. Thereupon, Dharaṇa, the king of the Nāgakumāras, came on the spot and in order that the worship of the Lord may not be spoken of as fruitless, granted to Nami and Vinami, Lordship over the Vidyādharas. Both the devotees were asked to found two groups of cities on the Northern and Southern sides of the Vaitāḍhya mountain[60] and were given fortyeight thousand vidyās, Gaurī and Prajñapti being the chief amongst them.[61]

But while giving these vidyās, Dharaṇendra sounded a note of warning: Do not let the Vidyādharas, proud of their vidyās, show disrespect or follow the wrong path. If any insolvent person shows disrespect or does any injury to the Jinas, the Jain shrines, or asectics enganged in *pratimā*, the vidyās will abondon him immediately. Whoever kills a man with his wife or enjoys a woman against her will, the vidyās will leave him at once.[62]

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59 ससाधनायां प्रशस्यादिदेवताधिष्ठितायां वर्णानुपूर्व्याम्। *Darśanaśuddhi*, 3 tattva. Also cf. इत्थी विज्जाऽभिहिया पुरिसो मंतो त्ति तव्विसेसो य।
विज्जा ससाहणा वा साहणरहितो भवे मंतो॥

Āvaśya. Comm. of Malaya—1 Adh.

60 *Triṣaṣṭiśatākāpuruṣacarita*, I. 3. 124—133. On the Vijayardha, acc. to the Digambaras, see *Ādipurāṇa*, IV. verses 51 ff; *Harivaṁśapurāna* of Jinasena, 22, 51—102, pp. 335 ff.

61 सम्बोध्यैवं दधौ गौरीप्रज्ञप्तिप्रमुखां तयोः।
अष्टचत्वारिंशद्विद्यासहस्रीं पाठसिद्धिदाम्॥ *Triṣaṣṭi*., I. 3. 170.

62 *Ibid*., I. 3. 213—218.

Nami founded fifty cities on the Vaitāḍhya mountain in a Southern row while Vinami made sixty in a Northern one. There were sixteen clans of Vidyādharas named after the class of vidyās they possessed. Hemacandra gives the following list: Gaureyās from the vidyās known as Gaurīs, Manupūrvakas from the vidyās known as *Manus*, Gāndhārās from the *Gāndhārīs*, Mānavās from the *Mānavīs*, Kaiś'ikīpūrvakas from the *Kaiś'ikīs*, Bhūmituṇḍakas from the *Bhūmituṇḍas*, Mūlavīryakas from the *Mūlavīryas*, Saṅkukās from the *Saṅkukās*, Pāṇḍukās from the *Pandukis*,[63] Kālikeyās from the *Kālīs*, Śvapākas from the *Śvapākīs*,[64] Mātaṅgas from the *Mātaṅgīs*, Pārvatās from the *Pārvatīs*, Vaṁś'ālayās from the *Vaṁśālayās*, Pāṁsumūlakāṣ, from the *Pāṁsumūlas*, Vṛkṣamūlakas from the *Vṛkṣamūlas*.[65]

Nami took eight classes and Vinami took eight. With their hearts filled with devotion to the Lord, they established divinities presiding over the vidyās in each class. Hemacandra's list of the sixteen groups given above follows ancient traditions as it agrees with the list by Jinadāsa Mahattara in his Āvaśyaka Cūrṇi (c. 677 A.D.). This latter text further notes that the forty-eight thousand vidyas originally belongs to the Gāndharvas and the Pannagas and that only four, namely, *Gaurī*, *Gāndhārī*, *Rohiṇī* and *Prajñapti* were the chief amongst them.[66] The Digambara writer Jinasena in his Harivamśapurāṇa (705 Śaka year) also says that eight classes belonged to the Āryas, Ādityās or Gandharvas and eight belonged to the Daityās, Pannagās or Mātaṅgas.[67]

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[63] *Paṭūkā* acc. to Jinadāsa Mahattarya.

[64] *Samakā* according to Jinadāsa Mahattara.

[65] *Triṣaṣṭi.*, I. 3. verses 219—226.

[66] *Āvaśyaka Cūrṇī*, I, pp. 161-162.

[67] *Harivaṁśa*, 22. 56—60. Mātaṅgī, as already noted above, is known to both Sthānāṅga and Paumacariyam. "In Rāmāyaṇa, Puṣkarāvatī, the most ancient capital of Gāndhāra has been

Saṅghadāsa Gani (c. 700 A.D.) also refers to this account of Nami and Vinami in his Vasudevahiṇḍi, and supports the tradition that the vidyās orignally belonged to the Gandharvas and the Pannagas, and were forty-eight thousand in number, including vidyās like *Mahā-Rohiṇī Prajñapti*, *Gaurī*, *Vidyutmukhī*, *Mahā-Jwālā*, *Tirikkhamaṇī*, and *Bahurūpā*. His list of the sixteen classes of the Vidyādharas is similar to the one given by Hemacandra.[68] This tradition about Nami and Vinami is at least as old as the age of Bhadrabāhu, the author of Āvaśyaka Niryukti, who, however, does not refer to the chief vidyās or the sixteen groups of the Vidyādharas.

This tradition about the vidyās which says that they orginally belonged to the Gandharvas or the Āryas and Pannagās or the Mātaṅgas (non-Āryas) is valuable inasmuch as it shows a new line of invesigation into the Early History of the Indian Tantra.

It will also be obvious that before the third or the fourth century of the Christian era, Jainism had a Tantra of its own based upon ancient traditions with both the benefic and the malefic practices and that a pretty large number of mantras and vidyās, with Prajñapti, Jayā Vijayā, Bahurūpā, Kaumārī, Cāṇḍālī and others reckoned as Mahavidyās, were already known. It seems that the

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placed in the Gandharvadeśa, and the Kathāsaritsāgara calls Puṣkarāvata, the capital of the Vidyādharas"—A. D. Pusalkar, *Bhāsa, a study*, p. 331. According to Harivaṁśa, the Manu, the Mānava, the Kauśika, the Gaurika, the Gāndhāra, the Bhūmituṇḍa, the Mūlavīryaka and the Śaṅkuka belonged to the Gandharva or the Ārya classes. Can we locate the origin of these vidyās to Gāndhāra? For the Mātaṅga class, see Sylvan Levi, *'On a Tantrik Fragment from Kucha (Central Asia)*, IHQ., XII, pp. 198 ff, where Kālī-Mahākālī, Vetālī, Māyūrī, Cāṇḍālī, Ghorigandhūrī, etc., are associated with Mātaṅgas, Viśvāmitra and Triśaṅku.

[68] *Vasudevahiṇḍi*, I, p. 164.

later lists of the sixteen Mahavidyā[69] popular in the Jain ritual were not yet finally settled though the tradition about the sixteen classes of the Vidyādharas was probably known.

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[69] The sixteen Mahāvidyās are: Rohiṇī, Prajñapti, Vajraśṛṅkhalā, Vajrāṅkhalā, Vajrāṅkuśī, Apraticakrā or Jāmbunadā, Puruṣadattā, Kālī, Mahākālī, Gaurī, Gāndhārī, Mahājwāla or Jwālāmālinī, Mānavī, Vairoṭyā, Acyutā, Mānasī and Mahamanasī. —*Abhidhāna Cintāmaṇī*, II, 152—154.

VEDIC CHRONOLOGY *

BY

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Scholars pleased themselves either by antedating or post-dating the Vedas, not knowing what the Vedas themselves have to say on their own date. When once we know that the Vedas are hymns sung in praise of cyclic eclipses, combination of planets in one or the other of the twenty-seven constellations, or of precession of colure, we are bewildered at the heap of data lying before us to determine their date.

Whether explicit or implicit, the data are so obscure that they can hardly be taken to be such, unless we know the real import of the verses and the real sense in which the words are used. The direct statement on Vedic chronology is the reference made at the commencement of the Tait. Āraṇyaka to the cycle of sixty years beginning with Prabhava and ending with Akshaya. It says that the cycle of sixty made thirty revolutions and that Śukla and Krishṇa, the bright and dark Ayanas of which it consists, also made the same number of revolutions. Āryabhaṭa, a celebrated astronomer of India, says in his astronomical work that when he was twenty-three years old (in A.D. 500), the cycle of sixty years made sixty revolutions, implying thereby that on the date the number of years in the Kali-era amounted to 3600. Deducting 500 from this, we arrive at 3100 as the date for the beginning of the sixty years' cycle, the same as the Kali era. It follows therefore that the Tait. Āraṇyaka is a work of 1300 B.C. (3100—1800=1300).

* The Editors regret that the learned writer has since passed away.

Among indirect statements is the reference made in the hymn on Sūrya's marriage (R. V. 116, 17) to the conjunction of all the planets in Piscis. In his Notes on this hymn Wilson says :—

> "Sūrya, it is related, was desirous of giving his daughter Sūryā to Soma, the moon; but all the gods desired her as a wife. They agreed that he who should first reach the sun, as a goal, should wed the damsel. The Aśvins were victorious, and Sūrya, well pleased by their success, rushed immediately into their chariot."

Here the race of gods must necessarily mean the movement of the moving luminaries, of course the planets. The arrival of the Aśvins first and of the rest behind implies that the sign of the Aries with Aśvins appeared first in the east and that the rest fell behind in the sign of Piscis before sun-rise or just at the moment of sun-rise. According to Hindu astronomical Siddhāntas confirmed by Burgess and Whitney in their introduction to Sūrya-sidhānta all the planets were in the house of Piscis at the commencement of the Kaliyuga. Thus the beginning of the Kaliyuga is too scientifically fixed to admit of any doubt or dispute.

Besides these two data, there is the evidence of precession of the colure referred to in the Vedic and Epic myths. Gauri, once the daughter of Daksha and consort of Śiva, it is related, created Gaṇapati out of her sweat and appointed him as her door-keeper. Knocking out the head of obstructing Gaṇapati, Śiva entered Gauri's chamber. On Gauri's remonstrance, Śiva gave him an elephant's head and revived him. As a compensation for the hideous and comic shape of Gaṇapati, Śiva, it is said, ordained that Gaurī and Gaṇapati should be worshipped

for ever on the third and fourth dates of the month of Bhādrapada (August-September). Having been contemptuously treated by Daksha, Gaurī fell into the sacrificial fire and died. She was, however, reborn as the daughter of the Himālayas and married again Śiva. Regarding the nature and function of Gaurī, R. V. I. 164, 40 says that becoming one pada (two feet) in length, two padas, four padas, eight padas, Gaurī measures water. This implies that Gaurī, meaning the shadow cast by a gnoman measuring one to eight feet according to the height of the gnoman, indicates the arrival of summer solstice with the rainy season. According to the Sūryapragnapti of the Jainas and Varāhamihira's Panchasiddhāntikā, the shadow cast by a gnoman on the day of summer solstice gradually increases and becomes double on the day of winter solstice and again gradually decreasing resumes its original length on the day of summer solstice. According to R. V. IV. 40, 5 the sun in the sky (Vyoma = winter solstice) is called Adrija, a word which is synonymous with Pārvatī, Durgā, and other names of Gaurī. The word Vyoma, synonymaus with Dyo, and Div, means winter solstice in the Vedas and Prithivī or Bhūmi meaning the earth signifies summer solstice. Dyāvā-prithivī, sky and earth, are also called Father and Mother. It follows therefore that Gaurī means the sun on the day of winter-solstice. According to A. V. XIII. 1, 6 Parameshthi or Prajāpati held a cord extended from earth to heaven and that at one end of it Aja Ekapāda, the deity of the asterism of Pūrvabhādrapada, reposed. From this it is clear that Pūrvabhādrapada and Uttaraphālguni which is the fourteenth from P. Bhādrapada were then the asterisms of Uttarāyaṇa and Dakshiṇāyana (winter and summer solstices) respectively. According to Hindu astronomy lunar months are called after the asterisms in which the moon becomes full, the sun being at the 14th

asterism from the asterism of full moon. It follows therefore that at the time of Gaṇapati's birth or reign winter solstice occurred in the last quarter of P. Bhādrapada and Summer solstice in the first quarter of Uttaraphālguni in the months of Phālguna and Bhādrapada respectively. The severance of Gaṇapati's head and Gauri's death imply that the solstices receded from their respective places, causing bewilderment to the Vedic astronomers at the failure of the gnoman to give the usual shadow at the time. The same is the implication we have to understand when we are told in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa and the Taittarīya Āraṇyaka that the heads of Vishṇu and of Rudra were blown off by the springing up of their bow owing to its string being cut off by Indra disguised as white ants. We are told there that one end of the bow was at the sky and the other end on earth, implying that the bow-string formed the diameter of the sun's ecliptic, the two ends of the string being at the points of winter and summer solstices. We are also told that Yagñya or sacrifice lost its head at the same time. The restoration of the lost heads is the main object for which the Pravargya rite is instituted. The rebirth of Gaurī as the daughter of the Himālayas with Gaṇapati with an elephant's head point to the zodiacal sign Makara, Capricornus, as the place where the heads of Ayana-gods and sacrifices were reinstituted. Himālaya means the abode of snow. The arrival of the sun at Capricornus indicates the time of snow-fall and therefore that zodiacal sign deserves the name of Himālaya. The animal dedicated to the Himālayas in the Horse-sacrifice is an elephant. Hence, it is clear that Gaurī and Gaṇapati having an elephant's head re-appeared in Capricornus. Since the first half of Dhanishṭhā is inclinned in the sign of Capricornus, Dhanishṭhā seems to be the asterism where the point of winter-solstice was located for the second time. This is

confirmed by the story of Gajendramoksha, according to which the elephant is released from the clutches of Makara, a crocodile, and is saved from being dragged away. Makara is the name given to the sign of Capricornus. This event of liberation of the elephant from Makara's clutches is even now celebrated in all Vishṇu-temples. The idol of Vishṇu is taken in procession to the nearest pond, lake or river and the liberation of the Elephant is rehearsed. Hasti or elephant is a name of Gaṇapati, for the Matrāyaṇīya Saṁhitā calls him Hasti. This epoch agrees with the epoch of the Vedāngajyautisha and Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra when the winter solstice is stated to have been located at Dhanishṭhā. The Sūrya-prgnapti locates the solstices in the asterisms of Śravaṇa and Pushya at the time of Mahāvīra, the last Tīrthaṅkara, while Varāhamihira locates them in U. Āshāḍha and Punarvasu in his own time (sāmpratamayanaṁ punarvasutah). We are told in the Tait. Upanishada that the earth meaning the Dakshiṇāyana sank under waters (the asterisms of the two Āshāḍhas) and Vishṇu taking the form of a boar raised it. We are also told in the later Brāhmaṇas that fearing that the same fate that had overtaken his three eldest brothers would overtake him, Agni (as the god of winter-solstice) took the form of a boar and him himself in waters (the asterisms of Āshāḍhas) and after a good deal of search was found out and persuaded to resume his duty of bearing sacrificial offerings to gods. All these myths imply that the solstices were in the asterisms of U. Āshāḍha and Pushya and P. Āshaḍha and Punarvasu, as pointed out above. Now the same Ayanas are located at the beginning of Ārdrā and the second half of Mūla. From second half of Mūla to the last quarter of P. Bhādrapada there are about five and three-fourths of asterisms through which the point of winter-solstice has receded. This gives us at the rate of

72 years per degree $5\frac{3}{4} \times 40/3 \times 72 = 5520$ nearly. Making an allowance of about 477 years for the error which is inevitable in observations made with naked eyes, we arrive at 5043 as the number of years that have elapsed from the beginning of Kali Era to the present day.

The present age is called Varāhakalpa or Boar's age, on account of the earth having been raised by Vishṇu as Varāha or on account of Agni having hidden himself as a boar in the waters of the two Āshāḍha asterisms, as pointed above. The epoch of the situation of winter solstice in P. Bhādrapada and summer solstice in U. Phālguni in the months of Phālguna and Bhādrapada respectively is called the Padmakalpa or Lotus-age on account of Agni having been kindled on lotus-leaf spread in the fire-altar. The Tait. Saṁhitā says that having dug up a pit knee-deep and filled it with water ankle-deep a tortoise or a picture of it should be placed in it. A lotus-leaf should be placed on the water. Then an altar is constructed on the lotus according to measurements laid down and fire kindled in it.

The shifting of the colure from Pūrvabhādrapada to Dhanishṭhā is clearly stated in the five verses from 8 to 13 in the 230th chapter in the Vanaparva in the Mahābhārata in connection with the story of Skanda's birth narrated there in Adhyāyas 222—231. Skanda, an equinoctial god, is said to have been an illegitimate son begotten by Agni-Rudra on the six Krittikās, the wives of the six out of the seven sages, while Arundhatī, the seventh Krittikā and wife of Vasishṭha, maintained her chastity. Hence Skanda is called Shāṇmātura, son of six mothers, and Shaḍānana, god of six faces. He was also called Guha, secretly born, because his birth as an equinoctial god from the Krittikās was never dreamt of, though it could be ditected by the usual shadow-measure of the equinoctial day. In his fight with Indra his right half of his

(Skanda's) body was cut off by Indra with his Vajra weapon and that part became another god called Viśākha (the asterism so called). Skanda remained unhurt and was acknowledged by all the gods as the leader of their army. He acknowledged not only the six Krittikās as his mother, but also Vinatā as his seventh mother, and agreed to offer obsequies to them all after their departure to heaven. Skanda is chiefly a god of the Devayāna path. Before going to deal with the Mahābhārata verses regarding the shifting of the winter-solstice from P. Bhādrapada to Dhanishṭhā it is necessary that we should clearly understand the distinction between Devayāna and Pitriyāna paths and also between Ayanas and paths. R. V. X. 88, 15 speaks of the paths and Ayanas thus:—

> "I have heard of two paths: the path of the Fathers and the path of the gods and mortals; with these two paths the whole moving world turns between the points called Father (Uttarayaṇa) and Mother (Dakshiṇāyana)."

As already pointed out, Dyāvāprithivī, sky and earth, are Uttarāyaṇa and Dakshiṇāyana, winter and summer solstices, and are also called Father and Mother. The upper half of the celestial sphere from Uttarāyaṇa to Dakshiṇāyana contains two paths called the path of Fathers and the path of the gods, each measuring $6\frac{3}{4}$ asterisms likewise the lower half. Both the Uttarāyaṇa and the path of the Fathers start from the same point. The latter terminates at the seventh asterism from the point of Uttarāyaṇa. Then the Devayāna path starts from the seventh asterism and passing through $6\frac{3}{4}$ asterisms terminates with the Dakshiṇāyana point. Then commences the Pitriyāna path from the point of Dakshiṇāyana and terminates at the seventh asterism from its start. Then follows Devayāna path and termi-

nates with the point of Uttarāyaṇa. These six points are the six faces of Shaṇmukha. Let us now consider the verses :—

Abhijitspardhamānā tu rohiṇyā kanyasī svasā
Ichchhantī jyeshṭhatām devī tapastaptum vanaṁ gatā.
Tatra mūḍho 'smi bhadraṁ te nakshatraṁ gaganāchchyutaṁ.
Kālaṁ tvimaṁ paraṁ Skanda brahmaṇā saha chintaye.
Dhanishṭhādistathā kālah brahmaṇā parikalpitah.
Rohiṇī hyabhavatpūrvaṁ evaṁ saṁkhyā samā'bhavat.
Evamukte tu śakreṇa tridivaṁ krittikā gatāh.
Nakshatraṁ saptaśīrshābhaṁ bhāti yadvahnidaivataṁ.
Vinatā chābravītskandaṁ mama tvaṁ pinḍadassutah.
Ichchhāmi nityamevāhaṁ tvayā putra sahāsituṁ.

Skanda uvācha :—

Evamastu namaste'stu putrasnehāt prasādhi māṁ.
Snushayā pūjyamānā vai devi vatsyasi nityadā.

Abhijit, the youngest sister, became jealous of Rohiṇī (on account of her superiority) and went to a forest to perform penance in order to acquire superiority. I am bewildered at this. Mayest thou be blest; the asterism (Bhādra) fell down from the sky. I shall however consider this matter concerning time with Brahma. Just then time was made by Brahma to begin with the asterism of Dhanishṭhā. The asterism of Rohiṇī was such (first point) before; thus the number of divisions was alike (or even). When Indra said thus, the asterism of Krittikās which looked like the head of seven and which has Agni for its regent went heaven. Vinatā also requested Skanda to be her son fit to offer funeral rice-balls to her after her death, and that she wanted to remain with him long. Skanda accepted it and said that she might remain with him respected by her daughter-in-law (Devasenā).

It should be noted that if P. Bhādrapada is the asterism of Uttarāyaṇa, then Rohiṇī which is seventh from it becomes the first asterism of Devayāna; if the former falls from its rank, then the latter (Rohiṇī), also falls from its place. If Shatabhishak becomes the asterism of Uttarāyaṇa, then Krittikā becomes the first point of Devayāna. If, however Dhanishṭhā becomes the asterism of Uttarāyaṇa, as stated in the verse, then Krittikā falls and goes to heaven, leaving the place of Devayāna to Bharaṇī. It is an astronomical fact that at $6\frac{3}{4}$ asterisms or 90 degrees from Uttarāyaṇa is the point of vernal equinox which is called Devayāna in the Rigvedic verse quoted above. Likewise at 90 degrees from Dakshiṇāyana the Pitṛyāṇa terminates and Devayāna, autumnal equinox begins. Rohiṇī, the asterim of equinox, was once the first point for all calculations; but when Dhanishṭhā became the asterism of Uttarāyaṇa in course of time, it was made the first point for counting Ayanas and equinoxes. Abhijit was once considered a constellation to form 28 constellations. It was however dropped. This is what is meant in the first verse here. Thus it is too clear from the verses to admit of any doubt that Pūrvabhādrapada as the seat of Uttarāyaṇa, winter solstice, and Rohiṇī as the seat of Vernal equinox were the first points of Kali-era.

NEW VEDIC WORDS

BY

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Well-nigh ninety years have passed since Böhtlingk and Roth began the publication of the great St. Petersburg Dictionary in 1855. The work they had undertaken many years earlier demanded an enormous amount of labour and utmost care on their part, and they stood up to it unflinchingly. They spared no pains to make their "Wörterbuch" as perfect as possible. They ransacked the entire huge mass of Sanskrit literature available to them—Vedic, Epic, Philosophical, Classical, Ritual and Technical,—analysing, explaining and tracing the history of each and every word they could get hold of. It took them twenty years to complete the work, the last volume coming out in 1875.

But, monumental, unsurpassable and indispensable as the great Dictionary was, Böhtlingk and Roth themselves found out, even during its publication, that they had omitted to include in it scores of hundreds of words, of course, not because of their incapability or carelessness, but because Sanskrit proved to be too rich a language to be exhausted in a single run and, mainly, because they had no access to all the existing Sanskrit texts, some of them being not even known to them. Such of these texts as came to light during the publication of the Dictionary were at once availed of and the new material they yielded was included in the form of the numerous Supplements attached to the different volumes. Later on, when an Abridged Edition (published 1879—89, Second Impression 1923—28) of the Dictionary was prepared, these

Supplements, along with the new material collected from the texts published since 1875, were accommodated in the main body, to which further Supplements had again to be attached as more and more texts came to light during the ten years of its publication. And yet the great Dictionary remained far from being exhaustive. For, more and still more Sanskrit works were, and still are, being discovered, edited and published, amongst them such important texts as the Maitrāyaṇī, the Kapiṣṭhala and the Kaṭha Saṁhitās, the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa and Āraṇyaka, the numerous Gṛhya and Śrauta Sūtras, etc. Many of them contain valuable material which would be of importance not only to Sanskrit Lexicography, but also to Indo-European and Old and New Indo-Aryan Philology.

A part, but only a part, of the "new" words contained in these texts has since been included in Monier Williams' Sanskrit-English Dictionary (Second Edition 1899, first published 1872) and in Richard Schmidt's "Nachträge" (published 1924—28), the only two important additions to Sanskrit Lexicography since 1889. But neither these two authors, nor others have taken pains to make an exhaustive survey of the material left out unworked by Böhtlingk and Roth and present it in a form easily accessible to all.

The task of going through all the hitherto neglected texts and hunting out new words is far from easy, and still less so is the task of analysing and explaining these words, since a lot of them have come down to us in a corrupted form, while others are obscure and uncertain. But that it is really worth our while can be seen from the four "new" Vedic words treated below. *They have been taken at random from a total of about fifteen hundred Vedic words occurring in Bloomfield's Vedic Concordance and compiled and explained by the present writer.* The Vedic Concordance contains only the Mantra

portions of the available Vedic Texts. It has, therefore, yielded only a part of the existing material. The prose parts of the various Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, Upaniṣads, and Sūtras are sure to yield an equally rich, or, perhaps an even richer harvest—not to mention the many Classical and Technical Sanskrit texts which await yet to be worked out.

1. *kuhā́-*.

The word *kuhā́-*, fem. (or *kuhā́-*, masc.) is a *hapax legomenon* occurring only in a passage in Taittirīya Saṁhitā 5. 7. 13. 1, which seeks to propitiate various deities by offering them the different limbs of the sacrificial horse :—

agadáṁ jā́nubhyāṁ, vīryàṁ kuhā́bhyām,[1] *bhayám pracālā́bhyām, aśvínāv áṁsābhyām.*

"(I propitiate) Health with the two knees (of the horse), Strength with the two *kuhās*, Fear with the two feet (? *pracālá-*, 'moving'), the two Aśvins with the two shoulders".

Sāyaṇa's commentary on this passage explains *khuā́-*, with "*hastayor madhyasandhī*" (the two midjoints of the arms, i.e., the two elbows), which fits into the context very well. It is only natural to mention 'the two elbows' along with 'the two feet', 'the two knees' and 'the two shoulders'.

Professor Keith, however, in his Translation of the Taittirīya Saṁhitā leaves this word untranslated, while Vedic Variants II, §49 explains it merely as "a part of the horse's body".

Etymologically, *kuhá-* (from an older **kubhá-*) may be derived from a root **kubh* going back to the Indo-

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[1] The parallel passage in Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā (Aśvamedha Prakaraṇa 13. 5) reads *guhābhyām* for TS. *kuhābhyām*, which is probably a dialectical modification. See Vedic Variants II, §49. This *guhā-* is also unregistered in the Dictionaries.

European root **qeu-bh-* meaning 'to bend, to bend at a joint'. The Greek word *kufós* 'bent, crooked, stooping' is derivable from the same root[2] and corresponds, letter for letter, to *kuhá-*. Two more Sanskrit words *kubhra-* and *kubjá-* 'hunchbacked' belong to the same root,[3] and so does, according to Grassmann (Wörterbuch zum Ṛgveda, s.v.), the Ṛgvedic river-name *Kúbhā-* 'the winding river'.[4] Other Sanskrit words of the same derivation are *kakubhá-* and *kakuhá-*'high, bending upwards, peak,' being reduplicated forms from Indo-European **qeu-bh.*[5] These two words incidentally also provide us with a parallel showing the development of original *bh* into *h* (Wackernagel, Altindische Grammatik I, p. 251), which evidently is responsible for changing **kubhá-* into *kuhá-*.

It is not certain whether the *-kuha-* in *viṣūkuha-*, a word occurring for the first time in Āśvalāyana Śrautasūtra 5.3.22, Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa 1.3.3. and Lāṭyāyana Śrauta Sūtra 3.11.3, also belongs to **qeu-bh-*. St. Petersburg Dictionary explains *viṣūkuh(a)-* with "split on both sides, divided in two" (*viṣu-* = both ways). *viṣūkuha-* in these passages, however, refers to enemies, and Sāyaṇa's commentary to Pañcaviṁśa Brāhmaṇa explains it with "*sarvataḥ kuhanā vañcanā yasya*" (one who cheats on all sides), which seems to be the correct interpretation. It is only natural to describe an enemy as an "all-sided cheater". One may also compare *kuhana-* 'jealous', *kuhanā-* and *kuhanikā-* 'cheating, fraud', all possible derivations from **kubh-*, Indo-European **qeu-bh-*

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[2] See Walde-Pokorney, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen, I, p. 374.

[3] *Ibid.*, *Kubjá-* from Indo-European **qeubh- ko-*.

[4] Contrast this with the other river-name *Ārjīkīyā-*, which according to Nirukta 9. 26 is connected with *ṛju-* 'straight'. Compare also the river-name *Páruṣṇī-* 'knotty, full of bends' (Nirukta, *ibid.*).

[5] Walde-Pokorney, *ibid.*

From 'physical crookedness' to 'mental crookedness' is an easy way. Walde-Pokorney (Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der idg. Sprachen II, p. 550), however, derive these words from another Indo-European root *(s)*qeu-dh-* 'to cover', which, they think, may not be connected with **qeu-bh-* 'to bend, to curve' (ibid. p. 546).

It is, on the other hand, highly probable that Prākṛta *kuhaṇī*,[6] fem. (with v.l. *kuhiṇī-* and *kuhiṇṇī-*) and Hindi *kuhanī*, or *kohanī*, Nepālī *kuhunu* etc., all meaning 'elbow', are directly connected with *kuhá-*. Turner, Nepali Dictionary, p. 103 and Morgenstierne, Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghānistān, p. 88, derive Hindi *kohanī* etc. from Sanskrit *kaphoṇi-* 'elbow'. But the identity of Pr. *kuhaṇī-* with Hindi *kuhanī* (*kohanī*) is undeniable, and it is at least improbable that Pr. *kuhaṇī* goes back to *kaphoṇi-* (>**kahoṇi-*>*kohaṇī*, by Metathesis), rather than to *kuhá-*. *kaphoṇi-* is, besides, a very late word (according to Monier Williams, lexical) and of doubtful derivation. It may be merely a Sanskritised form of *kaphauḍá-*, masc. (v.l. *kaphoḍá-*, *kapheḍá-*, *kaphaujhá-*), 'elbow' (?), a word occurring in Atharva Veda 10.2.4, itself of uncertain meaning and derivation.[7] It is not impossible that *kaphauḍá-* and *kuhá-* are of common origin.

2. *mālánga-*.

mālánga-, masc. occurs in Taittirīya Saṁhitā 5.6.19. 1 and in Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā (Aśvamedha Prakaraṇa) 9.9 as

[6] See Pāia-Sadda-Mahaṇṇavo, s. v. and Hemacandra's Deśīnāmamālā (Pischel's Edition, Vizianagram, 1938), 2. 62. In the Glossary (p. 26 b) of the latter, *kuhiṇī-* has been rendered by the Sanskrit word *karpūra-*, evidently a misprint for *kūrpara-*. The text (p. 106) reads: *kuhīṇī* (v. l. *kuhaṇī*) *kuppararacchāsu;* the Commentary: *kuhiṇī kūrparo, rathyā ca.* But the Editor of this Edition (not Pischel), who has prepared the Glossary, taking the misprinted (or, rather, miswritten) *karpūra-* to be correct, has translated *kuhaṇī-* with "Camphor"!

[7] See Whitney's Translation and Notes.

an adjective to *tūpará-*, 'goat': *dyāvāpṛthivyā́ mālā́ṅgās ūparā́ḥ*. Sāyaṇa in his Commentary to Taittirīya Saṁhitā explains the word with "*mahākāyāḥ*", 'big-bodied'.

The same Taittirīya and Kāṭhaka passage contains the following adjectives: *piśáṅga-*, 'ruddy', *sāráṅga-*, 'variegated', and *malhá-*, 'dewlapped', besides *śvitiṅgá-* and *śitiṅgá-*, 'white' in TS. 5.6.15.1 and KSA.9.5.

Piśáṅga- is connected with the root *piś* 'to decorate, to carve' (Dhātupāṭha VI. 157), Indo-European **peiḱ*, and with its derivatives *peśa-* 'form, appearance' and *piśa-* 'deer'.[8] Similarly *sāráṅga* goes back to Indo-European **ser-*, **sor-* 'red, ruddy';[9] *śvitiṅgá-*[10] to √*śvit* 'to be white' and *śitiṅgá-* to *śita-* 'white'.

mālā́ṅga- is evidently a formation exactly similar to *sāráṅga-*, and goes back to the Indo-European stem **mel-* 'big, strong' which has been preserved in Greek *mála* 'very, much', Latin *melior* 'better' etc.[11] No other derivatives from **mel-* are available in Sanskrit, but, perhaps, it is connected with another Indo-European root **melgh* 'to swell' to which Sanskrit *malhá-* 'dewlapped' (occurring in the above passage beside *mālā́ṅga-*) belongs.[12] Sanskrit *malla-* 'wrestler, a strong man' may also belong to **mel-*.

mālā́ṅga- does not occur anywhere else in Sanskrit, but Hindi (dialectical) contains an apparently almost identical word *mālaṅg*, *malaṅg* or *malaṅgā* 'a strong, stout

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[8] Walde-Pokorney, Vgl. Wörterbuch der idg. Sprachen II, p. 9.

[9] *Ibid.*, p. 499.

[10] *Śvitiṅgá-* is not registered in the Dictionaries.

[11] Walde-Pokorney, Vgl. Wörterbuch der idg. Sprachen II, p. 292.

[12] *Ibid.*, p. 300.

man'.[13] If this identification is correct, we have here the unusual instance of a word having been preserved in Vedic Sanskrit and Hindi, but missing in the Classical Sanskrit.

Weber in his edition of Taittirīya Saṁhitā mentions two MSS. with a variant reading *māṅgálāḥ* in place of *mālā́ṅgāḥ*. But *māṅgala-*, 'auspicious', as Keith points out (TS. Translation, p. 466, Note 2), is a post-Vedic word, and the probability is that it has been secondarily substituted for *mālā́ṅga-* which appeared unintelligible to the later scribes. Keith himself translates the word with "of auspicious mark" and remarks, "the word (*mālā́ṅgāḥ*) must be genuine, but its sense uncertain; it must denote a mark of some sort". This, however, is a mere conjecture.

3. *apasvarī-*

apasvarī-, fem. which occurs in a verse in Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra 4.5.5, as an adjective to *āpaḥ* 'waters', is a secondary derivative from *ápas-*, neut. 'work, activity' (with the suffix *-van-*, fem. *-varī*) and means 'active, flowing'. Its formation is exactly the same as that of *támasvarī-* (from *támas-*) etc.

Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra has borrowed this verse, with some modifications, from Atharva Veda 6.23.1 = Ṛgveda Khilas 10.9.1 (= Scheftelowitz, Apokryphen des Ṛgveda, p. 99, Verse 1):

> *divā naktaṁ ca sasruṣīr apasvarīḥ* . . . . . Āp. Ś.
> *sasrúṣīs tád apáso divā náktaṁ ca sasrúṣīḥ.*
> (. . . . *apó devī́r úpa hvaye*)[14] -AV. and Scheft.

Ṛgveda Khila (Aufrecht's Edition) reads *tádapasaḥ* as a compound, which has been adopted also in Whitney's

[13] This is to be distinguished from another *malaṅgā* or *maliṅgā*, meaning 'mendicant', which has been borrowed in Hindi from Persian. See Hindi Śabda Sāgara, s. v.

[14] 'I invoke the ever-flowing, active goddesses, waters, that stream day and night'.

Atharva Veda Translation and rendered "devoted to it (flowing)". Sāyaṇa's Commentary on Atharva Veda explains *apásaḥ* with "*apasvatīḥ* (active)".[15]

It is evident that *apasvarīḥ* of Āp. Ś. corresponds to *apásaḥ* (or *tádapasaḥ*) of Atharva Veda and Khila and has been used in the same sense. But Caland in his Translation of Āpastamba Śrauta Sūtra seems to have entirely overlooked these parallel passages while he analysed *apasvarī-* into *apa-svara-* and translated it with "out of tune (*svara-*)". It is to be noted that *apasvara-*, masc. 'singing a false note' occurs but once in a very late text dealing with music (Saṅgītasārasaṅgraha). Nor can we ignore the fact that the normal feminine form of *apasvara-*, masc. would be *apasvarā-*, not *apasvarī-*.

But there is yet another fact which Caland has overlooked. Āp. Ś. 20. 1. 3 contains a word *anapasvarīḥ*, also an adjective to *āpaḥ*, in the following passage:—

yatrāpaḥ purastāt sukhāḥ sūpāvagāhā anapasvarīḥ.

This has been rendered by Caland with, "Where water in the front is agreeable, offers a good opportunity for dipping in, and *does not dry up*". In this he has evidently been misled by the Sanskrit Commentary of Kapardisvāmin who explains *anapasvarīḥ* thus: "*apetya apa na svaranti, saṁbhṛtā vahanti ambusrotobhiḥ, aśoṣyā vā*" (*an-apa-*[16] √*svṛ*). There is no reason to assume that *apasvarīḥ* of Āp. Ś. 4. 5. 5 and *anapasvarīḥ* also of the same Āp. Ś. 20. 1. 3, both adjectives to "waters", are mutually independent words, the one meaning "out of

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15 Compare the preceding word *sasrúṣīḥ*. *apás-* 'active' occurs as a by-name of rivers already in Ṛgveda 6. 17. 12.

16 Cf. *svr śabdopatāpayoḥ* (Dhātupāṭha, I. 932). Dumont, in L'Aśvamedha (1927), p. 247, analyses *anapasvarī-* into *an-apa-svara-* and translates with "not tumultuous". But, as in the case of *apasvarī-*, the normal feminine form should have been *anapasvarā-*. See also Oertel, Zeitschrift Indo-Iranika 8, p. 283, and Renou, Journal of Vedic Studies, May, 1934, p. 12.

tune" and the other "not drying up". *Anapasvarīḥ* is evidently the negative of *apasvarīḥ*, and means 'not active, not (too swiftly) flowing'. This sense fits perfectly in the context (*sukhāḥ, sūpāvagāhāḥ*) and is, moreover, corroborated by the parallel passage in Hiraṇyakeśi Śrauta Sūtra, which, as noted by Caland himself, records a variant reading *anapasvatīḥ* (*an-apas-vant-*).

4. *sika-*.

sikatā-, fem. 'sand' is a familiar Sanskrit word. Its derivation, however, has so far remained obscure, or, at the best, doubtful. Walde-Pokorney, Vgl. Wörterbuch der idg. Sprachen II, p. 467, tentatively mention it (with a query) under the list of words derived from the Indo-European root **seik* 'to be dry'. This root has been identified with **seik* 'to pour out, to flow' which gives rise to Sanskrit √sic 'sprinkle with water' and *seka-* 'sprinkling', Avest. *haēčah-* 'dryness, aridity' and *hiku* 'dry' etc.[17] The seemingly probable derivation of *sikatā-* from the same root has remained uncertain because of the apparent difficulty in analysing and explaining its formation. A hitherto unnoticed passage in Taittirīya Āraṇyaka 1. 12. 3, solves the problem completely. This passage contains a compound, *śvetasikadrukáḥ*, as an adjective to *vāyuḥ* 'wind', to be analysed into *śveta-sika-druká-* and interpreted as 'running (i.e., scattering) white sand'. Sāyaṇa rightly paraphrases *sika-* with *sikatā* (=*dhūli-*) and thus leads us to find in *sikatā-* an abstract (Collective) noun, formed from *sika-*+the fem. suffix *-tā-*, in the same way as *janatā-* 'people, folk' from *jana-* 'man, person', or *grāmatā-* 'villages (collectively)' from *grāma-* 'village'. *Sika-* is not known to have occurred in any

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[17] Walde-Pokorney, Vgl. Wörterbuch der idg. Sprachen, II, p. 467. Compare also Sanskrit lexical √*sik*=√*sic*.

other text, but it undoubtedly means 'sand' and goes back to Indo-European **seik* 'to be dry'.

The accent in *síkatā-* is not normal. For, *-tā-* nouns usually accent the syllable immediately preceding the suffix.[18] This rule, however, is not unexceptionable.[19]

Druka- in the above compound is a derivative from the root √*dru* 'to run, to flow' +the suffix *-ka-*, and occurs as such in compounds like *raghudrú-* 'running swiftly' (Ṛgveda), *śatadrukā-* etc. Sāyaṇa, while interpreting *sika-* correctly, appears to have confused *druka-* with *dhrúk*[20] (Nominative Singular of *drúh-* 'damaging, harmful, hostile'): *śvetānāṁ sikatānāṁ drogdhā* (!), *nānāvidhāṁ dhūlim utpādayatīty arthaḥ.*

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[18] Whitney, A Sanskrit Grammar, §1237a.

[19] Whitney, ibid. c. Is the shift of accent in *síkatā-* somehow connected with the development of a completely concrete sense from an originally abstract one?

[20] Petersburg Dictionary records a single "exceptional" occurrence of *druk*, as Nominative Singular of *drúh-*, in place of the usual *dhrúk*: evidently a slip or corruption.

KUMĀRAPĀLA CHAULUKYA'S WAR WITH ARṆORĀJA OF ŚĀKAMBHARI

BY

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One of the best remembered events of Kumārapāla Chaulukya's reign is the defeat of Ānna, Ānāka, or Arṇorāja of Śākambharī. Chaulukya records, from V. 1207 onwards, refer to it, Gujarātī poets sing of it as a great provincial achievement, and the Gujarāt chronicles give it no small space in their accounts of Kumārapāla, the great Jaina Emperor. Though on the whole welcome, this superabundance of authorities, however, is not wholly a blessing, because the writers differ widely in their account of the causes, course, as well as results of this Chaulukya-Chāhamāna war and, unless their evidence is well sifted, cause a great deal of confusion in the mind of the general reader.

The earliest writer to refer to the war at any length is Hemachandra, the author of the *Dvyāśrayamahākāvya* and the spiritual teacher of Kumārapāla. According to him, it was caused by the ambitions of Ānna (Arṇorāja) of Śākambharī who allying himself with certain northern princes and the discontented Gujarātī noble Chāhaḍa, a relative of Kumārapāla, proceeded against the Chaulukya kingdom. Ballāla, of Malwā a friend of Ānna, agreed to attack the Gujarātīs from the rear when their master marched out to meet the threat of the Chāhamāna invasion.[1]

Other writers regarding Ānna as an aggressor are Abhayatilakagaṇi, the well-known commentator of the

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[1] *Dvāśrayamahākāvya*, XVI, 7—14.

Dvyāśrayamahākāvya, and Merutuṅga, the author of the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi*, who composed their works respectively in V. 1312 and 1361. According to the former of these, Ānna tried to attack Gujarāt because he believed that the newly crowned king Kumārapāla was rather weak and could be easily defeated.[2] Merutuṅga's account is a bit fuller.[3] He throws the responsibility for the war on Chāhaḍa, a prince who had been regarded as his son by Siddharāja. Having no mind to take orders from Kumārapāla, he had taken refuge at the court of Ānāka, the ruler of Sapādalakṣa. In a few days, he won over to his side most of the Gujarātī nobles and brought Ānāka with his large army to the borders of Gujarāt. The *Prabhāvakacharita*, composed in V. 1334, though silent about Ānāka's aggression, states that Kumārapāla set out to fight against Arṇorāja who was intoxicated with pride,[4] implying perhaps thereby that the Chāhamāna ruler had somehow tried to violate the integrity of the Chaulukya kingdom before Kumārapāla marched out against him with his big army.

Later writers, however, give us quite a different story regarding the origin of the war. According to the *Prabandhakośa* (V. 1405)[5] Kumārapāla had a sister who was married to Ānāka (Arṇorāja). Once while the husband and wife were playing chess, the former taking away one of the chessmen of the latter remarked (in jest), "Kill these *Muṇḍikas*, kill these *Muṇḍikas*". This offended the queen, because the word *Muṇḍika* could refer also to the Gujarātīs who generally wore no caps and to their hair-less gurus, the *Śvetāmbara* Jainas. She, accordingly, asked Ānāka to keep

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[2] Commentary on the 7th verse of the 16th canto of the above *Kāvya*.

[3] P. 79, Edition by Muni Jinavijaya.

[4] Hemachandrasūri-prabandha, vv. 416, 423, and 518.

[5] P. 50. Muni Jinavijayaji's edition.

his tongue under control, telling him that unless he did so he ran the risk of having it torn out from his mouth by her brother, the *rājarākṣasa* Kumārapāla. Ānāka's only reply to this threat was a kick. Thus insulted the queen at once left for Paṭṭana and reaching there told Kumārapāla of the way she had been treated by her husband. Kumārapāla determined to avenge the insult.

The story gets further amplified in the works of Jayasiṃha Sūri,[6] Jinamaṇḍana[7] and Charitrasundara.[8] They all refer to Kumārapāla's sister Devaladevī who was married to Ānāka, to her playing chess with her husband, and the jesting remark which led to the war. Dissatisfied with earlier accounts, which probably appeared rather tame and secular to them, they went on developing the theme first set forth by Rājaśekhara. This religious perversion of facts is, we believe, the most manifest in Charitrasundara (c. V. 1507), according to whom the war was due to Ānāka's having talked of slaying a chessman. Such things were, of course, not even to be thought of, because they were not merely against the principes of Jainism but also against Kumārapāla's express orders against slaughter![9]

Diwān Bahādur Har Bilas Sarda also knew of these two different accounts of the origin of the Chaulukya-Chāhamāna struggle. But instead of regarding the contemporary and earlier authorities as the only trustworthy source of information ant the latter as a monastic perversion of facts, he thinks that they refer to two distinct wars separated from each other by a number of years. "The first war evidently took place," writes the Dewān Bahādur, "because Arṇorāja . . . espoused the cause

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[6] *Kumārapālacharita*, p. 199 (Jamnagar Edition).

[7] *Kumārapālaprabandha*, pp. 40a-40b.

[8] *Kumārapālacharita*, pp. 37a-38a.

[9] *Ibid.*

of Siddharāja's adopted son Bāhaḍa and wished to place him on the throne in place of the usurper Kumārapāla. The result of this war appears to have been unfavourable to Kumārapāla as he hastened to make peace with Arṇorāja and gave the latter his sister to wife. . . . The second war of Saṃvat 1207 appears to have taken place in consequence of Arṇorāja's ill-treatment of his queen Devaladevī, sister of Kumārapāla."[10]

We admit that there is some truth in the Dewan Bahadur's reconstruction of the story. The Chaulukya-Chāhamāna struggle actually took place in two stages. But in relying on Rājaśekhara and his successors and making Devaladevī, a sister of Kumarapala, the cause of the second phase, he has certainly committed a mistake. Actually there was no Devaladevī in the affair because no such Devaladevī can be shown to have existed. According to the *Pṛthvīrāja-vijayamahākāvya*, the most authoritative account of the Chāhamānas of Sapādalakṣa, Arṇorāja had only two queens, Kāñchanadevī, the daughter of Siddharā Jayasiṁha, and Sudhavā of Mārwār.[11] The *Kīrtikaumudī*, a well-known Gujaratī source, also speaks of only one Gujaratī queen of the Chāhamāna ruler, namely, the daughter of Jayasiṁha.[12] Had Kumārapāla too given one of his sisters in marriage to Arṇorāja after defeating him, as is supposed to have been the case by the Dewān Bahādur, there was nothing to deter the author of the *Kīrtikaumudī* from noting this important fact. And then, Kumārapāla had no sister to give in marriage to Arṇorāja. According to the earliest life of Kumārapāla at our disposal, Kumārapāla's only sister was Premaladevī and she had been given in marriage to Kṛṣṇarāja, a Gujarāti noble, before the accession of Kumārapāla to

[10] Har Bilas Sarda—*Speeches and writings*, pp. 285-286.
[11] VI, 29. Mm. Dr. G. H. Ojha's edition.
[12] II, 28.

the throne.[13] Somatilaka Sūri and the Purātanāchārya too know of only one sister of Kumārapāla.[14] Devaladevī, the sister of Kumārapāla, who is believed to have quarrelled with her husband and thus brought about a war between him and her brother might, therefore, be safely regarded as the creation of either Rājaśekhara (V. 1405) or some one of his immediate predecessors who had heard that a Chaulukya princess was the queen of Arṇorāja but did not know that she was not Kumārapāla's sister but his aunt. And, that this Kumārapāla's aunt too did not bring about the war might be easily inferred from the fact that not a single author before V. 1405—and of these fortunately there are at least four—refers to her having been anyway concerned with the breaking out of hostilities between the kingdoms of Śākambharī and Gujarāt. One cannot see why it was left only for a late author like Rājaśekhara and his successors to make this discovery.

As a contemporary and *guru* of Kumārapāla, Hemachandra was in the best position to know about the real causes of the war. The account left by him as well as the three next writers in order of time, namely, Abhayatilakagaṇi, Prabhāchandra, and Merutuṅga, make it sufficiently obvious that the reasons leading to the war were purely political. Jayasiṁha's death had not left any universally recognised successor. Chāhaḍa, an adopted son of the deceased ruler, was a candidate in the field, and Arṇorāja supported his claims hoping thereby

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13 Tribhuvanapālasyābhūt sutaikā tanayāstrayaḥ
Ādyaḥ Kumārapālākhyo rājyalakṣaṇalakṣitaḥ
Mahīpālaḥ Kīrtipālastathā Premaladevyabhūt
Śrī-Kṛṣṇabhaṭadevena yodūḍhā Moḍhavāsake.

Kumārapāladevacharita, p. 2. (Muni Jinavijayaji's edition).

14 *Kumārapāladevacharita*, p. 9, lines 15—18. (Muni Jinavijayaji's edition).

Kumārapāladevaprabandha, p. 43, lines 6—8 (Muni Jinavijayaji's edition).

to have on the throne of Gujarāt a ruler who would be less of a check on his ambition and more open to his influence than Kumārapāla could ever be expected to be. Kumārāpāla's reign had just begun. If he was to be uprooted at all, it was, in Arṇorāja's opinion, the best time to begin hostile operations against the Gujarātīs.

But who was this Chāhaḍa? The *Rāsmālā* regards him as a brother of Kumārapāla's minister Vāgbhaṭa.[15] Its authority for this assertion is most probably the *Prabandhachintāmaṇi* which once mentions Vāgbhaṭa's brother Chāhaḍa as the king's son.[16] The *Prabandhakośa* mentions him as a prince of Mālwā who had on Jayasiṁha's death desired to be made the ruler of Gujarāt and had been refused the honour because he did not belong to the Chaulukya family.[17] Jayasiṁha Sūri and Prabhāchandra mention him as Jayasiṁha's adopted son but add no further details. The *Moharājaparājaya* of Yaśaḥpāla (c. V. 1230) speaks of him as the excellent prince Tyāgabhaṭa who took refuge at Śākambharī and faced Kumārapāla in battle,[18] but is as unhelpful as the others regarding his real identity. The only author, in fact, who can be of use on this point is Hemachandra, the author of the *Dvyāśrayamahākāvya*. According to him, Chāhaḍa was a relative of Kumārapāla and the ruler of the village of Kanthā (located by the commentator Abhayatilakagaṇi on the shore of the lake Varṇā) in the country called Śivirūpa.[19] This clearly indicates that he was a chief of some power. Village Kanthā might perhaps be the same as Kanthā-durga to which Mūlarāja is known to have retired on being pressed hard by Vigraharāja II.[20] But on

[15] P. 177.
[16] P. 94 (Muni Jinavijayaji's edition).
[17] P. 52 (Muni Jinavijayaji's edition).
[18] V, 36.
[19] XVI, 14.
[20] See the *Pṛthvīrājavijaya*, V, 51. Mm. Dr. Ojha's edition,

this point I can hardly claim to be sure. His clan too is a matter of some doubt. Being mentioned as a relative of Kumārapāla, he might either be a Chaulukya, or a Paramāra, as mentioned by Rājaśekhara. He was, by all accounts, an excellent manager of elephants.

Having so far dealt with the origin of the war and other connected problems, we now pass on to its course. Most of our authorities confine it to one campaign. But keeping in view the explicit statement of the *Prabhāvakacharita* that the war lasted twelve years[21] and also epigraphic evidence on the point, we might reconstruct its main events as follows.

The war began early in the reign of Kumārapāla with the disputed succession to the Chalukya throne and the ambition of Arṇorāja as its chief causes. Arṇorāja advanced with a big army towards Gujarāt, and was met and defeated, though not decisively, by Kumārapāla's forces somewhere near Mount Abu. Vikramasiṁha, the ruler of the place, was about this time detected conspiring against the Chaulukya monarch's life.[22] He was therefore deposed and replaced by Yaśodhavala for whom we have an inscription at Ajari dated in the Vikrama year 1202.[23] Another change introduced probably in the same year was at Nāḍol where the pro-Chaulukya ruler Alhaṇa took the place of Rāyapāla whose last inscription is found in that year. The Chaulukya forces perhaps even advanced as far as Ajmer, but its strong fortifications, consisting chiefly, according to the *Prabhāvakacharita*, of a 16 miles fence of acacia, *karīra*, *khadira*, *badarī* and other thorny bushes, kept them at bay and they had to retire baffled to

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21 See the Hemachandrasūricharita.

22 *Prabhāvakacharita*, pp. 324—6 and 329. The fact is mentioned also by Jinamaṇḍana and some other authors.

23 *Indian Antiquary*, LVI, p. 12.

Gujarāt.[24] Arṇorāja was not a man to take the punishment lying down. Within three or four years, he was once again in a position to try conclusions with his Chaulukya adversary. His first blow fell on his own neighbour and tribesman Alhaṇa whom he drove out of the kingdom of Nāḍol.[25] Next he fomented trouble in Malwa where he instigated its ruler Ballāla to organise a rising against the Chaulukyas.[26] Like a good general, that he was, Kumārapāla left the task of extirpating Ballāla to his generals and feudatories and advanced personally with a large force against his real enemy, the ruler of Ajmer. This time the Chaulukya preparations appear to have been more thorough than on the last occasion. Advancing into the principality of Nāḍol which was now in hostile hands, he captured Pāli in V. 1207 and had ginger sown there out of anger.[27] Sthirachandragaṇi, a Jaina monk, who was copying there the *Pañchaśaka-vṛtti* of Abhayadeva had to leave it unfinished for the time being and to run away and complete it at Ajmer.[28] Proceeding further Kumārapāla reached Ajmer and encamped himself outside its walls. Arṇorāja now perhaps let a few days pass before he came out with his army. The secret agents of Chāhaḍa, the adopted son of Jayasiṁha, utilised this interval to win over to their side the Chaulukya monarch's elephant-driver Chauliga and also to undermine the loyalty of feudatories like Kelhaṇa who agreed to take no active part in the fight.[29] After the ground had thus become fully prepared for an action,

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[24] Hemachandrasūriprabandha.

[25] We have not any inscriptions for Alhaṇa between 1205 and 1218 V. E.

[26] *Dvāśrayamahākāvya*, XVI, 8.

[27] *Kumārapālacharita* of Jinamaṇḍana, p. 42b.

[28] *Catalogue of Mss. in the Jaisalmer Bhaṇḍārs*, p. 7.

[29] *Prabandhakośa*, p. 51. Kumārapālacharita of Jinamaṇḍana, p. 41b, and *Kumārapālacharita* of Jayasiṁha Sūri, p. 188.

likely to be successful, Arṇorāja attacked the forces of Kumārapāla. But as luck would have it, Kumārapāla's suspicions had been aroused and Chauliga, the Chaulukya elephant driver, had resigned almost on the eve of the battle. Chāhaḍa tried to step from his own elephant to that of Kumārapāla with a view to slaying him. He did not know that the driver had been changed. Śyāmalaka, the newly appointed driver, forced back Kumārapāla's elephant with his goad. So the valiant Chāhaḍa, instead of getting a footing on his adversary's elephant, fell down on the ground and was captured by the Chaulukya foot-soldiers.[30] Kumārapāla next advanced against Arṇorāja who was, after fighting gallantly for a while, wounded badly in the chest by his rival's arrows and fell unconscious on his elephant.[31] Arṇorāja's individual defeat proved the defeat of his whole Chāhamāna army. Probably Arṇorāja was carried away by it to Ajmer while he was still unconscious. Neither Hemachandra nor Prabhāchandra, two of our oldest authorities on the subject, speak of his having been made a prisoner by the Chaulukyas. The story that Kumārapāla had him put in a wooden cage and paraded before his forces[32] is a later invention quite worthy of the later Jaina chroniclers who could make even a reference to slaughter and the hairless heads of the Jaina ascetics the cause of a bloody war between the Chāhamānas and the Chaulukyas.

This time Arṇorāja had to confess himself decisively beaten by Kumārapāla. He had to buy peace by offering

30 *Dvyāśrayamahākāvya*, XVIII, p. 488.

31 Vaḍnagar inscription, line 21, *Epigraphia Indica*, I, p. 296 ff.

32 *Prabandhakośa*, p. 52. (Muni Jinavijayaji's edition). Jinamaṇḍana follows, as usual, Rājaśekhara's version of the story and Charitrasundara, not content merely with the defeat of Arṇorāja, makes Kumārapāla's sister come to the field and ask for her husband's life.

the old Chaulukya ruler the hand of his young daughter Jalhaṇā and along with her a large number of horses and elephants.[33] He had further to suffer the humiliation of not celebrating the marriage at Ajmer but at Aṇahilla-pattana where he had to send his mother and *guru* to give away the Princess in marriage.[34] The same year saw also the death of his friend Ballāla. The news of the death of this Mālava ruler in battle reached Kumārapāla soon after his nuptials were over.[35]

The defeat of both Ballāla and Arṇorāja is mentioned in the Vaḍnagar *praśasti* of the 5th day of the bright half of Āśvina, V. 1208,[36] and of the latter alone in the Chitor inscription of V. 1207 which states that after having devastated Sapādalakṣa and defeated the ruler of Śākambharī, Kumārapāla reached Śālipura and fixing his camp there went to have a view of the glorious sight of the Mount Chitrakūṭa.[37] Thence he proceeded to Pālarī where, according to Tod, he placed an inscription dated in Pausa, V. 1207. As the leisurely march of a victorious army from Ajmer to Pālarī might have taken nearly two months, Kumārapāla may be assumed to have started from his dominions early in the Indian campaigning season and to have reached Ajmer, after some battles on the way, most probably in early Mārgaśīrṣa and to have fought his last decisive battle of the war within a few days of his arrival there.

Of the consequences of the war a few have been already indicated in the last paragraph but one. Arṇorāja obviously lost much more of his wealth and prestige

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[33] *Dvyāśrayamahākāvya*, XIX, 21—24.

[34] *Ibid.*, p. 507. (Bombay Sanskrit Series).

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 538.

[36] See note 31.

[37] Lines 10—13, *Epigraphia Indica*, II, pp. 421 ff. Śālipura is modern Sālerā about 4 miles from the Chitor hill.

than territory. The Chāhamānas of Śākambharī were far from being crushed, though the defeat seemed to have been fairly decisive at the time. Within three or four years of their discomfiture on the field outside Ajmer, they were once again fighting against the Chaulukyas under the better skilled and more successful generalship of Vigraharāja IV.[38] Far more serious, in fact, were its results for others who were in some way or the other involved in it. Vikramasiṁha of Mount Abu, who, according to Hemachandra, had done all that he could to entertain the Chaulukya forces on their way to Sapādalakṣa, lost his kingdom as early as V. 1202 or so because of being suspected of treason towards his overlord.[39] Ballāla, the ally of Arṇorāja, got deprived of both his life and throne.[40] In the important principality of Nāḍol the changes were frequent on account of its adjoining the territories of both the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī and the Chaulukyas of Aṇahillapattana. Both these powers naturally wished that it should be either under their subjection or at least friendly towards them. It was, probably, on this account, therefore, that about V. 1202 Rāyapāla, the ruler of Nāḍol, who had either sympathised or actually sided with his brethren of Sapādalakṣa, had to give way to the pro-Chaulukya Alhaṇa for whom we have a Nāḍol grant issued in the Vikrama year 1205.[41] And, this ruler again was, when Arṇorāja had perhaps the upper hand in the struggle, driven out of his kingodm, for some years, as is evident by the possesion of Pālī by the Chāhamānas of Śākambharī in V. 1207 and the absence of any further records for Alhaṇa in the Nāḍol territory up to V. 1218.

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38 We deal elsewhere with the achievements of this great ruler.

39 See note 22.

40 See notes 34 and 35.

41 The grant has been deciphered by Dr. G. H. Ojha but is still unpublished.

He was not immediately restored to his regal position at Nāḍol even after Kumārapāla had gained his great victory near Ajmer, perhaps on account of being suspected of being lukewarm in the Chaulukya cause or more probably still because Kumārapāla wanted to have a better experienced general in a territory that formed the outpost, as it were, of his fairly extensive empire. Hence, Nāḍol was, for nearly ten years, ruled not by the Chāhamāna Alhaṇa but by Vaijalladeva, a *daṇḍanāyaka* of Kumārapāla.[42] The war affected in some way the fortunes of Someśvara Paramāra of Kirāḍū also for he had to remain away from his principality for nearly nine years.[43]

The man who gained as the result of the war was, naturally, the victor Kumārapāla Chaulukya. Had he failed in the struggle, not only would he have been replaced by some person like Chāhaḍa but the Chaulukya Empire too would have been certainly dismembered and deprived of its fairest conquests like Avanti. Kumārapāla's success not only averted these undesirable consequences but also provided him with resources for further conquests and unified Western India for a while under a progressive ruler, the results of whose religious policy at least seem to have permanently affected the territories which he brought under Chaulukya control. The war between Kumārapāla and Arṇorāja was thus no insignificant event in the history of India. Its far-reaching consequences entitle it to a much more adequate presentation than is, at present, accorded to it even in the most advanced books of Indian history.

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[42] See *Epigraphia Indica*, XI, p. 70 footnote 4.

[43] Someśvara was ruling at Kirāḍū in V. 1205. In V. 1209, that is after Kumārapāla's war with Arṇorāja, we find it under Alhaṇa. In V. 1218, Someśvara is found ruling there once more. The reasons for all these changes are fully dealt with in my *"Political History of the early Chāhamāna Dynasties."*

MAITREYA-RAKṢITA

(A Bengali Grammarian of The Pāṇinian System)

BY

PROF. KALICHARAN SHASTRI,

Hooghly.

India's soil has been highly fertile in producing a host of writers on Sanskrit Grammar. Grammar seems to have been the most important of the six *Vedāṅgas*, and India, the land of culture and civilisation has been sufficiently enriched by her able sons who applied themselves to higher grammatical speculations. The dawn of grammatical speculations in a remote period and their development into a definite shape even before the Christian era mark an epoch in the annals of Indian culture. The Indian grammarians did not feel self-complacency by simply soaring high in these speculations, but advanced to the extent of conferring on them a scientific character with astonishing precision. Thus, the Sanskrit Grammar of India stands triumphant without any parallel in the world. Highly developed systems grew up in course of time and though many of them have been extinct through multifarious influences, still at least, a dozen have been handed down to the students of the present generation to be studied with earnest ardour.

Bengal's contribution to the study of Sanskrit Grammar occupies a respectable niche in the temple of grammatical speculations of India. It is generally supposed that the culture of Sanskrit Grammar is a lost art in Bengal. This view is not entirely correct. Perhaps, the glory achieved by Bengal in the region of *Navya-nyāya* has to

some extent eclipsed her genuine contributions to the study of grammar. By this, of course, we do not at all mean that all that she contributes to the different schools of grammar, is original. But, at the same time, it must be said in her favour that her writers of Sanskrit Grammar exhibit in many places, in explaining the principles in their commentaries and glosses, a rare acumen which would do credit to any scholar.

Bengal grammarians are mostly commentators. Commentator after commentator has come to elaborate and supplement the different systems of grammar sometimes in the light of new facts. The Sanskrit scholiasts of the whole of Bengal have preserved the studies of various systems of grammar from generation to generation.

Under the fostering care of patrons in Bengal thrived many systems of Sanskrit Grammar. While in other provinces of India the study of Pāṇini was so vigorously in vogue that the other schools failing to withstand the impact of the Pāṇinian system, with its universal and scientific scope, had to retire to the back-ground, Bengal embraced them all. In later times, the study of Kātantra, Mugdhabodha and other systems became so popular in Bengal that the Pāṇinian system, to speak the truth, had to gasp for its very existence. Nevertheless, North Bengal had at least, contributed to the growth of a school of Pāṇini that was prominent on the score of original and commentatorial writings as well as extensive study as late as the nineteenth century. But particularly, during the dark period so far as provinces other than Bengal are concerned, after Bhartṛhari, Jayāditya and Vāmana (in the seventh century) and before the rise of the Dīkṣita school (in the seventeenth century), of course, with the honourable exception of Kaiyaṭa (c. 1050 A.C.) and Haradatta (c. 1100 A.C.), Bengal can boast of a band of noted grammarians, some of whom were original contributors to

the Pāṇinian school and held aloft the torch of Pāṇinian studies in this province.

Rājaçekhara (c. 950 A.C.) in one place[1] in the tenth chapter *'kavi-caryā rāja-caryā ca'* of his Kāvyamīmāṃsā referred to the province of *Gauḍa* (Bengal) as singular in its pursuit of pure Sanskrit. Now the study of correct Sanskrit pre-supposes an accurate knowledge of Sanskrit grammar. And this was only possible in *Gauḍa* by the prevailing influence of the then master grammarians upon whom devolved the task of enkindling and reviving the lingering study of Pāṇini that outlived the neglect in other provinces. Herein lies the out-standing credit of Bengal grammarians in that it has supplied the gap in the continuity of this all-comprehensive system from Pāṇini downwards to Nāgeça so as to make it a complete whole.

Most of the writers on the Pāṇinian system of grammar in Bengal are Buddhists. We take up for our consideration, here, Maitreya-Rakṣita, a Bengali Buddhist grammarian of the Pāṇinian system.

Maitreya-Rakṣita, otherwise known simply as Maitreya or Rakṣita is the celebrated author of two grammatical treatises Dhātu-pradīpa[2] and Tantra-pradīpa. The former deals with the Dhātu-pāṭha of Pāṇini and the latter is a commentary on the Nyāsa of Jinendra-buddhi.

At the end of the Dhātu-pradīpa, the author informs us that he who has elaborated the Nyāsa on the Kāçikā-vṛtti with a gloss named Tantra-pradīpa, has elucidated the roots.[3] From his own utterance, it appears, therefore, that Tantra-pradīpa is his first composition and next

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[1] gauḍādyāḥ saṃskṛta-sthāḥ paricita-rucayaḥ/
—Kāvya-mīmāṃsā, G. O. S., p. 51.

[2] Edited by Prof. S. C. Chakravarti, V. R. S., 1919.

[3] vṛtti-nyāsaṃ sam-uddiçya kṛtavān grantha-vistaram/
nāmnā tantra-pradīpaṃ yo vivṛtās tena dhātavaḥ//
—Dhātu-pradīpa, V. R. S., 1919, p. 154.

follows Dhātu-pradīpa. The author who is conversant with the systems of Pāṇini, of the Jainas, and also the Dhātu-pārāyaṇa and Nāma-pārāyaṇa (the entire extent of radicals and nominal stems) and expert in the discrimination of the true character of the views of the followers of Kalāpa and Candra, has composed this work 'Dhātu-pradīpa' having extracted it out of the Bhāṣya, as a gem from the sea, for the benefit of the literary world.[4] In the introductory verse,[5] he says: By the grace of Mañju-ghoṣa, the god of Learning and Wisdom, I begin the commentary on the roots which have been spoken of, at length, by Bhīma[6] from the science of grammar. From his reverence to Mañju-ghoṣa as expressed here, it is clear that he is a Buddhist.

Maitreya-Rakṣita has dealt with 1938[7] roots only under ten categories as against 1944[8] contained in the Pāṇinian Dhātu-pāṭha[9] and has not taken into account twenty *sautra* roots which have been gleaned from Pāṇini's aphorisms themselves.

The Dhātu-pradīpa is not indeed rich with too many quotations. Nevertheless, it is not altogether devoid of references: and let us take notice of them. Among gram-

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[4] ākṛṣya bhāṣya-jaladher atha dhātu-nāma-
pārāyaṇa-kṣapaṇa-pāṇini-çāstra-vedī/
kālāpa-cāndra-mata-tattva-vibhāga-dakṣo
dhātu-pradīpam akaroj jagato hitāya//
—Op. cit., pp. 155-156.

[5] mañju-ghoṣa-prasādena dhātūnāṃ vṛttim ārabhe/
bahuço'mūn yathā bhīmaḥ proktavāṃs tadāgamāt//
—Op. cit., p. 1.

[6] Bhīma is a shorter name for Bhīma-sena and has been identified with the grammarian Bhīma-sena, author of the Pāṇinian Dhātu-pāṭha. Mr. P. K. Gode in a short article in the New Indian Antiquary (Vol. II, No. 2, May 1939) has proved him to be earlier than 600 A.C.

[7] 1018+72+26+139+36+163+25+10+63+386=1938.

[8] 1010+72+24+141+34+157+25+10+61+410=1944.

[9] Siddhānta-kaumudī, N. S. Press, Bombay, 1937, p. 739.

marians and grammatical works, Āpiçali,[10] Bhāṣya-kāra,[11] Candra,[12] Kalāpa,[13] Jayāditya,[14] Vāmana,[15] Dhātu-pārāyaṇa,[16] Nyāsa,[17] Rūpāvatāra,[18] Sarvasva[19] and of poets, Kālidāsa[20] as well as Bhaṭṭi[21] by name have been mentioned in it. Among these, the Nyāsa has been referred to the largest number of times[22] (i.e., eleven times), and the opinions of Āpiçali, Vāmana, Rūpāvatāra and Sarvasva have been cited each only once. There are, moreover, forty-three quotations—mostly from Kāvya and Koṣa—of which two have been repeated once each.[23]

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[10] chāndaso'yam ity āpiçaliḥ/
—Under root 34 of the *adādi* group, Dhātu-pradīpa, V. R. S., p. 80.

[11] sojjata iti bhāṣya-kāra-vacanād asy ātmanepadam/
—Under rt. nos. 198-199 of the *bhvādi* gr., Op. cit., p. 22.

[12] etvābhyāsa-lopa-praticç ca cāndrair udāhṛtāḥ/
—Under rt. nos. 249-250 of the *bhvādi* gr., Op. cit., p. 29.

[13] kạlāpa-tantre'pyasyāniṭ-tvam iṣyate/
—Under rt. 118 of the *rudhādi* gr., Op. cit., p. 117.

[14] nāṭa-krātheti nipātanād vṛddhir iti jayādityenoktam/
—Under rt. nos. 803—806 of the *bhvādi* gr., Op. cit., p. 66.

[15] vāmanas tu tṛpi-dṛpī pạntāv icchati/
—Under rt. nos. 33-34 of the *tudādi* gr., Op. cit., p. 108.

[16] tathā ca dhātu-pārāyaṇe rabha rābhasya ity asya ktinn udāhṛ taḥ/
—Under rt. nos. 389-390 of the *bhvādi* gr., Op. cit., p. 34.

[17] etan nyāsa-kārasya matam/
—Under rt. 206 of the *bhvādi* gr., Op. cit., p. 23.

[18] rūpāvatāre tu ṇi-lope pratyayotpatteḥ prāg eva kṛte satyekāctvāhṛtaç cosūryata iti/
—Under rt. 1 of the *curādi* gr., Op. cit., p. 131.

[19] sarvasve tu knuñ çabda iti/
—Under rt. 8 of the *kryādi* gr., Op. cit., p. 124.

[20] pañca-bāṇaḥ kṣiṇotīti kālidāsaḥ/
—Under rt. nos. 31—36 of the *svādi* gr., Dhātu-pradīpa, V.R.S., pp. 104-105.

[21] bhaṭṭi-kāvye tu tiṅyapi vikalpo darçitaḥ/ 'praṇindiṣyati no bhūya' iti/
—Under rt. 64 of the *bhvādi* gr., Op. cit., p. 14.

[22] Op. cit., pp. 23, 26, 36, 57, 87, 97, 103, 104, 116, 131 and 138.

[23] Op. cit., pp. 62 and 144.

There are also two or three isolated grammatical *kārikās*.[24]

The book has the honour of being commented on by an anonymous person. The gloss is known simply as Dhātupradīpa-ṭīkā which has been made use of by Sarvānanda in his Ṭīkā-sarvasva,[25] by Çaraṇa-deva in his Durghaṭa-vṛtti[26] and by Ujjvalva-datta in his Uṇādi-vṛtti[27]—all of Bengal's production.

To determine the position of the book in the field of grammar, it may be said that although Bhīma-sena and Pūrṇa-candra preceded him, Maitreya-Rakṣita has given a more systematic treatment of the subject with ample examples. To add to this, Sāyaṇācārya in his Mādhavīya-Dhātuvṛtti, the monumental work on the subject, referred to Rakṣita or acknowledged his authority almost under every important root. Thus, through Mādhavīya-Dhātuvṛtti, Maitreya's Dhātu-pradīpa has been able to attain a status of all-India reputation.

Tantra-pradīpa on the other hand, less known, if not totally unknown outside Bengal, is really his masterpiece. But as ill luck would have it, not to speak of any printed edition, even its Ms. is not now available in a complete form. What we have been able to gather[28] contains about half the portion of the entire Ms. Even a complete *adhyāya* (chapter) with all its four *pādas* (sections) is wanting: and the *adhyāya* V is altogether missing. But

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[24] Op. cit., p. 15.

[25] Amara-koṣa, T.S.S., Part IV, p. 30.

[26] 'nasa kauṭilya' ity asya pacādy acīti dhātu-pradīpa-ṭīkā/
—Under VI. 1. 119, T.S.S., p. 92.

[27] kuhūr iti dhātu-pradīpa-ṭīkā/
—Under I. 82, Jīvānanda's Ed., Cal. 1873, p. 31.

[28] Professors D. C. Bhattacharya, M.A. of Hooghly Mohsin College and K. C. Chatterjee, M.A. of the Calcutta University have kindly supplied the present writer with copies of the fragmentary parts of the Ms. preserved in the Varendra Research Society and Government College Libraries, Rajshahi.

the study of even these fragments would at once bear testimony to the fact that the author was gifted with a peculiar knack to handle niceties and subtleties of grammar in an intelligent way.

Besides the authorities quoted by name in his Dhātupradīpa, which we have already noticed, the author has, among others, made mention of the following grammar and grammatical treatises in his Tantra-pradīpa: Bhartṛhari,[29] Bhāga-vṛtti,[30] Bhāṣya-ṭīkā[31] or Kajjaṭa,[32] Cullibhaṭṭi,[33] Kṣapaṇaka-vyākaraṇa,[34] Keçava,[35] Mahā-nyāsa,[36] Upādhyāya-kulānila-svāmin,[37] Udayakara,[38] Vinīta-

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[29] tathā ca bhartṛharir āha—
yāvat siddhaṃ asiddhaṃ vā sādhyatvena vivakṣyate/
āçrita-krama-rūpatvāt sā kriyetyabhidhīyate//
—Under *sūtra* I. 3. 1.

[30] cāhdrās tu yujo 'samāsa iti paṭhanti bhāga-vṛttāv apyetan neṣyate/
—Under VII. 1. 77, V.R.S., no. 1161, foll. 32-32a.

[31] açvasyati vaḍaveti mithunecchā-pratipādanārtha-tvāt prayogasya vaḍavopādānam atantraṃ manuṣyādāv api kavayaḥ prayuñjate iti bhāṣya-ṭīkāyām uktam/
—Under VII. 1. 51, Op. cit., fol. 27a.

[32] kajjaṭas tu kārtikyāḥ prabhṛtīti bhāṣya-kāra-vacanād evaṃvidha-viṣaye pañcamī bhavatīti manyate/
—Under I. 2. 1, Op. cit., fol. 2a.

[33] atra culli-bhaṭṭi-vṛttāv api tatpuruse kṛti bahulam ity aluk dṛçyate bahu-vacanena cātra sthe ca bhāṣāyām ity aluk pratiṣedho' pasāryate/
—Under VIII. 3. 97, Op. cit., fol. 12a.

[34] ata eva nāvam ātmānaṃ manyata iti vgṛhya paratvād anena hrasvatvaṃ bādhitvā amāgame sati nāvam-manya iti kṣapaṇaka-vyākaraṇe darçitam/
—Under *sūtra* VI. 3. 68.

[35] etasmād eva tac chabdena pratyavamarçāt prayojyasya katṛtvaṃ vyavahriyata iti keçavaḥ/
—Under I. 4. 55, V.R.S., no. 627, fol. 39.

[36] mahā-nyāse tu vyākhyātam eva/
—Under IV. 1. 135, fol. 51a.

[37] atropādhyāya-kulānila-svāmino vadanti/
—Under *sūtra* VII. 4. 23.

[38] udayakaras tvāha id-udbhyām eva spaṣṭārthatā bhavati çrutatvāt/
—Op, cit.

kīrti,[39] Padaçeṣa-kāra,[40] Anupada-kāra[41] and a *kārikā*[42] which we have been able to locate in Vāraruca-saṃgraha[43] (of Vararuci). Of art poetry and lexicons, the author has cited lines from Kirāta,[44] Māgha,[45] Vyoṣa,[46] Kīcaka-badha,[47] Kaṃsa-badha[48] and so on. Lexicons have been very sparingly used here. Of them, a few quotations from Trikāṇḍa[49] and other sources are occasionally met with.

One matter of significance should not be lost sight of, viz.. that even in the fragmentary parts of the Ms., Bhāga-vṛtti which is now deemed lost, has been quoted or referred to even twenty-five times. It is of the last importance that the work bears testimony to the tradition of antiquity by preserving two aphorisms in their exact wordings-hitherto

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[39] tani-pati-daridrāṇām upasaṃ-khyānam ity anārṣam ity āhopuruṣika-yā vinīta-kīrtinā likhitam/
—Under VII. 2. 49, fol. 17.

[40] padaçeṣa-kāra-matena tu yad iṣyate saṃ-jigaṃsite adhiji-gaṃsite iti tan na sidhyati atrāpīṭ-prasaṅgāt/
—Under VII. 2. 58, fol. 18a.

[41] evañ ca yuvānam ākhyad acīkalad ity ādi-prayogo 'nupada-kāreṇa neṣyata iti lakṣyate/
—Under *sūtra* VII. 4. 1.

[42] ṣoḍhā samāsaḥ saṃkṣepād aṣṭāviṃçati-dhā punaḥ/
nityānityatva-yogena lug-aluktvena ca dvidhā//
—Under *sūtra* VI. 3. 109.

[43] T.S.S., pp. 19-20.

[44] tathā su-dur-labhenārhati ko'bhi-nanditum iti kirāta-kāvyam.
—Under VII. 1. 68, V.R.S., no. 1161, fol. 31.

[45] tathā ca māghaḥ āpatantam amuṃ dūrāt/
—Under I. 4. 61, fol. 29.

[46] tathā ca vyoṣaḥ ūrīkṛtya kṣmābhṛtāntasya pātam iti/
—Op. cit.

[47] nṛpati-sabhām agaman na vepamānā iti kīcaka-prayogaḥ/
—Under II. 4. 23, fol. 42.

[48] tathā ca kaṃsa-badha-prayogaḥ putrikaḥ çoka-hetur iti/
—Under IV. 1. 73, fol. 38.

[49] trikāṇḍe 'pi dṛçyate sutā putrīti/
—Under *sūtra* VI. 3. 70.

unavailable in the field of Āpiçali,[50] one of the ten predecessors[51] of Pāṇini in the grammatical line as first pointed out by Keilhorn.[52] Fortunately, another aphorism in its original form of the same ancient grammarian has been noticed by us.[53] Again, we come across some names, rather obscure now-a-days, such as Upādhyāya-kulānila-svāmin, Keçava, Vinīta-kīrti, Udayakara. The existence of a system of grammar going by the name of Kṣapaṇaka school has been traced here, perhaps, for the first time in the history of grammatical speculations. About half a dozen quotations from or references to this system are obtained in this incomplete Ms. Regarding his reference to the Mahānyāsa, it is reasonable to hold that just as Patañjali's Bhāṣya is commonly known as the Mahābhāṣya, so the Nyāsa may be called the Mahānyāsa.[54] The Bengalis, particularly of the mediaeval period, consider it as an epoch-making production and therefore, it is no wonder that by prefixing the word *mahā* to the Nyāsa, Maitreya is only tendering his sincerest respects for it. Kaiyaṭa's Bhāṣya-pradīpa is frequently referred to but more often under the designation Bhāṣya-ṭīkā. Though Rakṣita is silent all along in his work about Haradatta, yet in two or three places, from the pointed language of his gloss, he seems to have meant him

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50 āpiçalis tu 'çab-vikaraṇe guṇ' ity abhidhāya 'karoti midaç ce' tyuktavān tasya karotim antareṇāpratyaye guṇo nāstyeva/
—Under VII. 3. 86, fol. 22.

51 (*i*) Sphoṭāyana, (*ii*) Cākalya, (*iii*) Bhāradvāja, (*iv*) Kāçyapa, (*v*) Senaka, (*vi*) Gālava, (*vii*) Gārgya, (*viii*) Cākaṭāyana, (*ix*) Āpiçali, (*x*) Cākravarman.

52 Indian Antiquary, 1887, p. 102, note 7.

53 āpiçalis tvevam artham sūtrayaty eva ubhasyobhayo'dvivacana-ṭāpor iti/
—Under sūtra II. 3. 8.

54 In the Introduction to his edition of Ujjvala-datta's Uṇādivṛtti (London, 1859) Aufrecht's conjecture 'Rakṣita's commentary on the Nyāsa was called Anunyāsa and the two combined probably formed the Mahānyāsa' (p. xvi) is, it is to be regretted, wholly unsound.

indirectly. Haradatta in his Pada-mañjarī stated in support of the form *vivyacitha* without *sampra-sāraṇa*[55] on the ground that the prohibition of *ṅittva* by the word *anasi* in the *vārtika* 'vyaceḥ kuṭāditvam anasīti vaktavyam' pertains to the affix *as* (uṇādi)[56] alone, and therefore *ṅittvam* will be, according to *paryudāsa-nyāya*, applied to all the *kṛt* affixes except *as*.[57] Here Maitreya-Rakṣita's remark on the authority of Dhātuvṛtti and Dhātu-pārāyaṇa which read *vivicitha* instead, that *vivyacitha* is against grammar, seems to be a fling at Haradatta.[58]

Maitreya acquired a complete mastery over the Cāndra school as was evident from his citing the views of Cāndra to profusion. Even sometimes, he interpreted the rule of Pāṇini in the light of the Cāndra system.[59] Sometimes again, while explaining the *sūtra* according to the Cāndra stand-point for easily and happily accounting for certain peculiar forms, he did not forget to add at the end, the

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[55] vyacch Kuṭāditvam anasīti vaktavyam ity atra paryudāsa-vṛttyās pratyava-sadṛçasya kṛto grahaṇād iha ṅittvābhā-vād dhātoḥ sampra-sāraṇābhāvaḥ/

—Under VI. 1. 17, Benares Ed., Vol. II, p. 431.

[56] mithune 'siḥ pūrva-vac ca sarvam/

—IV. 222.

[57] katham vivyacitha anasīti paryudāso 'yam asun pratyayasya kṛtvā tat-sadṛçe kṛti kāryam vijñāyate/

—Under I. 2. 1, Benares Edition, Vol. I, p. 140.

[58] uccukuṭiṣatīti vyaceḥ kuṭāditvam anasīti saptamī-nirdeçāt paryudāsāc ca pūrvasya kārye kartavye 'yam atideça ity api siddhāntaḥ/ sārva-dhātukam apid ity atra tu svāçraya-kārye'-pyatideçaḥ/ ata evāto ṅit ity atra ṅitīva ṅid vad iti nāçritam iti vyākhyāsyati/ vyacer ityādi vyacer ṅid iti noktam vārtike 'ñṅid ityasya sambandhārtham/ tatrānasīti paryudāsāt kṛtyeva ṅittvam ata eva lityabhyāsa-syobhayeṣām ity atra vivyacitheti pratyu-dāhṛtam/ etac cāgama-viruddham dhātu-vṛttau dhātu-pārāyaṇe ca vivicitheti prayoga-darçanāt/

—Under *sūtra* I. 2. 1.

[59] iti cāndra-sūtra-praṇayanānu-sāreṇa vyākhyatam asmābhiḥ/

—Under *sūtra* VIII. 1. 9.

opinions of Pāṇini's followers too, on the point.[60] This fact of his high proficiency in the opinions of the Cāndra school as informed by him in the concluding stanza of his Dhātu-pradīpa—is indeed true to the syllable.

Maitreya-Rakṣita had sufficient command over his subject and in explaining important *sūtras* he exhibited his extra-ordinary power of viewing all possible aspects of them. His gloss on *sūtras* like IV. 1. 1, VIII. 1, 1, 4, 12 bears ample testimony to his masterly way of dealing with them in all their bearings. Perhaps, he aimed at explaining a *sūtra* to the light of extreme lucidity even with the help of similes culled from the Epic.[61] Not only this, he will not stop until he drags out the possible objections (*pūrva-pakṣa*) to the argument where it is suppressed, and present to his readers the entire logic of the case in all its coherent forms.[62] Therefore, the common run of students certainly heaves a sigh of relief in going through his commentary.

His watchful eye hardly failed to detect errors and partial inaccuracies of the Nyāsa[63] and of the scribe.[64]

[60] lyuṭy api cāndrā vibhāṣā-dīrghatvam icchanti/ tathā hi teṣāṃ lyuṭ cety asyānantaraṃ ṣṭhivu-sivyor dīrghaç ceti sūtram/ udāhṛtañ ca niṣṭhīvanaṃ niṣṭhevanaṃ niṣīvaṇaṃ niṣevaṇam iti/ etad anantarañ ca-kāreṇa çabda-vyutpattaye kṛñaḥ kartarīti sūtritam/ pāṇinīyānān tu pṛṣodarāditvāt sarvam idaṃ siddham/
—Under *sūtra* VII. 3. 75.

[61] yathā vāli-sugrīvayor yuddhe rāmeṇa vālino badhe sugrivāpekṣaṃ naiva vālino daurbalyam ity abhidadhati çuram-manyāḥ/
—Under *sūtra* VII. 1. 23.

[62] nyāse tvantar-bhūta-pūrva-pakṣo veditavyaḥ/ ayan tu atra pūrva-pakṣaḥ-kuto laukikaṃ gotraṃ na gṛhyate? gotred yūniti vacanād iti cen na/ tatraivāpatya-mātraṃ gotra-çabdena kasmān na gṛhyate 'ta uttaram uktam/
—Under *sūtra* IV. 1. 89.

[63] nyāsa-kāras tu çārṅgaravādiṣu sūtre viparītam abhihitavān iti tatraiva prati-pāditam asmābhiḥ/
—Under *sūtra* VII. 1. 1.

[64] suvai ity eka-vacanodāharaṇaṃ vṛttau nyāse ca lekhaka-pramādān na dṛçyate/ bhavitavyantv anena/ eka-vacanam ullaṅghya dvi-vacana-bahu-vacanopa-nyāsasyāyukta-tvāt/
—Under *sūtra* VII. 3. 88.

Sometimes, he supported the apparent irregularities in the Nyāsa[65] and sometimes again, he pointed out clear mistakes.[66] He noticed mistakes in readings too and suggested better ones where possible.[67] Such errors and slips are too many to be enumerated here and we have simply selected a few for substantiating our observations.

It may be mentioned here that where Rakṣita could justify the Nyāsa-kāra, he did not hesitate to resort to even inferential implications to reach that end[68] and where he found the argument sound, he rejected other fallacious reasonings and sided with him.[69] Deeming grammar as sanctified as the Scriptures, it has been the holy tradition with the Brahmin authors to use the wordings of the *Trimunis* as they have been originally read. But the Buddhists, particularly the authors of the Kāçikā violate the sacred tradition and tamper with the reading. Maitreya-Rakṣita, though a Buddhist, has no sectarian dogmatism to follow the beaten track of his co-religionists, rather, he seems to have taken the orthodox view in the *vārtika* 'dvigu-prāptāpannālaṃ-pūrva-gati-samāseṣu pratiṣedho vaktavyaḥ' under the *sūtra* II. 4. 26.

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65 etvaṃ mā bhūd ity evam arthañ ceti nyāsaḥ/ nanu tvadā-deça-pakṣe syād evaitva-prasaṅgaḥ/ na ca ṭilope sati yuṣmabhyam iti rūpaṃ sidhyati/ tat kim ucyate etvaṃ mā bhūd ity evam arthañ ca ṭilopa ity ata āha/ tasmāt pramāda-pāṭha evāyaṃ kathañcit samarthanīyam idam/

—Under *sūtra* VII. 2. 90.

66 yat tu nyāse dṛçyate ārhīyaṣṭhag iti sa tu pramādaḥ/
—Under *sūtra* VII. 3. 15.

67 aṣṭana ity evaṃ brūyād iti nyāsaḥ/ atrāṣṭana ity ayukto 'yaṃ pāṭhaḥ/ kṛtātva-nirdeçasya pūrvokta-prayojana-tvāt kṛtāvā-nukaraṇe cāto dhātor ity ākāra-lope satyaṣṭa ity evaṃ brūyād iti vaktum ucitam/

—Under *sūtra* VII. 1. 21.

68 maha-prāṇatā ca nyāse na dṛçyate/ anu-mantavyā tu sā/
—Under *sūtra* VIII. 4. 61.

69 kṣapaṇaka-vyākaraṇe tu tatraiva sūtre * * * * asya vyut-pattiruktā/ * * * * tasmāt tena na-psatyaya-vidhau tac chabdānta-ram iti nyāsa-kārasyaiva vyutpattir abhyupa-gantavyā/
—Under *sūtra* VI. 3. 92.

In the Mahābhāṣya, the *vārtika* has been stated without the term *dvigu* at the beginning. The author of the Nyāsa follows the Vṛttikāra in reading it with *dvigu* under the *sūtra* II. 2. 4. Here Rakṣita averred that the word *dvigu* in the *vārtika* is an interpolation adopted by the Vṛtti-kāra for the sake of clearness, though the same purpose would have been served as a matter of logic.[70] Maitreya must be given the credit of bringing to light Nyāsa-kāra's independent explanation and of hinting at the existence of another recension of the Vṛtti where the reading found in the extant edition, is partially omitted.[71] (Cf. Bāla Çāstrī's Ed., Benares, 1898, Kāçikā-vṛttī, p. 813, under *sūtra* VIII. 4. 18 and Nyāsa, V. R. S. Vol. II, pp. 1117-1118, under the same *sūtra*).

Much of Rakṣita's authority is due to his holding up the Bhāṣya as supreme in all doubtful cases, even superseding the Sūtra-kāra and the Vārtika-kāra. His boldness of conception as well as courage of conviction in this respect is testified to by his utterances in unequivocal terms under *sūtra* VII. 1. 12.[72] His reasoning sees through the intricacies and his trend of argument even

[70] dvigu-prāptāpannālaṃ-pūrva-gatity atra vākye dvigu-grahaṇam bhāṣye na paṭhyate/prāptāpanne ca dvitīyayety atra sūtre nyāsa-kāro'pi paṭhati/ dvigu-grahaṇaṃ spaṣṭārtham eva vṛtti-kṛtā prakṣiptam/ nyāyād eva hi dvigu-grahaṇasya prayojanaṃ labhyate/

—Under *sūtra* II. 4. 26.

[71] praṇi-cakāra praṇi-cakhādeti nyāse praṇi-veṣṭetyasyānantaraṃ vyākhyātam/ vṛttau tu tad anantaraṃ praṇi-veṣṭety asti/ vṛttau tu kvacit praṇi-cakāra praṇi-cakhādeti nāstyeva/ nyāsa-kāreṇa tu svātantryeṇa vyākhyātam iti lakṣyate/

—Under *sūtra* VIII. 4. 18.

[72] kecid iti—sūtra-kāra-matānu-sāreṇa iti etad ayuktam iva dṛçyate/ na hi bhāṣya-kāra-matam anādṛtya sūtra-kārasya kaç canābhiprāyo varṇayituṃ yujyate/ sūtra-kāra-vārtika-kārābhyaṃ tasyaiva prāmāṇya-darçanāt/ tathā catuḥ-pañca-sthānake uttarato bhāṣya-kārasyaiva prāmāṇyam iti/ kiñ ca sūtra-kārasya pṛthag abhiprāye varṇyamāne gati-buddyādi-sūtreṇa sūtra-kārasya matena nībahyor api prayoge prayojya karmatve dvitīyā-prasaṅgo 'nivāritaḥ/

—Under VII. 1. 12, V.R.S., no. 1161, fol. 12a.

puts Nyāsa-kāra out of countenance, occasion arising, as has been evinced in his assertion.[73] Thus he won the estimation of many a successor among whom we may particularly mention Sīradeva, a Bengali grammarian, who in his Paribhāṣā-vṛtti, always sided in forceful language with Rakṣita to put down the onslaught launched against him in any way whatsoever.[74]

The popularity of the Tantra-pradīpa must have been very wide so much so that it induced commentators to write glosses on it. Prof. D. C. Bhaṭṭācārya has named three such commentaries, viz., (*i*) Tantra-pradīpa-prabhā by Sanātana Tarkācārya, (*ii*) Tantra-pradīpoddīpana by Nandana Nyāya-vāgīça and (*iii*) Tantra-pradīpāloka which are 'preserved in marginal quotations or fragments !'[75] By the time of Ujjvala-datta, (*circa*. 1250 A.C.) another Bengali writer, Maitreya had surely passed into an important personage as his name has been the object of illustration in the Uṇādi-vṛtti under *sūtra* I. 38. Here Ujjvala-datta might have stopped after showing the formation of the word '*mitrayuḥ*' as required by the *sūtra*. But instead of that he went a step further solely due to the deep reverence he cherished for Maitreya-Rakṣita and attempted to establish the etymology of the

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[73] ayañ ca sphuṭam eva bhāṣyeṇa virudhyate/ * * * tasmād anya-vṛtti-kārāṇāṃ matam iha nyāsa-kāreṇa likhitam iti lakṣyate/
—Under *sūtra* VII. 4. 53.

[74] īha-ceṣṭibhyāṃ guroç ca hala (III. 3. 103) ity akāra-pratyaye kṛte ṭab utpatteḥ prāg eva sannatareṇa bhavitavyam antaraṅgatvāt/ tasmād bodhyavyo'yaṃ rakṣitaḥ/ bodhyavyāç ca vistarā eva rakṣita-granthā vidyante/
—Bens. S.S., 1887, p. 95.

[75] 'Pāṇinian Studies in Bengal' published in Sir Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Volume, Vol. III, Pt. I, p. 202.

[76] mitrayur loka-yātrābhijñaḥ/ tasyāpatyam ity atrārthe çubhrā-ditvāt ḍhaki kekaya-mitrayu-pralayānāṃ yāder iyādeçāpavādo dāṇḍi-nāyanetyādinā yu-çabda-lopaḥ/ maitreyo rakṣitaḥ/
—Under I. 38, Jīvānanda's Ed., Cal. 1873, p. 18.

term '*maitreya*'.[76] Then again, coming down to later times, we see that even Bhaṭṭoji's final conclusion on grammatical subtleties sometimes had to be arrived at with the infallible assistance of our Rakṣita in regard to the interpretations of a few *sūtras* like II. 2. 11.[77] Jñānendra-Sarasvatī too, was actuated to support the view of Rakṣita crying down even Kaiyaṭa and Haradatta on the ground that the latter's view ran counter to the example of the Bhāṣya and should, therefore, be ignored.[78] These indeed speak eloquently of the merit of the book.

Rakṣita's third work yet may be traced. This is probably a manual of grammar dealing with the difficult and apparently unaccountable uses of literature. This book goes by the name of Durghaṭa thrice referred to by Ujjvala-datta in his Uṇādi-vṛtti.[79] Another Durghaṭa of similar type alleged to be of Puruṣottama-deva was in existence and in course of time survived in references alone.

The evidences—both internal and external help us in settling the date of Rakṣita. The age of the author is fixed by two dates. He himself quotes Kaiyaṭa as Kajjaṭa or his Bhāṣya-ṭīkā and is, on the other hand, quoted by Puruṣottama-deva in his Lalita-vṛtti[80] (Pari-

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[77] pūrvottara-sāhacaryāt kṛd avyayam eva gṛhyate/ tena tad uparītyādi siddham iti rakṣitaḥ/
—Under II. 2. 11, Siddhānta-kaumudī, Veṅkat. Press, Bombay, 1926, p. 218.

[78] kaiyaṭa-haradattau tu-avyaya-pratiṣedhe 'vṛkṣasyopari' ity udāharantau akṛd avyayenāpi niṣedhaṃ manyete/ tau ca prāg ukta-bhāṣya-prayoga-virodhād upekṣyāv iti bhāvaḥ/
—Tattva-bodhinī thereon.

[79] Under *sūtras* II. 57, III. 160 and IV. 1. Jīvānanda's Ed. Cal. 1873, pp. 80, 142 and 143 respectively.

[80] abhyāsa-syāsavarṇa ity asavarṇa-grahṇaṃ rakṣitenopavarṇitam/
—Under *paribhāṣā* no. 'yo hyanādiṣṭād . . .
B.O.R.I., Ms. no. 291 of 1875-76, fol. 18a, ll. 2. 3.

bhāṣā-vṛtti) and Jñāpaka-samuccaya.[81] Kaiyaṭa's date, we know, falls just after the first millennium of the Christian era. Puruṣottama-deva's time is generally regarded to be the first half of the twelfth century. Maitreya-Rakṣita, therefore, belongs to a period between the second half of the eleventh and the beginning of the twelfth century. This may further be corroborated by the observations of Dr. Brüno Liebich in his scholarly introduction to Appendix IV of Kṣīra-taraṅginī where he discusses Maitreya-Rakṣita's date.[82] Here, another fact supplied by Çaraṇa-deva, bearing upon the point at issue, may be profitably noted. Çaraṇa-deva under the *sūtra* II. 4. 53 significantly remarks: What Rakṣita has hinted, has been embodied in writing in Jñāpaka-samuccaya.[83] This evidently places Maitreya slightly prior to Puruṣottama-deva.

Now it remains to show that Maitreya-Rakṣita is a Bengali. From all the Mss. of his works, it will be perceived that either these have been in Bengali characters, or are 'copies from the Mss. written in the same.' To add, we have gone through various descriptive catalogues of Sanskrit Mss. preserved in the libraries outside Bengal and have written letters to some of such Institutes, but unfortunately, we have not come across or been informed of any Ms. on Tantra-pradīpa. It is preserved in Bengal alone and that again in fragments only. Rakṣita's Dhātu-pradīpa has been utilised to a great extent even by non-Bengali writers, but his Tantra-pradīpa has been rarely spoken of by them in name. But the views of both the

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81 kṅiti ceti niṣedho bhavatīti indhi-sūtre rakṣitaḥ/
—Under *sūtra* I. 2. 6, B.O.A. I., Ms. no. 621 of 1891-96, fol, 4, 11.

82 Breslau, 1930, Einleitung zu Anhang IV, p. 360.

83 etad eva 'ajer vyaghañapaḥ (II. 4. 56) ity atra rakṣitena sūcitam, jñāpaka-samuccaye likhitam/
—Durghaṭa-vṛtti, T.S.S., 1909, p. 52.

works have been extensively made use of by his successors in his own province: and he was placed in the rank of positive authority in Bengal during the mediaeval age. Setting all the scholarly controversies at rest about his real name and the surname, *viz.*, whether he was named Maitreya with the surname Rakṣita or *vice versa* which, until new materials to settle the matter are forth-coming, is an apple of discord among oriental scholars, we cannot escape the inevitable conclusion, from tradition and literary evidences, that he was a native of Bengal.

THE KAṬHAS AS A CARAṆA OF THE YAJUR-VEDA

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I

Authorities differ on the number of Yājuṣa Śākhās. The Caraṇa-vyūhá[1] enumerates 86 :—

यजुर्वेदस्य षडशोति भेदा भवन्ति। तत्र चरका नाम द्वादशभेदा भवन्ति। चरका:, आह्वरका:, कठा:, प्राच्यकठा:, कपिष्ठलकठा:, चारायणीया, वार्तान्तिवेया:, श्वेता:, श्वेततरा:, औपमन्यव:, पाताण्डिनीया:, मैत्रायणीयाश्चेति। तत्र मैत्रायणीया नाम सप्तदशभेदा भवन्ति। मानवा:, दुन्दुभा:, चैकेया:, वाराहा:, हारिद्रवेया:, श्यामा:, श्यामायणीयाश्चेति। तत्र वाजसनेया नाम सप्तदशभेदा भवन्ति। जाबाला:, बहुधेया:, काण्वा:, माध्यंदिना:, शापीया:, स्थापायनीया:, कापाला:, पौण्ड्रवत्सा:, आवटिका:, परमावटिका:, पाराशर्या:, वैधेया:, वैन्धेया:, औधेया:, गालवा:, वैजवा:, कात्यायनीयाश्चेति। तत्र तैत्तिरीया नाम द्विभेदा भवन्ति। औख्या:, काण्डिकेयाश्चेति। तत्र काण्डिकेया नाम पञ्चभेदा भवन्ति। आपस्तम्बीया:, बौधायनी, सत्याषाढी, हिरण्यकेशी, औधेष्ठी चेति।

Another Caraṇa-vyūha, a pariśiṣṭa[2] of the Atharva-veda gives only 24 :—

तत्र यजुर्वेदस्य चतुर्विंशतिर्भेदा भवन्ति। तद्यथा काण्वा:, माध्यंदिना:, जाबाला:, शापेया:, श्वेता:, श्वेततरा:, ताम्रायणीया:, पौर्णवत्सा:, आवटिका:, परमावटिका:, हौष्या, धौष्या:, खाडिका:, आह्वरका:, चरका:, मैत्रा:, मैत्रायणीया:, हारिकर्णा:, शालायनीया:, मर्चकठा:, प्राच्यकठा:, कपिष्ठलकठा:, उपला:, तैत्तिरीयाश्चेति।

It is note-worthy that according to both the enumerations the Kaṭhas and Carakas are on a par, i.e., both of them are either caraṇas or śākhās. That this view is erroneous will be shown presently.

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[1] Khaṇḍa II. Some of the names have better variants.

[2] The Pariśiṣṭas of the Atharva-veda, edited by G. M. Bolling and Nagelein, Pariśiṣṭa No. XLIX, Vol. I, Part 2, p. 336.

Muktikopaniṣat mentions 109 :—

नवाधिकशतं शाखा यजुषो मारुतात्मज ॥

According to Mahābhārata[3] these are 101 :—

षट्पञ्चाशतमष्टौ च सप्तत्रिंशतमित्युत ।
यस्मिन् शाखा यजुर्वेदे सोऽहमाध्वर्यवे स्मृतः ॥

This is confirmed by the Buddhist Divyāvadāna[4] :—

अनुमान मपि ते ब्राह्मण प्रमाणम् । अध्वर्यूणां मते ब्राह्मणाः सर्वे तेऽध्वर्यवो भूत्वा एकविंशतिधा भिन्नाः । तद्यथा कठा, कणिमा, वाजसनेयिनो, जातूकर्णाः, प्रोष्ठपदा ऋषयः । तत्र दश कठा, दश कणिमा, एकादश वाजसनेयिनः, त्रयोदश जातूकर्णाः, षोडश प्रोष्ठपदाः, पञ्च चत्वारिंशद् ऋषयः । इतीयं ब्राह्मणाध्वर्यूणां शाखा । एकविंशत्यध्वर्यवो भूत्वा एकोत्तरं शतधा भिन्नम् ॥

The same number is given by Patañjali[5] :—

एक शत मध्वर्युशाखाः ।

This is supported by Vāyu-Purāṇa :—

शतमेकाधिकं कृत्स्नं यजुषां वै विकल्पकाः ॥

The same is held by the author of Ahirbudhnya-Saṃhitā[6] :—

शतं चैका च शाखाः स्युर्यजुषामेकवर्त्मनाम् ॥

The same is the opinion of Prapañcahṛdaya[7] :—

यजुर्वेद एकोत्तर शतधा । यजुर्वेदस्य माध्यंदिन, कठव, तित्तिरि, हिरण्य केशापस्तम्ब, सत्याषाढ़, बौधायन, याज्ञवल्क्य, मदुंजय, बृहदुक्थ, पाराशर, वामदेव, जातुकर्ण, तुरुष्क, सोमशुष्म, तृणबिन्दु, वाजिजय, श्रवस, वर्षवरूथ, सनद्वाज, वाजिरल, हर्यश्वर्णजय, तृणंजय, धनंजय, सत्यंजय, सहंजय, मिश्रंजय, श्यरुण, त्रिवृष, त्रिथाम, शिवञ्ज, फलिगु खात्रेयशाखाः ॥

That the Yajur-veda had 101 śākhās is made definite

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[3] Śānti-Parvan, Adhyāya 353, 32.

[4] Avadāna XXXIII, Cowell and Neil's ed., p. 633.

[5] Mahābhāṣya (Kielhorn) I. p. 9, L. 21, Ben. ed. p. 21.

[6] Adhyāya XII, 8.

* 61. 26.

[7] Edited by M. M. Gaṇapati Shastri, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, p. 19.

by the signatures, occurring in the Kāṭhaka-saṃhitā. The signature at the end of the 30th sthānaka runs :—

इत्येकोत्तरशतशाखाध्वर्युं प्रभेद भिन्ने श्रीमद्यजुर्वेंदे काठके चरकशाखायां मध्मिकायां पात्नीवतं नाम त्रिंशँ स्थानकं परिपूर्णम्। संपूर्ण चेयं मध्यमिका।

At the end of the 40th sthānaka we read :—

इत्येकोत्तरशतशाखा ध्वर्युप्रभेदभिन्ने श्रीमद्यजुर्वेंदे काठके चरकशाखायामो-रिमिकायां हिरण्यगर्भं नाम चत्वारिंशं स्थानकं संपूर्णम्। भद्रमस्तु। संपूर्णा चेयमोरिमिका।

The signature at the end of the Aśvamedha grantha runs :—

इत्येकोत्तरशताध्वर्युप्रभेदभिन्ने श्रीमद्यजुर्वेंद काठके चरकशाखायामश्वमेधो नाम पञ्चमो ग्रन्थ : संपूर्णः। ओं संपूर्णा चरकशाखा।

The first signature at the end of the 18th sthānaka reads :—

इति श्री यजुषि काठके चरक शाखायामिठिमिकायां चमा नामाष्टादशं स्थानकं संपूर्णमु। संपूणां च इठिमिका।

These signatures, while defining the number of Yājuṣa śākhās as 101, signify the distinction between :—

(*a*) Yajur-veda,

(*b*) Kāṭhaka (—Caraṇa),

(*c*) Caraka (—Śākhā),

and imply that the work in question is :—

(*a*) the Yajur-veda (i.e., the Black Yajuṣ);

(*b*) the Kāṭhaka, i.e., the *adhyayana* of the Kaṭha-Caraṇa,

(*c*) and is current among the Carakas, a sub-division of the Kaṭha-caraṇa.

[8-10] The Jaina Gaṇa, Kula and Śākhā may be compared. Gaṇa is a school, Kula, a line descending from one particular teacher in such a school and a Śākhā, a branch shooting off from such a line. The Kula stands before the Śākhā and is therefore earlier and the more important subdivision. For Caraṇa cp. commentators on Pāṇini II. 4. 3.

These signatures are vitally important inasmuch as their implication clearly negatives all those texts and traditions[11] which make out Kaṭha to be a śākhā and Caraka a caraṇa or, again, put both on a par in this respect. The Kaṭhas, being a caraṇa, were, of course, divided into various śākhās, e.g., Caraka, Cārāyaṇīya,[12] Laugākṣi, etc.; and these śākhās, presumably, had their own distinct Saṃhitās, which, during the period of compromise resulting into their unification,[13] may have been superseded by that of the chief among them.

A word on the division of the Kāṭhaka adhyayana. Caraṇa-vyūha,[14] recension I, states:—

तत्र कठानां तूपगायतु[15] विशेषश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशदुपग्रन्थाः।

Manuscript R. of the same recension has:—

तत्र कठा इति तुम्बुरुगायतीति विशेषश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशदुपग्रन्थाः॥

Recension II reads:—

तत्र कठानां योगा येन[16] विशेषः॥ Rest omitted.

Recension III has:—

तत्र कठानां तु बुकाध्ययनादिविशेषः। चत्वारिंशदुपग्रन्थाः। तन्नास्ति यन्न काठके॥

In Devī-purāṇa we find:—

कठानां पुनयन्याहुश्चत्वारिंशच्चतुर्युतान्॥

Mahi-dāsa, the commentator on Caraṇa-vyūha explains it:—

चतुश्चत्वारिंशदुपग्रन्थाः। अध्यायाः समीपे उक्ताश्चतुश्चत्वारिंशत्॥

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[11] Held by Weber (Ind. Stud. III, p. 454) and supported by Caland in his introduction to Kāṭhaka-Gṛhyasūtra V.

[12] The same as cited by Kāmasūtra I. 1. 12, 4. 20; Artha-śāstra V. 5. 55?

[13] Cp. my introduction to Ṛk-tantra, pp. 8—11.

[14] Siegling, Die Rezensionen des Caraṇa-vyūha, p. 21.

[15] Variants: तुपगायतु, तूपकगायन्तु, तूपगायज्जुर्विशेषः op. cit., p. 48.

[16] Variants: योगायेत, योगायन, योगा भयन, Siegling suggests यो गायन-विशेषः op. cit., p. 21.

The real puzzle, *i.e.*, तुपगायतु, तु बुका॰ he does not even touch. For the word बुक occurring in the third recension, Weber[17] suggested बुक्क, who, according to him, may have commented on the Kāṭhaka. तुम्बुरुगायतीति of recension I is referred by R. Simon to the Kāśikā-vṛtti[18] on Pāṇini IV. 3. 104, which mentions one Tumburu as a pupil of Kalāpin. Siegling expresses dissatisfaction with these explanations, but leaves himself the puzzle unsolved.

Now, the word *adhyayana* (=pāṭha) occurs in the Devī-purāṇa in connection with the division of the Vedic texts. It says about the Ṛg-veda :—

तेषामध्ययनं प्रोक्तं मण्डलानि चतु:सप्तति:[19] ॥

About Yajur-veda the same Purāṇa[20] has :—

तत्र माध्यंदिनानामध्ययने विशेष :—
चत्वारिंशदध्याया मन्त्रे वाजसनेयके ।
ऋचांतु परिसंख्यातं शतान्येकोनविंशति ॥

Caraṇa-vyūha, (Rec. II) says about the Atharva-veda :—

तेषामध्ययनम् । द्वादशैव सहस्राणि ॥

The Atharva-Caraṇavyūha remarks :—

तेषामध्ययनम् । ऋचां द्वादशसहस्राण्यशीतिशतानि च ॥

Now, bearing in mind the context in which the word *adhyayana* is used in the passage quoted above, we should expect that word, occurring in the passage under discussion, also to have something to do with the division of the Kāṭhaka-saṃhitā; and the puzzle is, at once, solved, when we note the divisions *Iṭhimikā*, *Madhyamikā*, *Oramikā*,

[17] Siegling op. cit., p. 21. Pt. Bhagavad-datta's suggestion (Vedic Vāṅmaya Kā Itihāsa, Part I, p. 186) that बुकाध्ययनं may be शताध्ययन has no sense.

[18] हरिद्रुरेषां प्रथमस्ततश्छगलितुम्बुरू । उलपेन चतुर्थेन कालापक मिहोच्यते ॥

[19] Khaṇḍa II.

[20] Mahi-dāsa's Caraṇa-vyūha-ṭīkā, Benares ed., p. 15.

adopted by this text, and amend, accordingly, *tubukādhyayana* into *tu iṭhimikādhyayana*, the unusually unsanskritic *Iṭhimikā* leading different authorities to different emendations, all equally worthless.

The divisions mentioned in the above passage, into which the Kāṭhaka-saṃhitā is divided, are :—

I. Iṭhimikā[21] (=Prathamikā?) first 18 sthānakas.

II. Madhyamikā 19—30 sthānakas.

III. Orimikā, Oramikā (=Avaramikā?) 31—40 sthānakas.

IV. Yājyānuvākyas=Yājyānuvākya mantras scattered in the first three divisions.

V. Aśvamedha-grantha=the last 13 Anuvacanas.

Besides the Saṃhitā, we have two Gṛhyasūtras, belonging to the Kaṭhas :—(1) Kāṭhaka-Gṛhyasūtra (2) Laugakṣi-Gṛhyasūtra. That the difference between the two is nominal, becomes clear by a cursory comparison of the two; and that Gṛhyasūtras belonging to other subschools also existed, is evidenced by the signature "*Cārāyaṇīya-gṛhyasūtra*"[22] etc., occurring in the Kāṭhaka-

[21] Prathama-pṛthama-piṭhama-piṭhima; +kā, with the change of *a* into *i:* cp. *Madhyamikā;* the loss of the initial *p* is unexplained (cp. however Oxykanos=Portikanos (Arrian) mentioned by Franke in ZDMG, 47, 1893, p. 598). The first mantra of the Saṃhitā begins with *iṣe;* the last word in the first division is *nābhim;* if we take *i* of *iṣe* and *bhim* of *nābhim*, the name will be *ibhim* (+ikā); but this does not accord with *Madhyamikā* and *Oramikā*, which definitely require *Prathamikā* for the first division. In the last division *Meṣānuvacana* is formed from the word *meṣa*, standing at the beginning of the Anuvacana; Sitānuvacana (ed. mitā—wrong) from *sitāya;* Jīmūtānuvacana from *jīmūta;* Indrānuvacana from *indra;* Petvānuvacaina from *petva*, occurring as final of the three mantras of this anuvacana; Rohitānuvacana from *rohita* (first word of the Anuvacana); Somānuvacana from *soma;* Namaskārānuvacana from the frequently occurring *namas* (nowhere first); Alivandānuvacana from *alivanda;* and Sādānuvacana from *Sāda* the first word of the last Anuvacana.

[22] For reference to a distinct Cārāyaṇīyasūtra (Prātiśākhya?) cp. author's intr. to Ṛk. tantra.

Gṛhyapañjikā, and by a number of such passages, as are quoted from Kāṭhakagṛhya, but are not found or occur with marked variants in the two available Gṛhyasūtras.

II

The Kaṭhas in world history.

Patañjali testifies to the deep popularity and wide currency of the *Kāṭhaka adhyayana*; according to him the Kāṭhaka was read in each grāma.[23] The Caraṇa-vyūha,[24] referring to the 44 Upagranthas of the Kaṭhas remarks "there is no such a thing as is not found in the Kāṭhaka." To Pāṇini[25] the Kaṭhas and Kapiṣṭhalas are known. Yāska[26] and the author of Anupada-sūtra[27] quote from the Kāṭhaka-saṃhitā and Śatapatha-brāhmaṇa[28] alludes to the Carakas and Carakādhvaryus more than once. The Upaniṣads[29] of the Kaṭhas exist and quotations from Kāṭhaka-Śrautasūtra[30] and Kāṭhaka-

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[23] *grāme grāme Kāṭhakaṃ Kālāpakaṃ ca procyate* on Pāṇini IV. 3. 101. It may be noted here that Patañjali's grammatical examples are, or, in any particular case may be, not necessarily his own composition, but traditional examples put together before his own time; but this argument instead of, in any way, weakening the force of the statement, definitely establishes that *Kāṭhaka āmnāya* was so very popular, at one time, that it produced such an impression on populace, that its prevalence could be used as a commonplace illustration in grammars.

[24] catvāsiṃśad upagranthāḥ/ tan nāsti yan na *Kāṭahke*. Cp. Siegling, Die Rezensionendes Caraṇa-vyūha, p. 21.

[25] IV. 3. 107, VII. 4. 38, VIII. 3. 91, also Gaṇas to P. II. 4. 69, VI. 2. 37 with Weber Ind. Stud. III, pp. 451-52 where he discusses the worthless traditional etymology of the word Kaṭha.

[26] यदरुदत्तद्र द्रस्य रुद्रत्वम् इति काठकम् (Nir. X. 4)=KS. xxvi. with अरुजत्

[27] या प्रथमाव्यष्ट का तस्याम् उत्सृजेयुरित्युक्त्वा काठकं नाद्दष्टमहम् etc. (Anupadasūtra, VII. 12)=KS. XXXIII) या प्रथमा व्यष्टका तस्यामुत्स्टज्य मित्याहुरेषहि etc. with variants (from a different śākhā of the Kaṭhas?).

[28] (*a*) IV. 2. 19, 2. 4. 1; (*b*) III. 8. 2. 24; IV. 2. 3. 15, VIII. 1. 3. 7.

[29] (*a*) Kaṭha-vallī, (*b*) Kaṭha-śruti.

[30] Cp. my extracts. Meharchand Lachmandas Skt. and Pkt. series, Lahore.

brāhmaṇa are frequent. Tradition[31] dividing the Kaṭhas into various sub-divisions confirms their wide currency in the country. That these Kaṭhas, who were once so very popular, are conspicuous by their absence in later literature is significant and demands certain details. That the Kaṭhas were once well-established in Kāśhmīr is evidenced by the literature still surviving in that region. The Kathians, mentioned by the classical[32] writers as a tribe,[33] whom Alexander, after defeating Porus, fought, may be none but our Kaṭhas. The Kathaioi[34] or Kathaians, it would appear from the classical texts, held the territory between the Hydraotes (Rāvī) and Hyphasis (Biās). Some writers placed their country between the Hyphasis (Biās) and Akesines (Cenāb). These were a powerful people noted for their war-like propensities. Arrian[35] mentions a tribe of independent Indians, the Xathroi, whose territory lay between the Indus and the lower course of Akesines (Cenāb) and although Xathroi would better equate with Kṣatriya[36] or Kṣatri,[37] Lassen,[38]

[31] Marca-Kaṭhāḥ, Prācya-Kaṭhāḥ, Udīcya-Kaṭhāḥ, etc.

[32] Arrian, C. Rufus, Diodorus and others: McCrindle, Invasion of India, pp. 115, 118, 279, 347.

[33] *Kaṭhas* as a jāti and deśa: Patañjali on P. VI. 3. 42, Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, p. 439 note.

[34] Identified with Ksatriya by Poussin. cp. however "Mais on préférerait un ethnique." (Inde, etc., p. 30. See also Tarn, the Greeks in India and Bactria, pp. 169-70. E. Pocke locates Katti chiefs in the neighbourhood of Multan, (cp. his map in India in Greece) where Ptolemy would locate another Kaspeira which is denied by Stein (Rāja, II, p. 352) but is supported by Foucher in Woolner Commemoration Vol., pp. 90—105.

[35] VI. 1. 5=Strabo XV. 1. 30.

[36] This was so done by the author of the Arthaśāstra who refers to the warlike clans, living in the Kamboja (near Peśāvar) and Surāṣṭras (Gujarāt, where the Kaṭhas are said to have lived once) as Kṣatriya. cp. काम्भोज सुराष्ट्रक्षत्रियश्रेण्यादयो वार्ताशस्त्रोपजीविनः XI. 1. 2.

[37] An impure tribe: cp. Manu, X. 13, 19, Kātyāyanaśrautasūtra, XV. 3. 9; Arthaśāstra, III. 7. 28.

[38] Indische Altertumiskunde I, pp. 127, 782, II, 167, 170, 716 n. 5.

Weber[39] and Franke[40] have shown its connection with Kathaier, a race scattered at intervals, through the plains of Panjāb and supposed by some to be the aborigines of the country.

The people called under slightly varying forms,[41] e.g., Kaths, Kathas, Kathias, Kathako, Khetars and others, who are still found spread over an immense area in the north-west of India from the Hindukush as far as Bengāl[42] and from Nepāl to Gujrāt may, in all probability, have something to do with the famous Kaṭhas. It were, again, the Kaṭhas, who, issuing from the lower parts of the Panjāb, established themselves in Surāṣṭra and gave the name of Kāṭhiāvaṛ to the great peninsula of Gujrāt and the name Kanthian[43] gulf to the flat curve from the Indus mouth to the east of Gujrāt.

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[39] Ind. Stud. XIII, p. 439, Über das Rāmāyaṇa, p. 9. The practice of killing daughters as soon as born reported by the classical writers to be prevailing among the Kathaians occurs in KS. XXVII. 9 तस्मात् स्त्रियं जातां परास्यन्ति न पुमांसम्=MS. IV. 6. 4, 7, 8, (Nir. III. 4) referred to by Weber in Ind. Stud. IX. 487.

[40] ZDMG. 47 (1893) p. 604.

[41] For the interchange of *k* and *x* and *t* and *d* in Greek cp. literature referred to by Tarn on Greek names of the Tokhari in *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, pp. 515—19; for the confused spelling (of names) leading to the confusion of names of Tarn's discussion of Pāṇḍava-Pāṇḍu- and Pāṇḍya cp. cit., pp. 511-12) for a case of the bewildering variety of spelling in names cp. Howorth's account of the spelling of Jingis Khan in the History of Mongols, I, p. viii, David's discussion of spelling of the name Yuan Chwang in Watters, I, X—XIII; Driver on the variety of names of Kurds (JRAS. 1923, 395-96), Hubert on the names of Celts (the Rise of the Celts, pp. 22ff).

[42] Details of these names: McCrindle, Invasion, p. 156: the origin of the Kadu people living in the Katha district of Burma is uncertain. Details regarding them: Grant Brown, The Kadus in Burma BSOS I. 1—28: Dr. A. Bastion was the first to note the Kathai speech (near Rangoon) ZDMG. 1862, 568—69.

[43] Ptolemy's *Kanthikon.* For the nasal element in Greek cp. Kapiṣṭhāla—kambistholoi; Epadrasa: Epandron Menadrasa: Menandron; Patalavatasa: Pantaleontos; Amita: Amantas; Parabalee (a town on the Indus: Ptolemy VII 1.61.) *Paremboli*; Adraistai (a people mentioned by Arrian)=Andrestai in Diodor.

The Kambi-stholoi,[44] through whose dominions flowed the Hydrotes or Hyrotis (Rāvī) in the times of Megasthenes may represent the Kapiṣṭhala,[45] the modern Kaithal, a town near Thanesar; and Watters[46] may be right in identifying Kahpiṭa, now restored to Kapitha with Kapiṣṭhala, a place located by Varāhamihira[47] in the Mid Country, the settlements of one race in different localities being not unknown to the world history.[48]

(Lesson II. p. 168 note) *Adeira*: Audeira, (Ancient city of Phrygia noted by Ramsay in Asianic Elements in Greek Civilization p. 296); cp. also Maroundai of Ptolemy with Moredes of Pliny; Kanthaka (the horse of the Buddha) /Kath (IHQ. Sept. 1936, p. 525). For a general discussion of the matter cp. Weber, Hindu pronunciation of Greek and Greek pronunciation of Hiudu words: Indian Antiquary II, pp. 143—150; Akūra=Aṅkura: Lüders, ZDMG. 1904 (Die Jālakas and die Epik), Müller, Grammar of the Pali Language p. 22; Pischel, Prak. Grammar. 74; Grierson, Spontaneous Nasalization in Indo-Aryan F.R.A.S. 1922, 177—90; for reverse cp. Gadāra and Hindu (=Gandhara, Sindh) occurring in the later cuneiform inscriptions of Darius, referred to by Spiegel in Die Altper Sischen Keilinschriptan in Grundtexte mit uberset zung Grammatik und Glossar p. 136; Lassen I, p. 2 n. 4 and M. Müller, Transactions of the Ninth Internatioal Congress of Orientalists Vol. II, p. 29; Koṭhubikiye=kautumbikiyāh: Bühler, Vienna Or. Jour. I, p. 172.

[44] McCrindle, Anc. Ind. as described by Megasthenes and Arrian p. 197.

[45] Identification due to Schwanbeck; (Megasthenes Indica p. 33). He rejects Wilson's (WP. II, 182) suggestion that the people may be identical wtth the Kambojas.

[46] On Yuan Chwang I, p. 335; the old name Kapitha being Sang-ka-she=Saṅkāśya.

[47] Audumbara-*Kapiṣṭhala*-gajāhvyāś-ceti madhyam idam Bṛhat Samhitā XIV. 4. Ind. Anl. XXII, p. 180, Alberūni I. p. 300.

[48] A typical instance is that of Gurjaras, who became so powerful that no fewer than four tracts of India received their name. Three of these are the Gujarat and Gujrānwala distrcits of the Panjab and the province of Gujarat, and Alberuni mentions a fourth identified by Dr. Bhandarkar as consisting of the north-eastern part of the Jaipur territory and the south of the Alwar State. Details: Sir G. Grierson BSOS I, pp. 57-58. cp. also the gradual spread of the Pāṇḍyās, Livis, Āndhras, Lāṭas, Mālvas, Gonardas, Kekayas, Kuntalas and Aśmakas in earlier times, noting the significance of such names as Uttara—Tosalas+Dakṣiṇa-Tosalas, Pūrva-Darśārṇas+Pascima-Daśarṇas; Sumallas+Dakṣiṇa—Mallas, Kurus+Uttara—Kurus; Pañcālas+Uttara Pañ-

Tradition,[49] dividing the Kaṭhas into Marca-kaṭhas, Prācya Kaṭhas[50] and Udīcya kaṭhas would place the last in the regions covered by Almorā, Garhwāl, Kumāun, Panjab, Kāshmir and Afghānistān. We have hinted at the röle the Kaṭhas may have played in the Panjab and Kāṭhiāvār. In the north-east their traces may be detected in names like Kāṭhmāṇdu (the capital of Nepāl) and Kaṭyūr, said to be the original seat of the Kaṭyūra kings, belonging to the Solar race. Ptolemy locates the Kambistholi,[52] i.e., the Kapiṣṭhalas in or near Arachosia and Pliny[53] finds in Paropamisadae, a tribe called Cataces or Cateces; and this name need not necessarily be a mistaken[54] transliteration of the Greek Kat-oikioi (=Settlers, village) but may possibly be a reference to one of those Vrātya communities,[55] which lived round about Kapiśa (=Kafristān) and the remains of whose ritualistic tradition can still be traced in that region; the more so, when we note that an extension of Aryan civilisation of India to those

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cālas + Dakṣina Pañcalas, Kāśis + Apara-Kāśis + Uttara kāśis etc., clearly indicating that all these races had different settlements in the various parts of India other than their original one. Details: Sasibhūṣaṇa, Cal. Rev. 1931, 334-36; see also numerous Alexandrias founded by Alexander (near Khojend, Kabul, Merv, and Kandhar etc.), G. R. Driver (J.R.A.S. 1922, p. 569) refers to Yākūt according to whom there were two cities named Kurd in Persia, established by the Kurds in old times.

49 Cp. Introduction p. VII: also embodied in Kāsikā-Vṛtti on Panini IV. 3. 104.

50 Mentioned in Ramayaṇa II. 32. 18-19.

ये चेमे कठकलापा बहवो दण्डमाणवाः। नित्य स्वाध्यायशीलस्वान्नान्यत् कुर्वन्ति किंचन ॥
अलसाः स्वादुकामाश्च महत चापि संमताः। तेषामशीति यानानि रत्नपूर्णानि दापय ॥

51 Bhagavad—datta, Vedic Vasimaya kā Itihasa I, p. 184.

52 Wilson, (Visnu-purāna II, p. 182) and K. P. Jayaswal (JBORS.. XVI. 1930, p. 229) identify it with Kapiśa, which according to them equates with Kambojas.

53 Cp. Tarn., The Greeks in Bactria and India pp. 99; 482 n. 3.

54 Suggested by Tarn, op. cit. pp. 99, 482 n. 3.

55 Goetz, Epochen der indischen Kultur p. 145.

regions in ancient times is ensured by the city-names like Purā,[56] a good Sanskrit name for city and that the region from the kingdom of Porus in the Panjab upto Kāfristan[57] in the north was considered by the orthodox Brahmanism prevailing in later times to the east of the Yamunā, to be the home of the Vrātya communities, called white Indians,[58] which, forming the connecting link between the pure Iranians and the races of India, naturally showed signs of Persian influence and yet observed, in the main, the Vedic ritual treasured in the Yajur-veda; and we know that *Kaṭhas or Kapiṣṭhala—Kaṭhas were the foremost among the Yajurvedins;* and when we view in this light the name[59] Kapiśa[60] (=Kafristān) and Kapistet,[61] we may venture a possible connection between the *Kapiś* (=kapiśá=Kāpir) and Kapiṣṭhala, and suggest that either *Kapiś* stands for *Kapi* or Panini's[62] *Kapiṣṭhala* is, in reality, *Kapiś+sthala* his prescription restricting the change of *s* into *ṣ* (to gotra) after the dropping of *ś*,

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56 Cp. Edwin Robert Bevan, The House of Seleucus I, p. 272. Pūr=the chief city of Gedrosia=Belūcistān.

57 Goetz, op. cit., p. 136.

58 Isidore 10 referred to by Bevan, op. cit. I, p. 271; see also Manu X. 45 saying that many Aryans in degraded condition were driven out of Sapta-Sindhu and lived in the mountains of the western frontier under the name of Dasyus, speaking the Aryan language or its corrupted form (=Paiśāci Prakrit).

59 Kaiyaṭa on P. IV, 2. 138, 3. 101; Weber Ind. Stud, 13, 437.

60 Identified with Kamboja by Levi: JA. 1923 II, p. 52; for literature on the word cp. Beal, Si-yu-ki I, pp. 54—68; Watters, on Yuan Chwang I, 123-24; Cunningham, Anc. Geog. of India p. 19; Stein, Anc. Khotan p. 56; Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India pp. 460—62, with copious references.

61 A place visited by the Chinese pilgrim: Watters, On Yuan Chwang I, p. 75; with different implications: McCrindle, Anc. India of Ptolemy pp. 303—4; Stein, Anc. Khotan pp. 53—51 with authorities quoted.

62 Cp. Kapiṣthalo gotre VIII. 3. 91; the authorities cite *Kapeḥ Sthālam,* kapisthalam as a counter-example, which indicate that according to them *kapi* is the name of the region and not kapiś, but this again may be due to their ignorance of the historical truth.

which is quite common in Sanskrit in such a situation; and it may perhaps be these Kaṭhas, who have left their remnants in Kāfiristan in the form of Kati languages. And having in view the fact[63] that the same early Indian language and script (Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī[64]) as found in the records of Niya Site, was in use also in Lop-nor and Jade Gate, the very threshold of China, during the centuries immediately before and after Christ for indigenous administration and business, (indicating thereby rather a political dominion exercised by the invaders from the Indian side and for a time, embracing the whole of the Tarīm Basin and even beyond that), and also bearing in mind the fact that many of the early Chinese[65] names of

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[63] Stein, Ruins of Desert Kathay I, Preface X; 240, 273, 286, 290, 291, 311—13, 379-80, 386-87, 393-94, 441, 459, 480, II 126; Innermost Asia I. 146, 147 149, 154, 194, 201, 216, 222 sqq.; II. 751, 758. Kharoṣṭhī records in Sade Gate (China) already in A.D. 20: Desert Kathay II. 114; details: Stein, Serindia I. 413 sqq. "According to Samānī the country near Khuttal, at the beginning of the Muslim period had a special alphabet, which was preserved in books; in all probability this alphabet was of Sanskrit origin" W. Berthold, Turkestan down to the Mongol invasion p. 71.

[64] C. L. Fabri (Indian Culture Vol. I, 167—171) inclines to connect even the Hungarian Noteh script with the Brāhmi characters, extending thereby the Indian civilisation as far west as the Danube, a view ably propounded by Dr. Takacs in his famous article L'art des grandes migrations en Hingric et en Extreme Orient published in the Revue des Arts Asiatiques of 1931.

[65] Cp. Shu-le (=Kāśgar); according to Levi the abbreviation of Ch-śa-lu-shu-tan-le meant as a transcription of *Kharoṣtra, the latter being the ancient name of Kāśgar from which the Kharoṣṭhi script of North-Western India received its designation: see Levi, Bulletin de I ecoled' extreme Orient II, pp. 735 sqq; again in 1904 in an article contributed to the same with wider implication, referred to by Stein in Anc. Khotan p. 49, and by Konow in Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions p. XIV. According to Franke and R. Pischel the name Shu-le, a contraction of Ch'-ia-lu-shu-tan-le is a transcription of some such Sanskrit word as *Kaluṣāntara, Kaluṣottara meaning "(land) possessed of bad character" Cp. Kāsgar und die Kharoṣṭhi in Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen Akademe der Wissenschaften, Berlin 1903 pp. 184—96; 735—45 noted by Stein in Anc. Khotan p. 48 and by

the Central Asian towns[66] were rendering of their Sanskrit equivalents, bestowed on them either by the early Indian visitors[67] (or settlers?) or coined by the Chinese Buddhists on account of the holy nature of the language,[68] it may be somewhat interesting to refer here to Kāth,[69] the ancient capital of Khorezmia and the numerous town—names ending in—Kath,[70] found in the geographical survey of Transoxania, notwithstanding the fact that the interpretation[71] offered for these names by the Mongol

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Konow in Kharoṣthi Inscriptions p. XIV. For the bad character of the people of that land cp. Yule, Marco Polo I, p. 182; Kaśgara=home of the Khaśas: Watters, II, p. 291.

66 Dharmamitra, a city: Ievi JA. 1933, p. 27 n. 1.

67 Intimate contact with outside world becomes patent by the orderly enumeration of 64 scripts in Lalitavistara in Lipiśālāsaṃdarśana parivarta pp. 125-26; cp. also A Von Le Coq, Buried Treasures of Chinese Turkistan pp. 17 ff, O.M. Dalton, Treasures of the Oxus 7, 42-43; Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India p. 86; Berthold, Turkistān down to the Mongol invasion p. 387; Stien, Desert Kathay I, p. 140; for contact with Central Asia in yet earlier times; Childe, New light on the most Ancient East 210, 224, 250, 270; Patrick Carlton, Buried Empires 145-46; 158 ff; Stein, Indo-Iranian Border lands 183-84, 191—93; Innermost Asia II, 955-56 (with references to Marshall); Cameron, History of early Iran pp. 17ff. with authorities quoted in foot notes.

68 Such was the honour which India was held in during the Buddhist supremacy that Ssanang Setzen makes even the Mongol royal stock spring from that of Tibet and through it from Hindostān; details: Howarth, History of the Mongols I, pp. 32-33, 37.

69 For the location of Kāth cp. Bretschneider, Mediæval Researches from Eastern Asiatic sources II, p. 63; Berthold, Turkistān down to the Mongol invasion, pp. 144—146.

70 Cp. Akhṣikath, Ardlankath, Yudhukhkath, Bārkath, Nūjkath, Buūjikath, Faghkath, Arsuhānikat, Jankākath, Banākath, Najākath, Kharashkath, Khudyankath and numerous others discussed by Berthold, op. cit. pp. 159—79.

71 The word kāth was used by the Khorezmians for a rampart or mound in the steppe, though there might be nothing inside it" Berthold op. cit. p. 144; cp. also Kāshmiri—Koth—Kotta, in Kashmir village names. Compare also English cet (=coed "wood") as a common element in place-names.

historians, *necessarily of late* origin,[72] has no bearing on the Indian Kaṭhās.

Further, the name Kiu-sa-tan-na, Khiotan or Khotan has attracted wide attention over since, in 1820, A. Rémusat published his great work "Histoire de la ville de Khotan, tirée des annals de la Chine" leading Hirth,[73] Sarat,[74] Stein,[75] Watters,[76] Hedin,[77] Bretschneider[78] and Thomas[79] to a variety of conjecture regarding the origin of this name; but the basis of their discussion, *i.e.*, the Buddhist Indian, Tibetan and Chinese legends[80] seeking to explain kin-sa-tan-na through its Sanskrit equation *ku-stana* or *Go-sthāna* and ascribing the foundation of Khotan to the Indian Buddhist[81] immigration in the time of Asoka[82] may be nothing but a garbled version[83] of the

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[72] See the list of 34 historians collected by Howerth in the in the History of Mongols I, pp. XVI—XVVII; the earliest of these Ibn al Athir was born in the year 1160 A.D. Tabari, whom Athir utilised for the history of the first three centuries of Islam, is dated 923.

[73] China and the Roman Orient p. 157.

[74] Buddhist and other legends about Khotan, J.A.S.B., 1887, 193—203.

[75] Ancient Khotan pp. 157—66.

[76] On Yuan Chwang II, pp. 295—300.

[77] Through Asia II, 776—87.

[78] Mediæval Researches II, pp. 47, 246—50.

[79] Whether *Ku-stana* originally meant the place of the *ku*-people or the western town can hardly be determined." Asia Major, 1925, p. 261.

[80] Details of the legend: Stein, Anc. Khotan, pp. 155—58; Walters II, pp. 295-96, Beal, Si-yu-ki, II, pp. 309—14.

[81] L. de la Vollée—Poussin, L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas et das Barbars, Grees, Parthes et Yue-tchi (Histoire du Monde, Vol. VI. 1) pp. 321-22 with references.

[82] Prof. Thomas questions the veracity of the old tradition. According to him Asoqa and Kunala are very well explicable from the Khotanese language itself. Cp. his article: Names of places and persons in ancient Khotan in Festgave Jocobi p. 56. Konon seemes to favour this view: Kharoṣṭhi Inscription, p. LXXII.

[83] There is a motive in this transformation. Given the fact that tradition connected the foundation with an Indian immigra-

Kaṭha—wanderings from the region of the ancient Taxila[84] or Kashmir; and the suspicion that the early Indian immigrants into Khotan were our *Kaṭhas*, is turned into a probability, when we note that it is feasible to derive the word Khotan from *Kaṭha* by adding to the word Kaṭha, the Khotanese suffix—*na*,[85] indicative of the sense *belonging to* with a transfer of the aspirate on *k;* (*b*) that it is not possible to account satisfactorily for the language or the script of (Kharoṣṭhī) the documents found at the Niya Site in Khotan by the spread of Buddhism[86] alone, seeing that Buddhism brought to Central Asia only the use of Sanskrit as an ecclesiastical language and the writing in Brāhmī characters; nor does the fact of a temporary extension to eastern Turkestān of Saka or Kuṣāṇa[87] power from the northwestern border-lands of India seem sufficient to explain the transplanting of an

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tion, the Buddhists connected it with the time of Aśoka, and the miraculous transfer of Asoka's deported son Kuṇāla to Khotan supplied the simplest expedient for immigration into the traditional story.

84 The evidence of the Kharoṣṭhi documents secured by Stein from the Niya Site proves that an Indian language, closely allied to the old Prakrits of the North-Western India, was in use for administrative purposes throughout the Khotan region about the middle of the 3rd century A.D. The records are written in Kharoṣṭhi script, and in India this script was peculiar to that region of which Taxila and the adjoining Gāndhāra were the historical and cultural centres for centuries before and after the commencement of the Christian era, details: Stein, Anc. Khotan, pp. 163, 205, 368—69, Ruins of Desert Kathay I, pp. 290-91; M. Jules Block, Le dialects des fragments Dutreuil de Rhives in J.A. Xe Series I, XIX 331 sqq., also referred to by Konow in Festschrift E. Windisch p. 86.

85 For detailed treatment of the suffix—*na* cp. Thomas, Festgabe Jacobi, p. 54. Cerebrals are rare in Khotanese; for the interchange of ā into ō cp. Khotanese Mo-rgu-de-śe=skt. Mārga-desin; also the suffixes—*na*=no, ta=to quoted by Thomas op. cit. p. 266.

86 Details: Stein, Serindia I, p. 243; Konow, Kharoṣṭhi Inscriptions LXXIII—IV.

87 Beal, Si-yu-ki II, p. 312. Watters, II p. 296; Stein, Ancient Khotan, p. 164.

Indian language and its adoption for ordinary use among the people in that far-off country;[88] (*c*) that both Yuan Chwang and the Tibetan annals of Li-yul agree in making the event of founding Khotan take place before the introduction of Buddhism into Khotan; (*d*) that according to the explicit and significant statement[89] of the former the Arhat, who went into Samādhi, came from Kāśmīr; (*e*) that there is an unmistakable resemblance of Khotan and Kāśmīr legends;[90] (*f*) that there occur a number of names in Khotanese manuscripts, which contain the names of persons connected with their foundation, and Stein[91] has shown that similar foundations in Kāśmīr were normally designated by names consisting of the names of founders, followed by the word *bhavana* (abode); (*g*) that there is a curiously striking similarity[92] in general appearance of features between the Khotanese and the Kāśmīrians, (*h*) that according to Hoernle[93] political connection between Kāśmīr and Khotan existed at an early historical period; (*i*) that according to Prof. Thomas[94] the termination—ta, so very common to Khotanese names, such as

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88 Maintained by Goetz: Epochen, pp. 165-66.

89 Walters, II, p. 296, Stein, Anc. Khotan, p. 164.

90 According to the Annals of Li-yul the country of Li-yul, originally, an inhabited country, was converted into a lake by its Nāgas, whom the bad treatment accorded by the people to certain ṛṣis had angered. When Buddha visited Li-yul he enveloped the lake with rays of light . . . dwelling for seven days on mount Go-Śṛṅga or Go-Śīrṣa he predicted that after his death the lake would dry up and become a country called Li-yul with the city of U-then as its capital. Stein, Anc. Khotan, p. 160. Similar is the account of the foundation of Pravarasena's capital, the present Kāśmīr: Stein, Rājat. 339—49; similar is the legend of Narapura: Stein, Anc. Geog. of Kāśmīr 172, Mahāvaṃśa XII.3; Naliṅākṣadatta, Gilgit MSS. I, p. 11.

91 Rājataraṅgiṇī Trans. II, p. 369.

92 Stein, Ancient Khotan, pp. 160, 165.

93 J.A.S.B. 1899 Extra No. I, 13 sqq.

94 Festgabe Jacobi, p. 54.

Ageta, Kuñita, Malbhuta and Salveta is nothing but the common—ṭa of Kāśmīr names like Argaṭa, Kaiyata, and Mammaṭa; (*j*) and that Ptolemy[95] and Ibn Muhalhil[96] actually spell Khotan as Xaiṭai and Xatian—a nearer approach to *Kaṭha*[97]—and we have already seen that Kāśmīr was the very stronghold of the Kaṭhas, and the period of Kāśmīr immigration into Khotan, required by the Khotanese tradition one, during which the Kaṭhas, in the words of Patañjali,[89] were at the peak of eminence, culminating, on the one hand, in their spread towards south, where they implanted their name on Surāṣṭra in the form of Kāṭhiāvāṛ, and on the other, towards north-east, where they, starting separately, or in a combined wave rolling from the north-western Punjāb (Taxila) and Kāśmīr, bestowed their name on Khotan; and tradition has, indeed, immortalized them for this their rare spirit of quest and venture by naming some of their divisions as Carakas,[99] Cārāyaṇīyas and Āhvarakas, the terms meaning *wanderers* and curiously enough to the classical authors and Alberūnī the Kaspeiroi, i.e., the Kāśmīrians,

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95 VI.15 quoted by Yule in Kathay I, p. 164 n. 2.

96 Abstract of the travels of Ibn Muhalhil in Kathay I, p. 250 n. 2.

97 Interchange of *K* and *Kh*: Khushaṇa for Kushaṇa: Konow, Kharoṣthī Inscriptions p. XLIX; in Greek names Tarn, the Greeks in Bactria and India p. 518.

98 *Grame grāme Kāṭhakaṃ Kālāpakaṃ ca procyate* on P. IV 3.101.

99 *Car*, *vhar* 'go', cp. also Carakas, a sub-division of the Taittirīyas, which shows that Carakas were a people some of whom adopted the Kaṭhaka āmnāya while others chose to adopt the Taittirīya āmnāya. Likewise a number of Kaṭhas adopted Kāṭhaka āmnāya, others followed Taittirīya āmnāya, while yet others adopted the Ṛg-veda. In brief it was not from the āmnāya that Kaṭhas and Cārāyaṇīyas received their name, it was, on the contrary, from these people that particular schools of the Vedas received their names. On the connection of Carakas with the later Parivrājakas cp. Nalinakṣadatta Early Monastic Buddhism p. 31.

the original bearers of these designations, are famous, among the Indians, for their *fast feet*.[100]

Not withstanding these indications of the *Kaṭha*-migrations into Khotan I would have agreed to the Buddhist version of the origin of the name of Khotan and would have also taken into account the names Seistān, Sakastān, Hindostān, etc., where—stān[101] equates with —sthāna, had it not been for the numerous finds[102] connected with the practice of producing fire by churning of small wooden sticks, invariably accompanied by a profusion of records written in ancient Indian script[103] and language at Niya Site, Lop-nor and regions to the extreme east of the Tarīm Basin, finds, which, on account of the alleged primitive nature of the method of fire-producing by the side of so much evidence of so highly organised civilization, remained an enigma to Sir Stein, but, which, now, taking into consideration the factor of Vedic ritual accompanying the *Kaṭha*-migrations from Taxila and Kāśmīr, can be easily explained as survival of the Śrauta and Gṛhya sacrifices performed by the Vedists, in which the fire is, so often, required to be produced by means of churning of the *araṇis* (the two wooden sticks).

And although owing to the extreme obscurity of this period of Indian history it is not possible to define these *Kaṭha*-wanderings in terms of years or even centuries, we

100 Stein, Rājataraṅgiṇī Trans. II, p. 352; R. C. Kāk (Anc. Monuments of Kāśmīr p. 5) does not refer to Alberūnī.

101 Old English—stān occurring in place-names equates with Scandinavian steinn (=stone) and not with—sthāna; names in stain—that have as second element an English word (as Stainfield) are reality OE. names in stān—, so also Rudston (Rodestān, —stein) is clearly DE. Rōd-stān, the place being named from a monolith near the church.

102 Stein, Ruins of desert Kathay I, p. 313; at the sites of Niya, Endere, Ya-men op. cit. p. 393.

103 Op. cit. pp. 386-87; votive offerings in Kharoṣṭhī in Miran op. cit. p. 459.

may, yet, assign to them the first century after Christ as lower limit on some such ground.

Patañjali,[104] who testifies to the wide currency of the *Kāṭhaka-āmnāya*, flourished about 150 B.C. and pre-Christian definitely are the reports, in their original, in which the Kaṭhas, the Kathians of the Greeks, are praised for their war-like propensities. The legends, both from Khotan and Tibet patently state that the country of Khotan was founded before the introduction of Buddhism into that region,[105] and the culmination of this event may have taken place about the first century A.D., when Kaniṣka,[106] the great propagator of Buddhism flourished and stimulated the influx of Indian civilization into Central and Eastern Asia; and the ascription of some such early date to these *Kaṭha*-wanderings fits in well with the fact that the Purāṇas, while explaining Caraka,[107] Cārāyaṇa and Āhvarakas show no notion of their proper historical basis, but, have, instead, concocted mystic legends of the mythic personages as originators of these schools.

Further, we have seen that classical writers mention, in the Panjāb, a tribe named Kathian, whom Alexander, after defeating Porus, fought and subdued; the same name, exactly in the same form occurs in a list of town-

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[104] This is chiefly based on the strength of his reference to Puṣyamitra's Horse Sacrifice as a contemporary event. De la Valleé-Poussin (L'Inde etc. pp. 199-200) puts him much later than that on the basis of his mention of Śakas about which cp. Bhandarkar (Ind. Culture I, p. 275) with Poussin's reply op. cit. II, p. 584.

[105] Details: Stein, Anc. Khotan pp. 156—58; Walters, II 295-96; Beal, Si-yu-ki II 309—14.

[106] Konow, Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions pp. LXXV—LXXIX, Cambridge Shorter History of India, pp. 76-77, Johnston, Buddhacarita p. XVII. ब्रह्महत्या तु यैश्चीर्णा चरणाच्चरकाः स्मृताः। वैशंपायन शिष्यास्ते चरकाः समुदाहृताः ॥ Vāyu-purāṇa, 61.23; details: Ibid. 61. 10—24.

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names in an inscription of Rameses III.[108] According to Myres Kathian here is to be identified with the present Kitian,[109] and it may not be too rash to suggest that Kition is a cognate of Ketians of Homer, whom Gladstone[110] would identify with the Hattis or Hittites, the Khata[111] or Kheta of the Egyptian monuments, Khatta or Khate of the Assyrians, the words being equivalents of the Hebrew Kheth or Khithi.[112] Now, compare Kathian of the classical writers with the Kathian of Rameses III and equate the Indian Kaṭha with the Egyptian Khata, the identification of the pairs would seem irresistible, the more so, when we note that all these cognates are originally tribal names.

Now, Sayce fixes the primaeval home and starting point of the Hittites near about Kappadokia, where, according to Sir Charles Wilson[113] the Hittite type is still found, specially among the people living in the extraordinary subterranean towns; and we know that in the early Persian cuneiform inscriptions of about 500 B.C. Kat-patu-ka or Kat-padu-ka[114] is the name of Kappadokia, meaning '*the land of Kats*, and Kat is obviously a tribal name connected with such words as Kataonia, the tribe or tribes, intended, being presumably none but the Khatas of the Egyptian monuments. Needless to suggest that like Kappadokia or Katonia, the town-name Kathain also is based on the tribal name *Katha*, the people

[108] Myres, Who were the Greeks, p. 124; the long reign of about 67 years of Rameses II came to an end about 1221 B.C. Rameses III may be placed about 1200 B.C.

[109] Myres, op. cit. p. 124.

[110] Quoted by Sayce in the Hittites (1925 ed.) p. 164.

[111] Sayce, the Hittites p. 22; Campbell, The Hittites Vol. I, p. 9.

[112] Sayce, The op. cit. pp. 105-6.

[113] Quoted by Sayce in the Hittites, p. 133.

[114] Discussed by Ramsay in Asiānic Elements in Greek Civilization, p. 16.

(=Kaṭha), whose eastern branch, had, about the same time presumably established their home in the north-west of India.

Further, the Egyptian monuments teach us that the Hittites were a people with yellow[115] skins and Mongloid features and that their eyes and hair were black.[116] To stretch the point further, legend names Hellan to be the father of all the Greeks; and this Hellan had three sons, Telos, Dores and Xuthus or Xouthus, where the last name simply means *the brown man*. Hittites remnants in Greek population are generally admitted and etymological connections between Katha and Xuthus may not be altogether ruled out; the more so, when we note that Hattis, i.e., *the children of Heth* were also yellow or yellowish brown. And although one may object to the equation of Katha with Xuthus, there need be no hesitation in equating Khata with the Greek Xanthe,[117] which also meant *brown*[118] including *yellow* or *golden*, and which appears in Homer's language of gods[119] as Xanthos,[120] the god's language being presumably none but that of the Hittites;[121] and we know that blondness ascribed to Olympian gods was also characteristic of their original worshippers, i.e., the Greeks,[122] and blond are indeed described to be the

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[115] Sayce, The Hittites 16 ff, 132 ff.

[116] Myres, Who were the Greeks, XXIV, 86 with literature cited in notes on p. 553.

[117] Discussion on Xanthe: Myres, ibid. 192—99 with literature cited on p. 567. On the insertion of nasalization cp. note on Kanthian Gulf and Kombi-stholoi.

[118] Myres, ibid. p. 194.

[119] The language of gods and of men in Homer: Ramsay, As. Elements in Greek Civilization, pp. 299-300.

[120] The horse of Achilles; and the chief river of the Trojan plan was called by the Gods Xanthos and by men Scamander.

[121] There must have been some holy language about which Homer had some knowledge. There was such a language in the Hittite inscriptions of Anatolia, and in it are expressed prophecies. Details: Ramsay, ibid. p. 300.

[122] Myres, Who were the Greeks, 192 ff.

Aryan invaders of India in their own early literature. Now, compare the Indian *Kaṭha*, Hittite *Khata*, and Greek *Xanthe* the logical conclusion will be that the bearers of these designations originally belonged to one and the same stock.

Now, the discoveries of the cuneiform tablets of Arzawa and Boghaz-Keui, the capital of the Hittite empire ensure, according to Hrozny,[123] Forrer,[124] Friedrich[125] and others,[126] the Indo-European character of the Hittite (Nasi-li) language and the presence of a treatise[127] concerned with chariot-racing or horse-training, containing numerous words of technical kind, which are purely Sanskrit and not European or Iranian (which, in later times are distinguished from the Indian forms by well-marked phonetic differences) coupled with the find of a Hittite national religious poem,[128] celebrating the slaying of the great serpent, a legend, a part of which is so very frequently familiar in the Veda, would bring the Hittite closer to Indian. Further, the treaty[129] in 1360 B.C., between the kings of Hatti folks, then dominent in Asia Minor, and of the Mitanni people in northern Mesopota-

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123 Boz Boghaz Keui Studien, 180 ff.

124 Die Inschriften und Sprachen des Khatti-Reisches: Z.D.M.G. 72, 174—269.

125 Die Hethitische Sprache: op. cit. 153—173; on p. 154 he refers to Bork, Jensen, Weidner, Marstrander, Sommer on 173 to Kondtzon, Buqqe and Torps all advocating the same.

126 Sayce, the Hittites 191 ff, Myres, Who were the Greeks 104 ff.

127 Sayce, ibid., p. 223.

128 Kretschmer (Kleinasi eb Forsch. I, 297 ff.) who claims to find in Hittite mythology a reference to Innara (=Indra) as aiding the storm-god to destroy a dragon by inducing a certain Hupaśviya to make the dragon drunk and to chain him. Sayce discusses (J.R.A.S., 1922, 177—90) Hittite legend of the war with the great serpent."

129 Myres, (Who were the Greeks), gives an exhaustive bibliography in a note on p. 555.

and preserved by the Kappadokīan Hittite dynasty. And just as on the plateau of Asia Minor we find, in the 15th century B.C. the *Khata* and *Mitannis*, the two ancestors[135] of the Sanskrit-speaking tribes of north-western India amicably living side by side, so also, about the same time, here in the north-west of India we find the *Kaṭhas* and[136] *Maitrāyaṇas* flourishing side by side as the two chief divisions of the Yajurvedins and is not this parallelism between the two pairs here in India and then in Asia Minor (the home of the parent Indo-European speech according to Forrer) striking enough to evolve the identity or a vital connection between the Khata and the Kaṭha on the one hand and the Mitanni and Maitrāyaṇī on the other?

Kretschmer,[137] Konow,[138] Mironov[139] and others[140] have put down the names mentioned in the treaty as purely Indian; and this, if true, would suggest a migration or an invasion of the Kaṭha[141] Maitrāyaṇī folks from North-western India towards west; and if close trade connections between the Tigris and the north-western provinces of India is acceded to as early as the 3rd milleniniam[142] B.C. and if there be a possibility of a racial[143]

[135] Sayce, Languages of Asia Minor in Anatolian Studies, p. 393.

[136] Not to be identified with Madiondinoi who, according to Megasthenese, lived on the Andhomatī, a tributory of the Ganges. Madiandinoi=Mādhyandinas cp. Weber, Ind. Stud. I, p. 152 note.

[137] K.Z. IV, 78 ff.

[138] The Aryan gods of the Mitanni people (1921).

[139] Acta Orientalia XI.

[140] Hrozny, Husing, Ungnad all maintain that the element is not Iranian but specially Indian. Sources: Sydney Smith, Early History of Assyria p. 385; purely Indian: P. Giles Cambridge Anc. History II, p. 13; Old Hindus: Hall, Anatolian Studies p. 175; Skt. Speaking tribes of India. Sayce, op. cit. p. 393.

[141] For an amusing account of the Indian origin of Germans cp. Wolfgang Menzel, History of Germany I, Vol. I, pp. 3-4.

[142] Muir Sanskrit Texts, Vol. I, p. 488, Vol. II, p. 423.

[143] Childe, The Most Ancient East 198-99.

connection between the Sumerian and certain early stocks in India about the same time, there seems to be no occasion to deny the possibility of the Kaṭha-migration in Vedic times, though we may not have, at this early date the records of Indian princes carrying their conquest so far afield; but if the names occurring in the treaty be Aryan we should either assume that the Khatas and Mitannis are a people, who spoke Sanskrit, but had not yet found their way to the north-west of India, or more plausibly the main wave of Kaṭha-Maitṛāyaṇis(=Khata-Mitannis) had travelled to the north-west of India, while a part thereof remained behind and travelled towards Asia Minor.

It can be argued here that the Kāṭhaka school being comparatively a late Indian production, how could its followers be expected to be in Asia Minor so early, but this argument becomes invalid when we remember that it was not from this particular school of the Yajurveda that the Kaṭha race derived its name, it was, on the contrary, from the Kaṭha race that this particular school of the Yajur-veda obtained its name; and thus the Kaṭha race pre-existing quite independent of the Kaṭhaka lore, they could be well expected either to have gone out from India into Asia Minor, or again, starting from the original home, to have, simultaneously reached India and Asia Minor.

We have noted that the *Khatas* were a people with yellow skin and Mongoloid features; they originally came from the regions[144] to the east of the Caspian Sea, which

[144] Charpentier in his article " The original home of the Indo-Europeans (B.S.O.S. IV, 164 ff.) discusses the problem in detail; for a highly different view cp. Fritz Schachermeyer, "Wanderungen und Ausbreitung der Indogermanen in Mittlemeergebiet in Festschrift für Hermann Hist, pp. 233—35 with extensive literature quoted in foot notes; also Schuchhardt, Die ersten Indogermanen in Sitzungesber, d. Königl Preussischen Akad d. Wiss. phil. histor. classe 1938 pp. 215—34. The geolo-

are generally called Central Asia, with the neighbouring plains of Turkestān. They were probably near neighbours of Mongols, Huns, etc.; and it may be a little interesting in this connection that the name *Khata* meaning *yellow* was inherited, in later times, by a number of tribes, known collectively as *Kaitan*,[145] *Khitat* or *Khitai*, which inhabited for centuries a country to the north-east of China,[146] and gaining power, overran in the 11th century A.D. the northern China and the adjoining regions of Tartary and bestowed, ultimately, their racial names on China in the form of *Kathay*, *Khitai*, *Kitai*, and *Kitaia*, etc., by which it became familiar to the Arabs, Persians, and Turks and through them to the mediaeval writers of Europe.

The Kaṭhas—their decline.

Such may have been, in brief, the wide prevalance of the *Kaṭha* race, who, not only occupied a pre-eminent position in north India, but also seem to have carried their name to distant lands, before Buddhism triumphed and

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gist Barrell (Man and the Himālayas arose simultaneously, towards the end of Miocene period over a million years ago) and Elliot Smith (the common ancestors of anthropoid apes and men probably occupied northern India during the Miocene epoch" Early Man pp. 3—7) discussing the origin of man do not disturb the settled theory about the original home of the Aryans.

145 For Kaitai of Ptoleny, Kathea of Strabo, Kataia of Arrian see Yule, Kathay I, p. '46 n. 2. For details regarding *Khitan* cp. Howorth, History of the Mongols I, Chapter I.

146 M. Pauthier believes that the statement of Manu describing the Chinese to have been degenerate Kṣātriyas may be partially correct and that people from India passed into Shan-si, the western most province of China, more than one thousand years before the Christian era and at that time formed a state named Thsin, the same word as Chin. According to Yule (Kathay I, p. 2) there is also in a part of the astronomical system of the two nations (India and China) the strongest implication of very ancient communication between them, so ancient as to have been forgotten even in the far-reaching annals of Chiña. A Conrody ("Indoarischer Einfluss in China in 4 Jahrtu hundert V. Christ" Z.D.M.G. 60 pp. 335—54) has shown in detail, a very

carried into almost all these lands the wheel of *Karma* and subsequently established it in Central Asia, China and further east.[147] And it may be instructive to note in this connection that Kāśmīr, which was the very stronghold of the *Kaṭhas* in earlier times, became, in later times, one of the most important and famous lands in the history of the spread and development of Buddhism.[148] In the literature of Buddhism we find frequent references to this region in terms of praise and admiration. The pious, learned and eloquent brotheren of this region seem to have had a great reputation even at the time of king Aśoka, who is represented as calling on the disciples of Buddha dwelling in *the charming city of Kāśmīr* to come to his council. It was, indeed, in Kāśmīr that under Kaniṣka, king of Gandhāra, the universal Buddhist council was held, which fixed and expanded the sacred canon. The Buddha himself is said to have prophecied that Kāśmīr would become rich and prosperous as *Uttaravat*, that Buddhism would flourish in it, the number of disciples being beyond counting and that Kāśmīr would be like Indra's pleasure-garden and it would be a real great Buddhist congregation.

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early connection between India and China in Philosophy, Medicine and Music etc., and all this would tempt to suggest a connection between the Indian Katha (=Egypt Khata) and the Chinese Kathay, but all the Mongolian authorities do explicitly connect the term Kathay with the Manchurian races.

[147] Cp. Beal, Si-yu-ki, Buddhism in China; Watters, on Yuan Chwang; C. Elliot, Hinduism and Buddhism. Accounts will be found in all general works on India like those of R. Grousser, de la Vallee-Poussin and P. Masson and others. For later influences in Central Asia see the work of Sir A. Stein and A. Von le Coq; for those in Paropamisadae the memoirs of the French Archeological Mission.

[148] Stein, Ancient Geog. of Kāśmīr pp. 13—20; Watters, on Yuan Chwang I, p. 264; M. Müller, Transactions of the ninth International Congress of Orientalists Vol. II, pp. 31-32; Nalinākṣadatta, Gilgit Manuscripts I, Intr. pp. 5—45.

Aśoka, Kaniṣka and Harśa held Buddhist councils and the first is said to hve sent out envoys, including his own brother and sister, all over India, Greece, Ceylon and other parts of the world for the propagation of Buddhism, and Buddhism held its own in lands far and wide, till, in India, Brahmanism[149] was revived in the form of Hinduism,[150] and sects like Śaivism,[151] Vaiṣṇavism emerged triumphant and Buddhism itself turned into a sort of *tantric*[152] religion, finally disappearing from

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[149] For details of the conflict between Buddhism and Hinduism cp. Goetz, Epochen d. indischen Kultur pp. 299—301, where he quotes Tāraānāth's History of Buddhism; for a different view cp. S. K. Iyangar, who says in his Beginnings of South Indian History, that the three rival systems of Brahmins, and those of the Jainas and Buddhists flourished together each with its own clientele unhampered by the others in the prosecution of its own holy rites.

[150] Buddhism itself was influenced by Hinduism; when Bhakti—the essence of Hinduism—began to penetrate Buddhism, may be uncertain, but it substituted devotion to the person of Buddha for the original idea of Buddha as a teacher, and was one of the factors which led to the divine Buddha of the Great vehicle. By about 100 B.C. the Bhāgavata religion was well-established in places as far distant as Taxila and Vidiśā as is shown by the column at Besnagar of Heliodorus the Bhāgavata from Taxila and by another column two miles away at Bhilsa, set up by a man named Bhāgavata in connection with the temple of Bhāgavata and dated in the reign of the Śuṅga king Bhāgavata. Details: Tarn, The Greeks in Bactria and India, p. 406.

[151] Śaivism having a history going back to the Chalcolithic Age or perhaps even further still, is the most ancient living faith in the world. It fell into disuse during the ascendancy of Buddhism. See Sir John Marshall, Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization, p. VII.

[152] Details: Goetz, Epochen, 302 ff, where he quotes Sādhanamālā tantra. Tantric Buddhism is represented in works like आर्यमंजुश्री मूलकल्प. सुवर्णप्रभास सूत्र and "Gilgit manuscripts" and is typified in :— बौद्धदेशेऽथर्ववेदे महाचीने सदाव्रज । तत्र गत्वा महाभावं विलोक्य मत्पदाम्बुजम् ॥ मत्कुलसो महर्षे त्वं महासिद्धो भविष्यसि Rudrayāmala, Patala, XVII. Tantric Buddhism is said to have had its origin in Kashmir: Calcutta Rev. 1933, pp. 229-30. Note also the rise of the Sahajiyā Sampradāya from Buddhism in the History of Bengali Language and Literature (Dineśacandra Sen), p. 38 ff; Sūryakānta, History of Hindi Literature, p. 132.

India proper. A curt reference to this rivalry between the two religions may be read in the following lines of the Svayambhū-purāṇa[153] :—

इति ज्ञात्वा मानवाश्च ब्रह्मक्षत्रियवैश्यजाः।
शूद्रादयोऽन्यलोकाश्च सदा बौद्धं प्रपूजितम् ॥

सदा बौद्धं प्रपूज्य च स्वयंभोश्च प्रभावतः।
लोकनाथ प्रभावाच्च सुभिख्यं च भविष्यति ॥

पुनरपि श्रृणु मैत्रेय असौ नेपाल वृत्तिकम्।
भूते दीर्घे वर्तमाने बौद्धधर्मं च केवलम् ॥

अनेकैर्जनसंकीर्णं भिक्षु भिक्षुण्युपासकैः।
बोधिसत्त्वै महासत्त्वैः वाशितं तत्र सर्वदा ॥

यस्मिन् स्वयंभूरुत्पन्ना द्विशेषैरत्र मंडले।
अद्यास्मिन्नपि काले च केवलं बुद्धधर्मकृत् ॥

इति ज्ञात्वा अत्रजा वा अन्यदायातजा अपि।
विशेषेणात्र नेपाले शंभूपूजां करोति च ॥

यदा भविष्ये काले च अत्र नेपालमंडले।
शैवधर्मं प्रवर्तंते दुर्भिक्षं च भविष्यति ॥

यथा यथा शैवधर्मं प्रवर्ततेऽत्र मंडले।
तथा तथा च अत्यर्थं दुःखपीडा भविष्यति ॥

बौद्धलोका गणा येऽपि शैवधर्मं करिष्यति।
ते सर्वे कृतपापा च नारकं च गमिष्यति ॥

शैवलोका जना येपि बौद्धधर्म प्रवर्तंते।
तस्य पुण्यप्रशादाच्च सुखावतीं गमिष्यति ॥

ये च या वा मनुष्यात्र बौद्धनिंदां करिष्यति।
ते सर्वे कृतपापाच पापभोग्यं करिष्यति ॥

मानुष्या ये च या वात्र बौद्धपूजां करिष्यति।
तस्य पुण्यप्रशादाच्च स्वर्गभोग्यं प्रापिष्यति ॥

And we know that religous rivalry between the Buddhists and Brahmins was acute at the time. When foreign hordes of the Śakas, Hūṇas, Ābhīras and Gurjaras were pouring into India from the northwest, and, being

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[153] Edited by M. M. Haraprasada Śāstrī, pp. 499-500.

befriended by the Buddhists, were causing unparalleled destruction of the Hindus as may be read in the following lines of the Yuga-purāṇa[154].—

तत स्तस्मिन् गते काले महायुद्ध सुदारुणे।
कृषिं नार्यः करिष्यन्ति लाङ्गलोल्वणपाणयः॥

दुर्लभत्वान्मनुष्याणां क्षेत्रे स्युस्ता धनुर्धराः।
प्रक्षीणाः पुरुषाल्लोके दिक्षु सर्वासु पर्वसु॥

तदा संघातशो नार्यो भविष्यन्ति न संशयः॥

It was, perhaps, during this period of tremendous destruction wrought by the Śakas in the Upper India that many of the Vedic schools disappeared and numerous sūtra works[155] on Śrauta and Gṛhya ritual were lost for ever. And it was, perhaps, during this period of confusion and destruction that the *Kāṭhaka-āmnāya*—the āmnāya of the foremost[156] race of the Yajurvedins—was lost and forgotten to such an extent that the author[157] of the Mahārṇava, while assigning the geographical position to

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154 Edited by K. P. Jāyasvāl in the J.B.O.R.S. Vol. XVI, 1930, p. 22.

155 Tradition seems to extend the same date to so monumental a work as Patāñjali's Mahābhāṣya, cp. Vākyapadīya II, 484—89:—

प्रायेण संक्षेपरुचीनल्पविद्या परिग्रहान्। संप्राप्य वैयाकरणान् संग्रहेऽस्तमुपागते॥
कृतेऽथ पतञ्जलिना गुरुणा तीर्थदर्शिना। सर्वेषां° न्यायबीजानां° महाभाष्ये निबन्धने॥
अलब्धगाधे गाम्भीर्यादुत्तान इव सौष्ठवात्। तस्मिन्नकृत बुद्धीनां° नैवा वास्थित निश्चयः॥
बैजि सौभवहर्यक्षैः शुष्कतर्कानुसारिभिः। आर्षे विप्लाविते ग्रन्थे संग्रहप्रति कञ्चुके॥
यः पतञ्जलिशिष्येभ्यो भ्रष्टो व्याकरणागमः। काले स दक्षिणात्येषु ग्रंथमध्ये व्यवस्थितः॥
पर्वतादागमं लब्ध्वा भाष्यबीजानुसारिभिः। स नीतो बहुशाखत्वं° चन्द्राचार्यादिभिः पुनः॥

See also Rājataraṅgiṇī IV, 488:—

देशान्तरादागमय्य व्याचक्षाणान् क्षमापतिः। प्रावर्तयत विच्छिन्नं महाभाष्यं स्वमण्डले॥

Details: Sūryakānta, Atharva-Prātiśākhya, Intr. p, 27. with literature quoted in foot notes.

156 See Kaiyaṭa on Mahābhāṣya to Pāṇini IV, 2.138, 3.101 with Weber, ind. Stud. XIII, p. 437 note.

157 Quoted by Mahidāsa in Çaraṇa-vyūha Khaṇḍa II.

the Vedic Śākhās, does not even mention the *Kāṭhaka* school :—

पृथिव्या मध्यरेखा च नर्मदा परिकीर्तिता।
दक्षिणोत्तरयोर्भागे शाखाभेदश्च उच्यते ॥

नर्मदा दक्षिणे भागे आपस्तम्ब्याश्वलायनी।
राणायनी पिप्पला च यज्ञकन्याविभागिनः ॥

माध्यंदिनी शांखायनी कौथुमी शौनकी तथा।
नर्मदोत्तर भागे च यज्ञकन्याविभागिनः ॥

तुङ्गा कृष्णा तथा गोदा सत्याद्रि (–ह्या ?) शिखरावधि।
आ आन्ध्र देशपर्यन्तं बह्वृचश्चाश्वलायनी ॥

उत्तरे गुर्जरे देशे वेदो बह्वृचकीर्तितः।
कौशीतकि ब्राह्मणं च शाखा शांखायनी स्थिता ॥

आन्ध्रादि दक्षिणाग्नेयी गोदासागर आवधि।
यजुर्वेदस्तु तैत्तिर्य आपस्तम्बी प्रतिष्ठिता ॥

सह्याद्रिपर्वतारंभाद्दिशां नैर्ऋत्य सागरात्।
हिरण्यकेशी शाखा च पर्शुरामस्य संनिधौ ॥

मयूर पर्वताच्चैव यावद्गुर्जरदेशतः।
व्याप्ता वायव्य देशात्तु मैत्रायणी प्रतिष्ठिता ॥

अङ्गवङ्गकलिङ्गाश्च कानीनौ गुर्जरस्तथा।
वाजसनीयशाखा च माध्यंदिनी प्रतिष्ठिता ॥

ऋषिणा याज्ञवल्क्येन सर्वदेशेषु विस्तृता।
वाजसनीयवेदस्य प्रथमा काण्वसंज्ञका ॥ इति ॥

Such was, then, the onslaught of the Buddhists, followed by that of the foreign hordes that the very name of the *Kaṭhas*—a people, who alone of all the Indians gave a successful battle to Alexander, was virtually forgotten and such was the confusion created by these numerous hordes that Vedic studies became virtually extinct in northern India, where they had their origin,[158] and had

[158] Details: Weber, Zwei Sagen ans dem Satapathabrāmaṇa über einwanderung und Verbreitung der Arier in Indieṇ . . . .

to take shelter in the south[159] of the Vindhya mountain as is evidenced by the following[160] :—

व्यास :—संप्राप्ते तु कलौ काले विन्ध्याद्रे रुत्तरे स्थिताः।
ब्राह्मणा यज्ञ रहिता ज्योतिःशास्त्र पराङ्मुखाः॥
अत्रि :—विन्ध्यस्योत्तर भागे तु संप्राप्तेतु कलौ युगे।
सिद्धान्तानां परिज्ञानं न कस्यापि भविष्यति॥
चतुःशतीं सप्तशतीं श्रीगीतास्तुतिमेव च।
वेदत्वेन ग्रहीष्यन्ति स्मार्तकर्म विवर्जिताः॥
जगन्मोहने—शते न्यूने सहस्राणां चतुष्कं तु कलौयुगे।
विन्ध्यस्योत्तर भागे स्यान्मूलागम परिक्षयः॥

Thus the Kaṭhas were slowly forgotten and their *āmnāya* fell into disuse and a convention came into being according to which the *adhvaryus* and the followers of the other three Vedas, were required to consult the texts of the Āpastamba and Baudhāyana, wherever and whenever necessary, the two schools of the Yajur-veda of which we find no mention in either Pāṇini[161] or Patañjali,[162] and which were, doubtless, not so popular as the *Kaṭhas* in the proper Vedic period. What were the precise causes of this transformation, and when or in what exact manner this transformation was effected, we may never be able to determine; but a direct reference to the results of such a movement is contained in the following lines quoted by Kṛṣṇa-bhaṭṭa on Nirṇaya-sindhu (pp. 1169-70) :—

यजुषां बहुशाखत्वात्संदेहे समुपस्थिते। कां शाखामवलम्बेरेन् तादृशीं बह्वृचादयः॥
आध्वर्यवं याजमानं ग्राह्यं बौधायनीयकम्। अन्यथा पतितो ज्ञेय इति बौधायनोऽब्रवीत्॥
आध्वर्यवं याजमानमाग्नीध्रं यच्च नोदितम्। तत्र बौधायनं ग्राह्यं बह्वृचादिभिरादरात्॥
(इति यज्ञकाण्डाभिधानात्)

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159 Regarding the approximate entry century of the Aryan penetration into the Deccan cp. Prof. Bhandarkar, Early History of Deccan, p. 8.

160 Quoted by R. Simon in Vedisihen Schulen pp. 57-58.

161 Āpastamba is, however, mentioned in (Bidādī) gaṇa to Pāṇini, IV, 1.04; Weber Vidādi Ind. Stud. I, p. 151) may be, accordingly, corrected.

162 Cp. Weber, Ind. Stud. XIII, pp. 436—445.

श्रौतं स्मार्तं च यत्कर्म स्वशाखायां न विद्यते।
बौधायनोक्तं तद्ग्राह्यं बह्वृचादिभिरादरात्॥
(इति त्रिकाण्डमण्डनाच्च)

वैतानिकाग्निकार्यं यत् स्वशाखायां न विद्यते।
आपस्तम्बोदितं ग्राह्यं बह्वृचादिभिरादरात्॥
बह्वृचः सामगश्चापि कुर्यादाध्वर्यवादिकम्।
आपस्तम्बेन वा प्रोक्तं तथा बौधायनेन वा॥

यज्ञकाण्डे :—

बह्वृचः सामगश्चापि स्वसूत्राभावतस्तथा।
आपस्तम्बेन वा प्रोक्त मितिशातातपोऽब्रवीत्॥
तत्र :—शाखिनामपि सर्वेषामभावे स्वप्रयोगिणाम्।
आपस्तम्बोक्तमार्गेण कर्त्तव्यं पुनरब्रवीत्॥
(इति वचनाद् बौधायनाभावे आपस्तम्बं ग्राह्यम्)

अन्यत्रापि:—

आपस्तम्बादिभिरपि स्वसूत्राभावतस्तथा।
बौधायनेन कर्त्तव्यमन्यथा पतितो भवेत्॥

The Kaṭhas—literature pertaining them.

And is it not curious that not a single direct reference do we find in the entire Sanskrit or any other literature bearing on the causes of the downfall of the *Kaṭhas* and their *āmnāya*, an *āmnāya* which could rightly boast of the forty-four[163] upagranthas and about which the Caraṇa-vyūha aptly remarked तन्नास्ति यन्नास्ति काठके i.e., *there is nothing, which is not found in the Kāṭhaka* and distant and very hazy though the historical facts may be which brought about this downfall and we may, perhaps, never hope to envisage them in their proper perspective, we note, during the period of Brahmanic revival the major literature, belonging to the Kaṭhas, becoming extinct and its honoured place taken by two schools of Baudhāyana and Āpastamba, both from the south. Whatever meagre litera-

ture belonging to the Kaṭhas could be discovered—and it was solely from Kāśmīr, thanks chiefly to its geographical position and the isolation resulting therefrom that it has preserved local tradition and literature comparatively better—is in a wretched condition, not excluding its Saṃhitā and the two Gṛhyasūtras. A fairly large number of Śrauta and Gṛhya passages occur in the various Kāśmīr *Paddhatis*, none of which has, as yet been published and all lying in the form of a confused mess.

Well, the existence of a Kāṭhaka-*Saṃhitā*, together with the two available Gṛhyasūtras, should ensure the existence of a Kāṭhaka-*brāhmaṇa*, and to this we find a positive reference in Jayanta-bhaṭṭa,[164] who says:—

तथा च काठकशताध्ययने ब्राह्मणे.........

It is just possible that the various śākhās belonging to the *Kaṭha*-caraṇa had their own distinct *Brāhmaṇas*, as two of them, indeed, have their own Gṛhyasūtras.

Quotations from a Kāṭhaka-śrautasūtra are numerous and the first Paṭala of a Kāṭhaka-śrautasūtra exists intact in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

A large amount of Gṛhya works exist in the form of Paddhatiṣ and Ṛcakas-replete, in themselves, with Brāhmaṇa passages, and a Laugākṣi-Smṛti exists, in a manuscript, in the Lalchand Library, Lahore.

And here, it may be worthwhile to give a brief resume of the work till now done in this field.

In 1855 Weber wrote on the division and orthography of the Kāṭhaka-Saṃhitā[165] and discussed, in detail, kin-

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[164] तथा शताध्ययनेऽपि Nyāyamañjarī, p. 254; तथा च काठकशताध्यने ब्राह्मणे ब्रह्मौदने श्रयते ibid. p. 258, the expression शताध्ययने may be noted, because it comes from Jayanta, who was probably a native of Kāśmīr. cp. Keith, Indian Logic and Atomism, p. 33, Caland Verse en Meded etc., p. 483. Śatādhyayana=consisting of 100 chapters; hence तन्नास्तियन्न काठके: for adhyayana=adhyāya cp. Jaina Works. Śatādhyayana=Yajurveda Madhusūdana Kaul, Langākṣi Gṛhyasūtra, Intr. p. 8.

[165] Ind. Stud. III, pp. 285-86.

dred matter, in his article[166] "Einiges über das Kāṭhakam".

In 1873, while reviewing, in detail, the Mahābhāṣya of Patañjali, he again established its bearing on the Kaṭhas.[167] In 1879 Schroeder took up the matter and wrote "Das Kāṭhakam[168] und die Maitrāyaṇī Saṃhitā. The same year, Jolly, utilizing, in collaboration with Barth and others the material procured by Bühler in Kāśmīr (1875) drew attention to the Kāṭhaka-Gṛhyasūtra in his article" Das Dharmasūtra des Viṣṇu und das Kāṭhaka-Gṛhyasūtra,[169] a portion of the same material being utilized by Caland in his Altindischer Ahnenkult (1893 pp. 65—77). In 1891 Schroeder wrote Die[170] Accentuation der Wiener Kāṭaka-Handschrift, in 1892 Die[171] Kāṭhaka-Handschrift des Dayaram Jotsi in Śrīnagara und ibre Accente, in 1895 Das[172] Kāṭhaka, seine Handschriften, science Accentuation und seine Beziehung zer den indischen Lexicographen und Grammatiken, in 1896 "Zwee[173] newerworbene Handschriften des K. K. Hafbibliothek in Wien nich Fragmented des Kāṭhaka" and in 1897 "Ein[174] neuentdecktes Ṛcaka der Kaṭha schule. In 1898 he published his "Kaṭha-Mandschriften"[175] in which he envisaged the probability of a Kāṭhaka-brāh-

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166 Ind. Stud. 451—79.

167 Ind. Stud. XIII, pp. 375, 436—43.

168 Monatsberichten der Königl. Akad, der Wiss. Zu Berlin, July session, 1879.

169 Sitzungsber. der Bayer Ak. der Wiss. 1879.

170 Z.D.M.G. 45.432 ff.

171 Z.D.M.G. 46, 427—31.

172 Z.D.M.G. 49, pp. 145—71.

173 Sitzungsber. der Kais. Ak. der Wiss, in Wien phil-hist. Klasse LXXXIII.

174 Z.D.M.G. 51, pp. 666—68.

175 Die Tübringer Kaṭha-Mondschriften und ihre Beziehung zunn Taittirīya Āraṇyaka in Sitzungsber. der Kais. Ak. d. Wiss.

maṇa. In 1900—10 he brought out his admirable edition of the Kāṭhaka-saṃhitā in three parts, to which, in 1912 R. Simon added his Index Verborum and Caland his learned textual criticism together with proposed emendations in his articles contributed to the Gottingische[176] Geleherte Anzeigeon and WZKM.[177]

In 1920 Caland[178] defined the probability of a Kāṭhaka-brāhmaṇa and edited a few Brāhmaṇa extracts as specimen. In 1922, he edited for the D.A.V. College, Lahore, the Kāṭhaka-Gṛhyasūtra, which was followed, in 1928, by Raghuvīra's collection of a Kāṭhaka-Śrautasūtra passages[179] gleaned from the printed Paddhati of Devayājnika. The same year Pt. Madhusūdana Kaul[180] brought out the first volume of his Laugakṣi-Gṛhyasūtra, followed by the second in 1934. In 1932 Raghuvira published his edition of the Kaṭha-Kapiṣṭhala-saṃhitā[181] and with that the Kaṭha-studies come to an end.

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[176] 1900, No. 9.

[177] XXIII, XXVI etc.

[178] Verse en Meded Kon. Ak. V. W. Afd. Lett. Ve. R. IVe dl. 1920.

[179] Oriental College Magazine, 1928.

[180] Kāśmīr Series of Texts and Studies Nos. XLIX, LV.

[181] Meharchand Lachman Das Sanskrit and Prakrit Series, Lahore No. I.

KULYAVĀPA, DROṆAVĀPA AND ĀḌHAVĀPA

BY

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In the age of the Guptas, the popular units of the measurement of area in Bengal are known to have been the Kulyavāpa, Droṇavāpa and Āḍhavāpa. According to the Pāhāṛpur copper-plate inscription of the Gupta year 159 (=A.D. 479), 4 Āḍhavāpas made 1 Droṇavāpa, and 8 Droṇavāpas made 1 Kulyavāpa (Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 347, n. 5). Since the introduction in the medieval period of the unit of measurement called Bighā (usually 80 square cubits), this one with its subdivisions has gradually ousted the older units and denominations from many parts of Bengal. But the Kulavāy (=ancient Kulyavāpa), Doṇ (ancient Droṇavāpa) and Āṛhā (ancient Āḍhavāpa) are still locally known in the eastern districts of Bengal and the adjoining western districts of Assam. It is however unfortunate that all the three denominations are not prevalent in the same locality, that the old relation of 1 Kulyavāpa=8 Droṇavāpas=32 Āḍhavāpas is totally forgotten, and that the Doṇ (=Droṇavāpa) which only is found in several places is different in area in different localities. The Kulavāy which is known from western Assam is equal to 14 Bighās, while the Āṛhā prevalent in the Mymensingh, Sindha, Darji Bazu, Raydam, Susang, Hussenshahi, Nasir Ujial, Khaliajuri and Baukhanda *Parganās* of the Mymensingh District is equal to about 4½ Bighās. The Doṇ is more widely distributed. In the Chittagong District the Doṇ is equal to about 21 Bighās;

but in the Noakhali District it is equal to about 100 Bighās in Sandvip and to about 144 Bighās in the Shaistanagar *Parganā*. As pointed out long ago by Hunter in *A Statistical Account of Bengal*, this difference in the measurement of the same unit is due to the fact that the length of the measuring rod and also of the cubit is different in different localities. Usually a measuring rod was 14 cubits and a cubit 18 inches long. In Sandvip, however, the length of the cubit was 20¾ inches, while, in the Shaistanagar *Parganā*, that of the measuring rod was no less than 22 cubits. Now a days, 1 cubit = 18 inches and 1 *nala* (measuring rod) = 16 cubits, as standardized by the Government, have ousted the earlier lengths noticed by Hunter, and 1 Doṇ is now taken, according to the Government standard, to be equal to 76 Bighās in the Noakhali District. In the Rangpur District, where the ancient unit is lost but the name still survives, the Bighā is known by the name Doṇ. In the Hazradi, Kasipur, Nawabad, Barikandi, Joar Hussenpur, Kurikhai, Julandar, Balarampur and Idghar *Paraganās* of the Mymensingh District, the Doṇ is equal to about 17 Bighās, but in the Nikli, Juanshahi and Latifpur *Parganās*, it is equal to about 51 Bighās. Hunter does not refer to the Doṇ prevalent in other localities, e.g., in the Tipperah District. It will be seen from the above accounts that the actual area respectively indicated by the Kulyavāpa, Droṇavāpa and Āḍhavāpa in the Gupta age has little to do with that represented by the modern Kulavāy, Doṇ and Āṛhā, as they do not conform to the old relation of 1 Kulyavāpa = 8 Droṇavāpas = 32 Āḍhavāpas and as the Doṇ is now known to signify quite different areas in different localities. Apparently the area of all of them has changed in course of time, especially owing to the difference in the length of the cubit and the measuring rod in different localities. Attention in this connection may

be drawn to the early practice of using a rod 4 cubits long for ordinary measurement but that of the length of 8 cubits for measuring Brahmadeya lands (Sircar, *Successors of the Sātavāhanas*, pp. 186n, 330n). But how can we have an idea about the original area of the Kulyavāpa, Droṇavāpa and Āḍhavāpa?

The words *Kulyavāpa*, *Droṇavāpa* and *Āḍhavāpa* indicate the area of land that was required to sow seed-grains of the weight respectively of one *kulya*, *droṇa* and *āḍhaka* (cf. *Amarakośa*, Vaiśyavarga, V. 10). Pargiter who tried to determine the area of a Kulyavāpa as known from the Faridpur plates (*Ind. Ant.*, XXXIX, p. 195 ff.) rightly pointed out that the staple food of Bengal is rice and the most important grain is paddy and that according to the *Raghuvaṃśa* (IV. 36-37) the usual practice especially in Central Bengal was to plant in the cultivated land the seedlings taken out from another field where the paddy seeds had been originally sown. This is the system followed in rice cultivation in many parts of Bengal even today. Pargiter therefore suggested that the Kulyavāpa indicated that area of land which was required to plant the seedlings of paddy seeds one *Kulya* in weight. Unfortunately the learned scholar did not know the actual weight of a *kulya* of grain. He had moreover to explain the passage *ashṭaka-navaka-nalen=āpaviñchya* used in the Faridpur plates in connection with the measurement of a Kulyavāpa. He suggested that 1 Kulyavāpa of land was 9 *nalas* in length and 8 *nalas* in breadth, and further conjectured the length of a *nala* or measuring rod to have been 16 cubits and that of a cubit 19 inches. Accordingly, the area of a Kulyavāpa in Pargiter's calculation was a little above one acre ($=3\frac{1}{40}$ Bighās). The conclusion is however apparently conjectural. We have now to explain another expression *shaṭka-naḍair=apaviñchya* used in connection with the measurement of a Kulyavāpa in the

Pāhārpur copper-plate inscription, which would thus indicate an area only 6 × 6 *nalas*. It will be seen that an *ashṭaka-navakanala* Kulyavāpa would be much larger than a *shaṭka-nala* Kuylavāpa.

According to the Faridpur plates, the price of one Kulyavāpa of land was 4 *dīnāras* (gold coins) which, according to the Bāigrām copper-plate inscription (Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, p. 343n.), were equal to 64 *rūpakas* (silver coins). Now the purchasing power of a Gupta Rupee was apparently much higher than that of our Rupee. From an analysis of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Moreland (*India at the Death of Akbar*, p. 52) has shown that a Rupee of Akbar's time (1556—1605 A.D.) was equal to no less than six modern Rupees even in the estimate of 1912, *i.e.*, of a period prior to the First World War. The economic condition of eastern India of the Gupta age as noticed by Fa-hian who, in his dealings with the people of this region, never saw any coin but used only cowries, possibly suggests that the purchasing power of a Gupta Rupee was even higher than that of an Akbari Rupee. It thus seems to be probable that 64 Gupta Rupees were equal to no less than 640 modern Rupees in a quite moderate estimate. It should also be remembered that the price of cultivable land depends much on that of its produce. When one Rupee was the proper price of eight maunds of rice (as is traditionally known to have been the case even during Shaista Khan's rule in Bengal), the price of land was undoubtedly much lower than it is today. Many parts of the Faridpur District are thinly populated and settlers may even now get land in those localities on incredibly easy terms. The inscriptions, again, speak of a fixed price of Government land for a large area (*vishaya*). It is therefore highly improbable that 64 Rupees would be the proper price of one acre = 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ Bighās of land in the Gupta age. That the Kulyavāpa indicated a much larger

According to a persistent tradition followed by the Bengali authorities on Smṛiti, such as Kullūka Bhaṭṭa (15th century), Raghunandana (16th century) and Pañchānana Tarkaratna, 8 *mushṭis* or handfuls = 1 *Kuñchi*; 8 *Kuñchis* or 64 handfuls = 1 *pushkala; 4 pushkalas* or 256 handfuls = 1 *Āḍhaka*; 4 *Āḍhakas* or 1024 handfuls = 1 Droṇa. That this refers to the measuring of paddy is perfectly clear from the fact that the verse in question is quoted by Kullūka to explain the expression *dhānya-droṇa* in Manu, VII, 126. According to Pañchānana Tarkaratna who has translated the *Manusaṃhitā* into Bengali and the Bengali compilers of the *Śabdakalpa-druma*, 1 *Āḍhaka* = 16 or 20 modern Bengali seers, and 1 *Droṇa* = 1 maund 14 seers or 2 maunds. According to the lexicographer Medinīkara, 8 *Droṇas* (8192 handfuls) = 1 *Kulya*. A *Kulya* of paddy seeds would thus be equal to 12 maunds 32 seers or 16 maunds. These are the traditional weight of the *Kulya*, *Droṇa* and *Āḍhaka* as recognised by the Bengali authors, especially writers on Smṛiti who apparently relied on the authority handed down from old through a succession of preceptors. The traditional weight can moreover be tested by a measurement of 8192 handful of paddy for a *Kulya*. It should be noticed moreover that the scheme of 1 *Kulya* = 8 *Droṇa* = 32 *Āḍhaka* perfectly tallies with the other scheme of 1 Kulyavāpa = 8 Droṇavāpas = 32 Āḍhavāpas. It is therefore clear that one Kulyavāpa of land required seedlings of 12 maunds 32 seers or 16 maunds of paddy.

Both the systems of planting seedlings and of sowing seeds are prevalent in Bengal, the first in some parts and the second in others. In some localities, *e.g.*, the Faridpur District, both the practices are followed. A cultivator of the Koṭālipāṛā region of the Faridpur District informs me that one maund of paddy seeds is required for 3 Bighās for sowing, while seedling of the same weight

of paddy require 10 Bighās for planting. Seedlings of one *Kulya* (=12 maunds 32 seers or 16 maunds) of paddy would thus require 128 Bighās or 160 Bighās of land for plantation. A Kulyavāpa was therefore originally equal to 128 to 160 Bighās, a Droṇavāpa to 16 to 20 Bighās, and an Āḍhavāpa to 4 to 5 Bighās. Even if we believe that the original calculation was based on the system of sowing seeds and not of transplanting seedlings, the position would be: 1 Kulyavāpa=38 to 48 Bighās; 1 Droṇavāpa=4½ to 6 Bighās; 1 Āḍhavāpa=1⅛ to 1½ Bighās. But this seems to have been hardly the case.

THE NIDHIS: ŚAṄKHA AND PADMA

BY

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India has always been the fabulous land of wealth and treasure. Her smiths and craftsmen fashioned the most lovely jewels. Ornaments of burnished gold curiously wrought and gem-set adorned the limbs of people of this land. Gems and pearls were assiduously collected and their fame was great. In the land of such wealth subtle notions of wealth developed. A great and benevolent king could bring down a treasure storm and provide his people with a flow of coins, silk and grain. Deities presiding over wealth could confer their choice blessings on their devotees. Wealth in different forms was taken into account and a classification of treasures evolved. Nine treasures were distinguished and every one of them had a presiding deity. The lord of wealth Kubera had all these treasures about him; but his wealth was itself due to the constant presence of Lakshmī in his mansion सदा भगवती लक्ष्मीस्तत्रैव नलकूबर (Mahābhārata ii. 10. 18). Lakshmī the highest deity presiding over auspiciousness and wealth rose from the milky ocean and from her lotus seat stepped on to the chest of Nārāyaṇa who chose her as his spouse. All objects of auspiciousness and treasures are associated with this Lady of Riches and Luck. Standing beside the Wishing Tree, Kalpadruma, as the assurer of bestowal of all that is desired, she has given the sculptor the famous Tree and Woman motif so famous in Indian art. Seated on the lotus and bathed by a pair of elephants with water

from golden pitchers she is associated with pūrṇakalaśas or over-flowing vases which symbolise plenty. Water-born she is bathed with water and suggests a perennial flow of plenty. Her abode, the lotus, is an auspicious object and one of the most important of Nidhis or treasures. Allied to the Kalaśa or pitcher as an abhisheka-pātra or bathing vessel is the conch, usually placed on Kūrmapṛshṭha, a stand shaped like a tortoise. The conch also symbolises a flow of the water of plenty and is an important Niḍhi or treasure. The tortoise stand beneath it is also a symbol of the Kacchapanidhi. The flower with which water is taken out of the conch to sprinkle the deity and other articles used in worship symbolises the flowers that represent other Nidhis. In all these cases the sprinkling or flow of the water of plenty is noteworthy as this is closely allied to a *dhārā* or flow of gold and gems and wealth of all kind. This is all the more interesting as Pṛthvī is also called Vasundharā a concept which suggests the origin of the later Buddhist Vasudhārā. Pṛthvī also rests on the tortoise. Her place beside Nārāyaṇa is to the left near the conch while that of Lakshmī is to the right near the lotus. And when we consider there is a specific direction to the sculptor to represent Bhūdevī just where the head of Nārāyaṇa as Varāha holds the conch it becomes obvious that there is a link between the conch and Bhūdevī just as there is connection between Lakshmī and the lotus यस्मिन्भुजे धरा देवी तत्र शंखः करेभवेत् (Vishṇudharmottara iii. 79, 6).

The association of the Nidhis with water and its perennial flow assuring plenty is clear when we see that all the Nidhis are in some way or other connected with water. The lotus, lily, conch, tortoise, makara all originate from water. And the two principal Nidhis śaṅkha and padma are held by Nārāyaṇa the lord abiding in water, and flank Varuṇa the Lord of waters and Lakshmī

Kshīrasāgarakanyakā the lady born of the milky ocean. The tortoise and makara, two Nidhis, serve as the vehicle of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, river goddesses. Pūrṇakalaśas are always to be represented as overflowing vases. The vase full of water represents Varuṇa, Śrī or Lakshmī and river goddesses. These aquatic associations are noteworthy in the Nidhis.

All this is significant when it is laid down that Nidhis are to be represented as overflowing vases with conch or lotus as the case may be to distinguish varieties निधीनां दर्शयेत्कुम्भं शङ्खं शङ्खस्य दर्शयेत्। पद्मं पद्मस्य राजेन्द्र शेषाणामनुरूपतः॥ (Vishṇudharmottara iii. 82. 55). This is one of the symbolic representations of Nidhis. The representation of Maṅgalakalaśas with lotuses in them is itself symbolie of Lakshmī Kalaśābdhisambhavā flanking the gate as at Sanchi, Bharhut, etc., and as described in the Rāmāyaṇa as adorning the gate of the Pushpaka palace of Rāvaṇa. As Lakshmī has Nidhis always in attendance on her the Kalaśas symbolise these as well. But pointed attention to the Nidhis is sought by the representation of the lotus and conch on the mangalakalaśas. An early representation of this is on two small marble carvings in late Amaravati style of work which is typical of carving in the Krishna valley in the 3rd century A.D. These carvings are in the collection of antiquities with Rao Bahadur S. T. Srinivasagopalachariar, Advocate, Madras High Court of Judicature, with whose kind permission they are reproduced here. (Figs. 1 and 2).

Śaṅkhanidhi (Fig. 1) is represented as a conch on a lotus-filled vase full of water. Coins ooze from the conch and flow out as a thick roll of coins. Padmanidhi (Fig. 2) is similarly represented as a lotus-filled vase; and a thick slightly longer roll of coins issues from it as from the conch. These two should have flanked a gate or doorway of some Buddhist or Hindu structure of the 3rd cen-

tury A.D. Though the exact find place of these two carvings is not known they are clearly from some place in the Krishna valley near about Amaravati, Jaggayyapeta or Nagarjunakonda. These Nidhis resting on Pūrṇakalaśas flanking doorways came later to be represented in Chālukyan doorways as dwarfish guardians of the treasures Padma and Śaṅkha placed beside the overflowing water pots.

The two nidhis Śaṅkha and Padma as auspicious objects flank deities presiding over wealth like Kubera and Śrī and the Vishṇudharmottara describes Kubera's eyes as resting over the Nidhis as he is seated with his spouse. शङ्खपद्मौ निधी कार्यौ स्वरूपौ निधिसंस्थितौ। शङ्खपद्मान्तनिष्क्रान्तं वदनं तस्य पार्श्वतः (Vishṇudharmottara iii. 53. 6). Similarly in the description of Lakshmī attended by elephants that bathe her these two treasures flank the goddess.

आवर्ज्जित घटंकार्यं तत्पृष्ठे कुञ्जरद्वयं॥ देव्याश्च मस्तके पद्मं तथा कार्यं मनोहरम्।
सौभाग्यं तद्विजानीहि शङ्खमृद्धिं तथापरम्॥ बिल्वं च सकलं लोकमपां सारामृतं तथा।
पद्मं लक्ष्मीकरे विद्धि विभवं द्विजपुङ्गव॥ हस्तिद्वयं विजानीहि शङ्खपद्मावुभौ निधी।
समुत्थिता वा कर्तव्या शङ्खाम्बुजकरा तथा॥

(Vishṇudharmottara, iii. 82. 7—10). The last line describes Lakshmī standing and herself carrying in her hands lotus and conch. She is dvibhujā, possessing only a single pair of arms. An excellent example of Lakshmī in this attitude is to be found on the Kācha type of Gupta coin (Fig. 3) where Śrī is represented as a lady carrying the cornucopia in one hand and the lotus in the other. The cornucopia is only a modification of the conch of plenty. Śrī flanked by Nidhis has an exellent representation in a small sculpture from Kāveripākkam in North Arcot District now preserved in the Madras Museum (Fig. 4). She is represented as the Śrīvatsa symbol almost transformed into human form. The head and trunk are human but the hands and legs curve off to form the Śrīvatsa mark which symbolises Śrī. Beside her are two

auspicious lamps. Śrī is seated on a lotus and elephants bathe her with golden pitchers. लक्ष्मीर्दिव्यैर्गजेन्द्रैर्मणिगणखचितैः स्नापिता हेमकुम्भैर्नित्यं सा पद्महस्ता मम वसतु गृहे सर्वमाङ्गल्ययुक्ता॥ (Śrīsūkta) The lamps beside her are *maṅgalya* as also the Nidhis on either side of her. These form an explanation of the line *sarvamāṅgalyayuktā.* The description in the Vishṇudharmottara is also answered by the presence of the Śaṅkha and Padma Nidhis. Here again the conch and lotus are shown with thick coin rolls oozing out of them. This is another example of symbolic representation of the Nidhi.

The earliest symbolic representation of these two Nidhis now known to us from which these later examples are derived and have preserved almost identical form is the famous Kalpadruma capital from Besnagar now preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta (Fig. 5). This Kalpadruma capital is one of the most interesting of the ancient dhvajastambha capitals found in India. It is of the second century B.C. and combines in itself all elements of treasure, wealth and fulfilment of desires. The Kalpavṛksha or the wishing tree assures everything desired. The Nidhis equally assure wealth and plenty. And bags of money and the Śaṅkha and Padmanidhis are carved in between its long pendent roots of the tree whose foliage is arranged as a special mass. The conch and the lotus are splendid examples of the carver's work and the coins oozing from them are the early punch-marked ones. But the Kalpadruma is a special tree associated with Indra and not with Kubera. In the Bhaja cave there is a good example of the Kalpavṛksha in association with Indra. But the Kalpadruma as an auspicious assurer of wealth and plenty has its affinities with the Nidhis and in early Buddhist and Sanskrit literature treasures are generally associated with the roots of trees; and there is appropriateness in bringing

together the tree and the treasures. But Kubera's mark on his standard and temple column is a gadā or club वरूणस्य तथा पाशं गदां च धनदस्य वै (Vishṇudharmottara, iii. 94. 41). Other pillar capitals found at Besnagar like the makara and tāladruma answer the prescribed description for their respective deities though unfortunately the Garuḍa of the Vāsudeva temple standard erected by Heliodorus has not yet been traced. An examination of the silhouette of the Kalpadruma standard shows a short stumpy gadā or club. Yakshas are short and dwarfish and their weapons are also shaped to suit them. An excellent example of a short club of that type handled by a dwarf is to be seen among the sculptures from Amaravati (Sivaramamurti, Amaravati Sculptures in the Madras Government Museum pl. X, 18). It is thus a combination in gadā of elements of auspiciousness, wealth and treasures which speaks of the skill of the artist who executed it.

Kālidāsa describes the Śaṅkha and Padmanidhis as painted in anthropomorphic form on either side of the doorways of the Yaksha mansions in Alakā. There are numerous representations of these Nidhis as dwarfs seated beside conch and lotus from which issue a thick roll of coins. The coin roll gets somewhat lengthened and curls up in late Pallava representations of the Nidhis of which we have an excellent example from Kāveripākkam preserved in the Madras Museum (Figs. 6 and 7). Here the dwarfs are represented like any of the usual Śivagaṇas with short quaint limbs wearing karaṇḍa makuṭa, patrakuṇḍala, hāra, keyūras, udarabandha and pushpayajñopavīta. Two conches or lotuses from above on either side show coins in a thick roll curling at the tail end. The same type is also found in early Chālukya temples of which numerous examples may be seen in the Canarese districts. The coin roll is here very elongate and almost forms a niche for the dwarf.



Fig. 1.—शंखनिधि Conch on a Full Vase



Fig. 2.—पद्मनिधि Lotus on a Full Jar (From Amarāvatī)



Fig. 3.—Kācha coin showing on the reverse Lakshmī with lotus and cornucopia.



Fig. 4.—Lakshmī in the form of Śrivatsa symbol, flanked by Śankha and Padma nidhis.

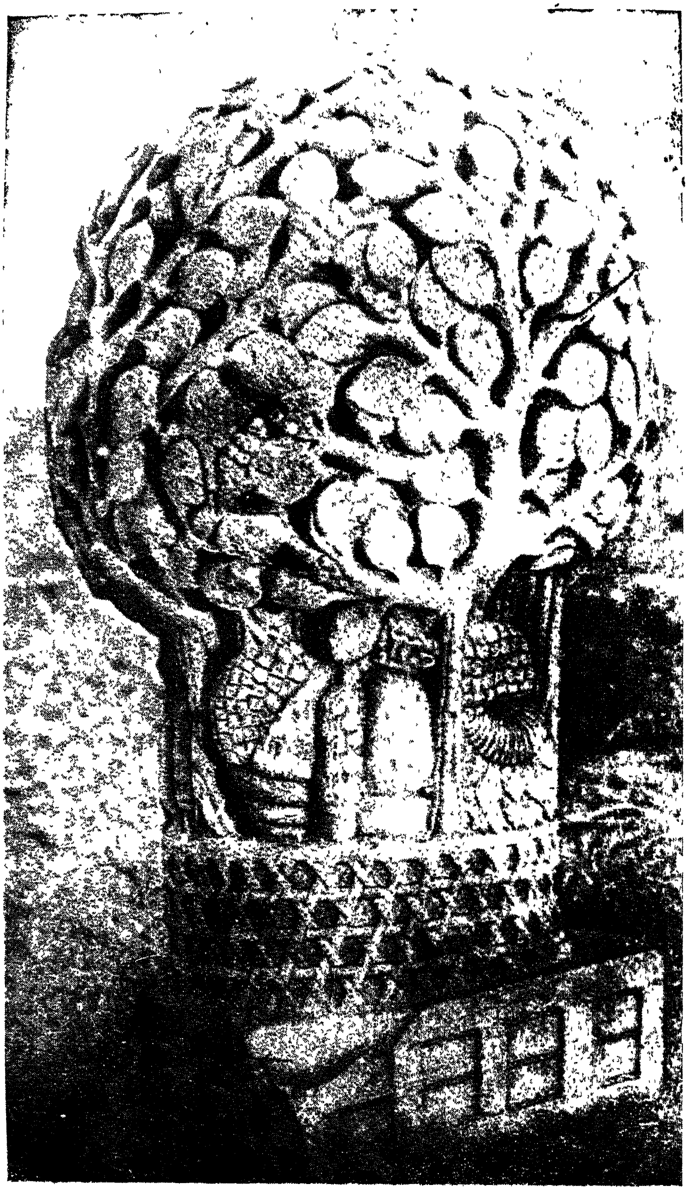


Fig. 5.—Kalpadruma with Śankha and Padma nidhis oozing out punch-marked coins.



Fig. 6.—A Dwarf with two Conch nidhis emitting strings of coins



Fig. 7.—A Dwarf flanked by Padma nidhis with rolls coins.

ENGLISH SOCIAL LIFE IN INDIA A HUNDRED YEARS AGO

BY

DR. T. G. P. SPEAR.

The first thirty years of the 19th century in India was for the English a parallel to the Regency period. To the eye of posterity magnificent and luxurious enough, to themselves it was but the afterglow of former glory. Gone were the spacious days of the Nabobs, when every merchant was a politician and every politician a merchant, when fortunes could be made, lost in England, and made again in the course of a few years. For if English life in India even to-day seems comfortable enough and even opulent compared to contemporary standards in England, it must always be remembered that compared to the past it is simple and almost frugal. The original model for the Nabobs of Clive's day was the "omrahs" of the Moghul empire. They were noblemen and officials and landed gentry rolled into one and their salaries, as laid down in the *Ain-i-Akbari* were enormous. The English merchants, in the first flush of the conquest of Bengal and the Carnatic took their standards as their own. But they forgot the corresponding obligations of the Moghul officer or *mansabdar*—the maintenance of troops and the care of a district; and it was this perhaps which lay at the root of the odium they incurred, in India as well as in England. The first reduction came with the reforms of Clive's

[1] At the outset I desire to express my grateful thanks to Prof. C. M. Trevelyon, O. M., for permission to quote from the letters of Sir C. E. Trevolyan; to Mrs. Hardcatte, for permisson to use the autogiography of Lady Clive Bayley; and to Miss M. E. Clive Bayley, for permission to quote the letters of Lord Metcalfe to his sister.

second governorship, when it was mournfully recognised that a fortune could no longer be made in five years. But fortunes *could* still be made, by means of private trade and the perquisites of the residencies of Indian courts. Murshidabad, Benares and Lucknow were recognised roads to fortune. The next blow came with the reforms of Cornwallis. Private trade was forbidden to all but the commercial officers of the company, and his opinion of the standards of the time is shown by his supersession of the whole Bengal Board of Revenue. Ample salaries were substituted for these faded perquisites,—salaries which seem immense to-day, but which represented a substantial reduction on previous standards.

Cornwallis was the real founder of the Indian Civil Service, as well as of the Indian administrative machine. From his time the conception of public duty steadily replaced that of private gain as the principle of public service in the Company, until it became eventually something of a religion. So we find that whereas the young Company's servants before Cornwallis' time went out mainly to make a fortune, they subsequently adventured in order to make a name. Both types were still of course to be found, but the balance of emphasis was changed. The man who wanted a fortune went now to the Commercial branch of the Service, which through its liberty of private trade, remained lucrative until its abolition in 1834. But the man ambitious of fame and power, who formerly went into the army, or aspired to seats on the Presidency Councils, now looked to the Political Department. During the first half of the century the rising hopes of the Company's service were the young "politicals". The avenues of promotion lay through the residencies and agencies up-country. Young civilians pulled wires to serve under a Metcalfe or a Malcolm; young officers like Henry Lawrence sought transfers to political

employment to the disgust of their less fortunate brethren. It was the age of the Maratha wars and settlement and the Rajput treaties, of Ranjit Singh and the Afghan wars, of Sind and the Russian bogey. Colonel Tod settled Rajputana in his thirties, Metcalfe negotiated with Ranjit Singh in his early twenties, and Trevelyan was first assistant to the Delhi Resident at the age of twenty-one. It was no wonder that aspiring spirits looked to the north-west and that the most capable as well as the most picturesque figures of the time were to be found there. It is this, I believe, which goes far to explain a fact noticed by many travellers of the period, that the society of the north-west was not only less formal and more sociable, but also more interesting and stimulating than that to be found elsewhere in India.

The main settlements of Calcutta and Madras did not greatly change during this period. Madras enjoyed a stationary prosperity after the long turmoil of the Mysore wars and the complicated corruptions of Benfield, the Nawab of Arcot and their circle had been ended. It was steadily outstripped both in wealth and significance by Calcutta. The Englishman's life was much the same as in the time of Cornwallis. He rose at dawn (unless he was an eager young "griffin,"[2] who was apt to go to bed about then) rode out in the cool of the morning, and breakfasted about ten o'clock. Then he went to his office till four o'clock. An evening ride or drive on the *maidan* followed. Then came dinner to wind up the day. This meal had once been at midday, but was finally fixed in the evening by Lord Wellesley. To sustain the bodily frame during midday the new meal of tiffin was introduced. This was theoretically light but in practice was often really a second dinner. So foreign visitors like Jacque-

[2] See Asiatic Review Apr., Oct., 1937. Art. by M. Philip Morrell. A French Traveller in India a Hundred Years Ago.

mont still had good cause to marvel at the hardihood of the English digestion, or rather at the heaviness of the burden placed upon it. Drunkenness had much decreased, but heavy drinking was still the rule, and that English tendency, an unwillingness to join the ladies, a very marked characteristic. "Every one about me," wrote Jacquemont in Calcutta, "goes about taking his three meals, and religiously abstains from all mixture of water with the strongest wines of Spain and Portugal." "They remain at table for hours after dinner in company with numerous bottles which are kept in constant circulation. How can one help drinking? I smoked like a steam engine, in order to let the bottles pass without making them deviate from their elliptic orbit round our oval able. But I was obliged to do like others. Hence—disturbed sleep, indistinct ideas next morning, and the necessity of galloping about a couple of hours like the English in order to digest the dinner of the preceeding day."

This heavy eating and drinking went on in spite of the fact that all the hardest workers observed a strictly simple rule of life. Cornwallis with his glass of wine and a biscuit at ten o'clock for supper, Malcolm, who drank no wine, Elphinstone, who sipped his glass of water in the midst of his almost legendary hospitality, Metcalfe, and Bentinck who was nicknamed the Pennsylvanian Quaker, all demonstrated the fact that the man who meant to work and to last found it necessary to live simply. Some of this good living was offset by vigorous exercise, mainly on horseback, but in itself it easily accounts for the well known mortality of the East.

Hookah smoking was still very prevalent, but it began to decline in the Thirties. It had the advantage

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[3] Victor Secyeremont, Letters from India, Lond., 1834, I. 92.

[4] Cuvanagh, Reminscences of an Indian Official, p. 14.

that it was permissible in the presence of ladies. There had even been a time when it was a delicate compliment to offer a lady a puff from your hooka, for which purpose a supply of spare mouthpieces was kept. But now a cheaper substitute in the shape of cigars began to find favour. As with whiskey, they were at first considered unfit for a gentleman, but by the forties they were alternative to the hookah,[5] and after the Mutiny virtually replaced it. One reason for the hookah's disappearance was no doubt the expense, for a hookah required a special servant, the *hookah-burdar*. But another was the fashion of deprecating everything eastern which was steadily gathering force during these years. It was specially potent from 1830 onwards, when the reforming ideas of England were transplanted in India to blossom in the form of a militant westernism.

During these years there was a marked improvement in the position of the ladies in the major settlements. This was due both to their increase in numbers, and to the influence of the wives of the Governor-Generals. About 1800, it was reckoned that there were only 500 ladies to 2500 men in the Bengal Presidency.[6] Their cause was not helped by the example of those in authority, and masculine manners were sometimes so crude that the ladies would wait in vain in the drawing room for the men to leave the fast circulating bottles. But, more specially from the time of Lady Minto, successive Governor-General's wives raised the tone of manners to something like its normal level. People still complained of their lack of conversation and good breeding. The Calcutta marriage market was still a dumping ground for

[5] W. Hoffmeister. Travels in Ceylon and Continental India, Edin., 1848.

[6] T. Williamson, E. India Vade Mecum, 2 vols. Lond., 1810.

[7] Enity Eden, Letters from India, Lond., 1872, I. 197.

English "spares" but the atmosphere was quite different to that of the eighties. A typical day is thus described by Emily Eden in her charming "Letters from India". "We breakfast at nine and dawdle about the hall for a quarter of an hour reading the papers, etc., and doing a little civility to the household; then Fanny and I go to the drawing-room and work and write till twelve, when I go up to my own room and read and write till two. Fanny stays downstairs as she likes it better than her own room. I do my shopping too at this hour; the natives come with work, and silks and anything they think they have a chance of selling, and sometimes one picks up a tempting article in the way of work. At two we all meet for lunch, and George brings with him anybody who may happen to be doing business with him at the time. Fanny generally pays . . . . a visit, and I pay George a short one after luncheon, and then I go to my own room and I have three hours and a half comfortably by myself. I draw to a great amount and was making a lovely set of costumes, but my own pursuits have been cut in upon by other people. One person wants a picture of a sister she has lost touched up, and in fact renewed, as the damp has utterly destroyed it. Another has a picture of a brother in England, in a draped cloak and with flowing hair and the picture is only lent to her, and he is such a darling, only she has not seen him for some years, and if I could make a copy of it etc. There are no professional artists in Calcutta, except one who paints a second rate sort of sign posts, and though I cannot make much of all these likenesses, yet it feels like a duty to help anybody to a likeness of a friend at home, and it is one of the very few good natured things it is possible to do here so I have been very busy the last ten days making copies of these pictures.

To finish our day; at six we go out. George and I

ride every day now; Fanny about once in three times. At 7-30 we dress, dine at eight, and at ten go off to bed."

Though she was the Governor General's sister, the picture is broadly true of any official's lady. The two great enemies were the boredom of the long daily vigils indoors, and the hot weather, from which until the thirties there was no escape at all, and even then only for a few. Miss Eden was fortunate in having drawing to occupy her time, but there were many who had nothing to fill the long hours of seclusion, with no sound but the swishing of the punkah, and no company but the servants of the house. The blank spaces were too easily filled in the traditional gossip and petty quarrels of Indian life. Their existence has to be admitted, but it is fair to remember these unpromising predisposing conditions.

The general tone of the settlement had undoubtedly greatly improved since the time of Warren Hastings. Several causes were responsible for this, of which the first was undoubtedly the example of the incorruptible Cornwallis. Next must be reckoned the increasing number of English women, which made an English domestic life possible, and then the influence of the Evangelical school of chaplains which was sustained from the chaplaincy of David Brown to the episcopate of Daniel Wilson. A further influence was the appearance of Englishmen of weight and maturity in the shape of the judges, who upheld English standards of thought and conduct to the easy going servants of the Company. Their appearance and their claims were bitterly resented both privately and sometimes publicly, but their salutary influence is undeniable. They provided most of what there was of learning and nearly all of the independence in the settlements.

The results of all these influences were manifest by the thirties. Drinking, though still heavy, was much

less than in the days when every man had his bottle of claret for dinner as a matter of course. Another old Indian institution, the zenana, began to fall into the background. No longer did the English mansion have its zenana attached, built in Indian style. The custom lingered on up country and among the planters. The soldiers and sailors also married Anglo-Indian (Eurasian) girls instead of making the former connections with bazar women. The Anglo-Indian community, already considerable, began to be recruited by marriages of Europeans with Anglo-Indian women, instead of by more or less irregular connections with Indian women.

A very marked change had also occurred in the attitude of the English to religion. There was a time when the only use of the church bells was to tell people when it was Sunday, but the joint efforts of the chaplains and the governors had changed all that. Lord Wellesley had helped matters on by installing punkahs in the Calcutta church (twenty years after they were in every civilian's mansion). With the appointment of a Bishop in 1814 the chaplains acquired their "Burra sahib" and correspondingly gained prestige. Bishop Middleton acquired respect by looking and acting the part of prelate, and Bishop Heber something more by his gracious enthusiasm and his cultured zeal. Metcalfe wrote of him, "Had I not seen the Apron, I should not have guessed who it was, for he does not look the Bishop so much as his predecessor Middleton, who was very stately and dignified. But Heber is more generally liked and is I believe very amiable. The wits of Calcutta call him and his wife Heber and Sheber."[8]

Bishop Daniel Wilson was masterful and witty; well liked by the laity, and feared by his clergy. He had something of the unconventionality and rugged simplicity

[8] Clive Bayley MSS. Metcalfe to his sister, 10 Dec., 1834.

of the late Archbishop Temple. Emily Eden relates two anecdotes of him.[9]

"We hear he is very amusing; he always says something very odd in his sermons, particularly if he sees his hearers inattentive. Several people have told me that they heard him say in the cathedral—"You wont come to church. Some of you say it is too hot," and then he wiped his face; "I myself feel like a boiled cabbage, but here I am preaching away." There was a sort of service here in this house when the W. Bentincks went away, and in praying against the perils of the deep he quite forgot he was praying and began describing his own sufferings, 'When I ran up from Singapore to Ceylon I never felt anything like it; the ship rolled here and there; I was so giddy, I was obliged to hold on by the table."

The new respect in which the clergy were held and the stricter conditions of service combined to produce a strain of serious fatalistic theism, which equated religion with duty, and for whom duty was "The stern daughter of the voice of God." Theologically they were perhaps Calvinistic, but their outlook was more certainly influenced by the fatalistic atmosphere of India around them. It was more marked up the country than elsewhere. This religious tendency was less ostentatious than that of the Evangelical officers of a later day, and it has therefore been less remarked. But it was no less real, and perhaps not less fruitful for good. Its votaries did no preaching, they distrusted enthusiasm. But they had a dependence on the will of God as the disposer of their lives and a deep regard for right. What the Old Testament was to the Punjab school, justice was to these men. "They loved righteousness, did justice and walked humbly with their God." This spirit had much to do with the success and

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[9] Emily Eden. op. cit. I. 331.

the humanity of the officers who settled central and northern India during the first third of the last century.

Racial relationships in Calcutta were entering upon a new and puzzling stage. The days of close contact with Rajas and Nawabs, when many Englishmen were more Indianised in their outlook even than in their manners, had long gone by. There had succeeded the period of rigid separation originated by Cornwallis' exclusion of all Indians from the higher services of the Company. Only up country did any real contact on equal terms continue. And now there were the first stirrings of a counter movement, the approximation of Indian manners to European. One sign of it was the eager desire to learn English. For most the motive was worldly advantage just as Hindu courtiers at the Mogul court had once learnt Persian. But to a few the desire to learn English was only a symbol of their desire to penetrate the secrets of western knowledge and power, and above all its science. Their leader was Ram Mohan Roy, who went further in seeking to discover the secret of western religion and found it in "The Precepts of Jesus."[10] Strangely enough the most violent objection to this book was taken by Christian missionaries. This movement found a sympathetic response in liberal minded circles and there ensued the famous controversy on the subject of western and eastern learning. Just over a hundred years ago this controversy was settled by the adoption of English as the official language and the medium of instruction, and of western knowledge as the proper content of all state aided learning.

In externals the new tastes were also visible. Many kept carriages and drove out with Europeans on the

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[10] This book, and his side of the controversy which followed, is published in "The English Works of Ram Mohan Roy" ed. H. C. Sarkar, Calcutta, 1928.

course. Wealthy zamindars, like Dwarkanath Tagore, built mansions in the prevalent classical style, and entertained in the western fashion. Those who could not go so far at least had a verandah with Corinthian pillars and some English furniture. Children were dressed in European clothes. Politics were canvassed in the Bengali press, and Ram Mohan Roy gave a dinner in honour of the July Revolution. All this created the problem which has puzzled the English in India ever since—How to meet this change of manners and outlook on the Indian side and to adjust behaviour accordingly? There was the great shoe question—to wear or not to wear? On the Indian system they should be removed, on the English kept on during an interview. Sir Charles Metcalfe, a thorough-going liberal and much beloved up-country, caused heartburning in Calcutta by insisting that every Indian should take off his shoes; Lord Auckland heartburning in another quarter by allowing them to keep them on. In consequence, wrote his sister, they were almost deafened at parties by the quantities of new stiff European shoes.[11] Another question was the admission of Indian visitors to view a dance, and here again the Edens led the way. Then there was the great chair question. Who might sit in officialdom's presence? Lists of persons entitled to a chair on visiting an official were kept in the district offices, and it was a complaint against many officials that they forgot to give chairs even to those who were entitled to them. This problem of social forms has been responsible for great misunderstanding and much resentment, and can hardly be said to have been satisfactorily solved by the English in India as a whole even to-day.

The following picture of Calcutta, which has never hitherto been published, may conclude this description of

[11] Emily Eden., op. cit., I. 116.

the major settlements. It is by C. E., later Sir Charles Trevelyan, who had reached India late in 1826 and wrote this description on his arrival in Delhi early in 1827.[12]

"Calcutta well merits its appellation of "the city of palaces." I used when looking at it to feel proud that I belonged to a nation which possessed such a city as the capital only of a distant appendage of the empire—The houses of the English are all two or three stories high and the rooms very lofty and spacious. The public buildings too, patricularly the Government House and Town Hall, are very fine, and Fort William adds not a little to the general effect—for there is a general effect here produced from all the finest public buildings and largest private houses being situated on two sides of an immense square of which the river Hoogly forms another side and the boundaries of the 4th are not seen from a distance, consisting of a *nulla* or rivulet and a bazar or market—Fort William stands in a central position on the brink of the river, and with its low ramparts and long guns peeping through the grass of the embrasures gives an air of security and grandeur to the whole. The ships which are often seen going up and down the river add much to the scene, particularly as their hulls are concealed by rows of trees which line the bank and only the masts and distended sails appear slowly and majestically moving against the horizon. I was very much struck on approaching Calcutta at the great quantity of shipping in the river, most of which too consists of large Indiamen. It appeared to me nearly as much crowded as the Thames, and this display of the trade and consequent wealth of the city was very gratifying to me. The large ships belonging to the Company cannot come up higher than Diamond

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[12] Letter of Sir C. E. Trevelyan, 1827. In the possession of Prof. G. M. Trevelyan O. M.

Harbour which is more than 30 miles below Calcutta, but almost all free traders venture up to the city itself.

The society of Calcutta is very large and very gay—It is so large that as in London, you may choose your own circle and are not obliged, as at Madras, either to enter into the whole of society, or to cut it altogether. There are constant balls and entertainments of different kinds given principally by the civilians who receive very high salaries and can afford to give them—The equipages, and particularly the riding horses, are of the best description, indeed the best and most valuable horses from Arabia and all parts of the East are concentrated at Calcutta. If there happens to be a particularly good Arab at Bombay, where they are always at first landed, it is sure in the end to find its way to Calcutta. There is no indigenous breed of horses in Bengal except some miserable ponies—all those used at Calcutta are either Arabs or horses from Cabul and the Punjaub, with a few imported English horses, and a very large proportion which are bred at the Company's studs at Buxar and Dinapore from English blood originally.

There is a great deal of hospitality left at Calcutta, though people say it has much fallen off in that respect. All the houses of Agency keep a handsome table separate from their family, which with a suite of many rooms, is allotted for the entertainment of any of their Constituents who may come to Calcutta, so that, as every servant of the Company has some Agent or other, no one need be in want of a home when at Calcutta. Colvin my Agent allows more than £100 a month for this table alone. This is a very great convenience to officers and others coming for a short time to the Presidency—for they often cannot afford to take a house and there are no respectable Inns. There is nothing of this kind at either of the other Presidencies—At Bombay, the Agents are particularly churlish

—Calcutta on the whole is a very fascinating place and I used my utmost endeavours to leave it as soon as possible on this very account. .. . The Bengal officers live in a very different way from that which I have described—whenever they move they and all their baggage are conveyed by the river generally to the place of their destination, and almost always a considerable part of the way—consequently they have an opportunity of taking with them almost any quantity of luggage which they take full advantage of and live like princes as well when travelling as at home—Even when they are obliged to travel by land they always take large supplies with them, and it is a common practice for them to carry fat sheep and calves in *dooleys* (an inferior kind of palanquin) lest their stock should grow lean by the march—A friend of mine was Judge at Bhaugulpoor when a division of the Bengal army was marching that way into Arracan and he had to provide bullocks for them, which was effected with great difficulty and trouble—this he would not have cared for only that he found in the list of baggage two carts laden with live turkies and fowls each of which required four oxen to draw it. The houses of the Bengal servants both military and civil are generally well and plentifully furnished and they seem in every respect to make this country their home."

Though the main pattern of life remained much the same during these years, there were innovations which bit by bit modified, without yet revolutionising, the whole tenor of English life in India. The heat, as to-day, was one of the great banes of Anglo-Indian life. The English had already invented the swinging punkah, and had adopted the expedients of Venetian blinds on their verandahs. They had borrowed from the Moghuls the idea of "*kus-kus*" tatties, screens which were placed against an open doorway in the face of the hot breeze, and then

moistened by water. The resulting cool breeze reduced the temperature within the house by several degrees. Emily Eden in her first hot weather at Barrackpore, had the luck to discover an accidental draught in a corridor. "The thermometer is 87 in my room, and I have discovered an accidental draught in the Marble Hall, where the wind comes down one of the corridors, cooled by the tatties, and where Fanny and I have sat all this week without a punkah; the draught is so strong that Major— said it was very unwholesome, and that Lady William never sat there, which I assured him must simply have been becaue she never had the luck to find out this curious draught; upon which he sent for the doctor to say how prejudicial it must be; but the doctor found it so pleasant that he drew in an arm-chair and thought it much the most pleasant place in the house."[13] To the water cooled tatties the ingenuity of the English added the Thermantidote, and the enterprise of the Americans ice. The thermantidote must have been invented sometime after 1800, and lingered on in places until recent years. It was specially popular in the upper provinces during the long hot weather. The principle of the *tatty* was to take advantage of the hot wind; of the thermantidote to create a wind when one was lacking. The thermantidote was a large wooden box containing a wheel with large wooden sails or paddles. Attached to this was a handle by which it was revolved. The box was closed on three sides, and the open side was placed against a well moistened *tatty*. When the hot winds failed this engine worked to supply their place.[14] Sometimes bellows were used as well. In an up-country bungalow these boxes could be

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[13] Emily Eden., op. cit., I. 30.

[14] The best description of these engines is in the unpublished autobiography of Lady Clive. Bayley the best description in point is that of L. Von Orlich; Travels in India, 1845, II. 197.

seen standing on the verandah "like pieces of artillery." Ice was imported to Calcutta by enterprising Americans, who carried it as ballast in their ships.[15] It was brought in large blocks and preserved in an ice house. Great were the lamentations when the ice ran out and there was no sign of an American ship. Up the country there was the old Moghul tradition of bringing ice from the mountains, but the disturbed state of the country had put an end to this practice, except in the Court of Ranjit Singh. There was another method of producing ice by collecting it in shallow pans in the chill mornings of early spring and then storing it in deep pits. Delhi, Agra, Lucknow and other cities all had their ice pans and pits, and the practice prevailed as far down as Benares. The English borrowed this idea and formed companies which supplied subscribers at regular intervals. The process of manufacture is thus decribed by Dr. Hoffmeister.[16] "It is carried on in large clay pans, which are placed on finely chopped straw; the small fragments of ice, formed in them, are carefully gathered up and packed closely and firmly together, and each member of the joint stock company formed for that purpose at Benares and at Agra, received on certain appointed days, his portion of ice, according to the number of his shares."

The *topi* was another novelty which first made its appearance at this time. Named from the pith of the *solah* plant in Bengal, and not from its connection with the sun, it appears first as something of a rarity. Fanny Parks remarked "When on deck, at midday, I wear a solah *topi*, to defend me from the sun.[17] There is a

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[15] W. Hoffmeister. Travels in Ceylon and Continent al India, 1848, p. 277.

[25] Heber, op. cit., II. 120.

[17] F. Parker. Diary of a Journey in Search of the Picturesque, I. 333.

sense of ceremony in putting it on, like the opening of a particularly gorgeous parasol." In the forties it was used for travelling.[18] But even by the mutiny contemporary prints show that it was not yet in general use. There was a rival in the south which Jacquemont called the Pondicherry hat. It was a very small light and flexible straw hat made of palm and date leaves, and it was covered with silk which could be renewed from time to time.[19]

A far more important innovation was the making of the Grand Trunk Road, which revolutionised travel in the upper provinces. Hitherto the journey was made by water as far as Allahabad, in a barge or *budgerow* which sometimes sailed, sometimes was rowed and sometimes was towed along the banks. By day the travellers sat in the boat, which each evening halted for the night, when the travellers took an evening stroll and visited a village or a temple. The servants came in attendant boats, so that each party of travellers made up a little fleet. These boats were "covered barges built of wood, painted green and very comfortably furnished and divided into two rooms each for sleeping and sitting."[20] The journey took about six weeks and was described as "one long picnic from morning to night." The picnic spirit however, was apt to evaporate if the cook boat got stranded or left behind. From Allahabad to Delhi the voyagers travelled *dak*, that is, in a palanquin or on horseback, or if very exalted, on an elephant. An escort was provided and a camp pitched every night. In the thirties the *budgerows* began to be towed by steamers, which made that part of the journey still more delightful. The opening of the Grand Trunk Road enabled the

[18] Hoffmeister. op. cit.

[19] Sacquemmont. op. cit., I. 161 and 317.

[20] Lady Clive Bayley. op. cit.

further journey to be covered by carriage. Dak-bungalows appeared, where horses were changed, meals (and a cook) provided, and the tradition of dak bungalow chickens began. The security of the countryside had so much increased that escorts were no longer necessary. Ladies travelled without any sense of danger, and even sent their children accompanied only by servants, on long journeys to schools in the hills. The carriages and drivers were at first primitive enough. A journey from Allahabad to Delhi was thus described by Lady Clive Bayley.[21]

"The carriages were huge wooden boxes on four wheels, large enough to accomodate two people with a tight fit; the luggage was fastened on to the roof, and a very wretched specimen of a horse was put into the shafts. The animal was generally unbroken, and could not be said to be driven by the coachman, for it simply went where it liked, and how it liked. Very often it would not start at all for many minutes after everything was ready. The coachman would smack it with his whip, the *syce*, or groom, would tug at its fore legs with a rope, all to no purpose. Then the *syce* would collect some straw, put a heap under the animal's body, set it on fire, and then when it became too hot to be pleasant to the horse, he would suddenly dart forward and would gallop at a tremendous rate for the five or six miles that intervened before the next posting station."

A few years later the new road from Benares to Calcutta through the Rajmahal Hills was opened, and then the whole journey to Delhi could be done by carriage.

Life up-country or in the "*mofussil*" was in its heyday a hundred years ago. The English had settled in comfortably after the disturbances of the Maratha and

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[21] Lady Clive Bayley, op. cit., p. 12.

Pindari wars, and had developed their technique of living. The annual cold weather invigorated them, plentiful sport amused them, and novel problems of administration and politics occupied them. The Moghul devices for dealing with the hot weather were borrowed and amplified. If they did not live in marble palaces with streams running through bejewelled channels, at least they had the Moghul marble baths. They used the *tykhana* or underground chamber which was several degrees cooler than those above ground; to the fans of peacock feathers they added the swinging punkah and to the water cooled *kus-kus tatty* the wind creating thermantidote. In the winter they wore the Moghul shawl, and some even the Moghul fur cap. There was no shadow of the Mutiny to look back upon and no fear of it yet to come. While Ranjit Singh lived there was no fear from the Panjab, and Afghanistan was too distant to worry about. People thought themselves as secure in Delhi as in London. The hill stations of Simla and Mussorrie were just beginning their careers and afforded a prospect of relief from the north-Indian hot weather. So strong was this sense that several of them built mansions which survive to this day. The English looked forward to a long period of rule in congenial circumstances. There was settlement work for the lover of the villages, diplomatic work for the politically minded, and creative work for all. Dangers no doubt there were, but the average mufussilite was not very conscious of them, and if he was, was confident of his ability to meet them. It was during the twenties and thirties that the pessimism and cautious apprehension of a Metcalfe and an Elphinstone disappeared in the services as a whole, and was gradually replaced by an over robust optimism in the indestructability of the British *raj*, the inevitableness of change, and the moribund condition of Hinduism and

Islam. It was this optimism which formed the psychological atmosphere on the English side of the Mutiny.

Up-country society at this time was noted not only for its hospitality but also for its distinction. The hospitality was a natural reaction to the loneliness and isolation of most of the officers, but the distinction requires some explanation. The reason I believe, was that northern India at this time offered the greatest chance of distinction and the most creative work. There were the political relationships with the Punjab, Sindh, Afghanistan, the Rajputs and the Nepalese, which together constituted a complicated web of diplomacy calculated to attract the ambitious and active young man. Service in the political department was the path to promotion, and to be a "political" the aim of civilian and soldier alike. Indeed the jealousy with which the "political" was regarded was only a measure of the general desire to be one. A contributing factor was the distance from Calcutta, which gave to the officers a discretion and an independence denied to their brethren nearer authority. The Resident of Delhi was long called the "king of Delhi" and down to the Mutiny the Agent at Delhi was a figure of great importance. To take Delhi as an example, in the ten years from 1825 to 1835, it was a nest of distinguished men. There were living and working there Charles Metcalfe, as Resident, Sir David Ochterlony, the hero of the Nepal war, and Colonel James Skinner, the builder of St. James' Church. These men were veterans, but among the younger generation there were names destined to be famous. There was H.M. Elliot, the future Oriental scholar and historian, William Fraser, the friend of Victor Jacquemont, Thomas Metcalfe, the builder of the famous Metcalfe House, Charles Trevelyan, the future brother in law of Macaulay and Governor of Madras, and John Lawrence. This list is not exhaustive, but

serves to show how opportunity acted as a magnet to enterprise and ability.

Besides the distinction of these men there was also of course, a touch of the picturesque. In societies so small conventional restraints are few, and personalities luxuriate. There was William Fraser, who incurred criticism because he spent his evenings smoking his hookah with the greybeards of the Delhi court, "the best possible specimen of a country bear," as his friend Jacquemont called him. There was Frederick Shore who adopted Mohammedan dress and was the object of a special order of government prohibiting it; there was the Gardener family of Kasgunj who specialised in marriages with the Imperial family; and Skinner, half of whose descendants are Christian and half Mohammedan. There was Ochterlony, who dotted the countryside with palaces and died in the Moghul garden of Shalimar, whom Heber thus describes[22]: "Sir David himself was in a carriage and four, and civilly got out to speak to me. He is a tall and pleasing looking old man, but was so wrapped up in shawls, kincob fur, and a Moghul furred cap, that his face was all that was visible."

Outside the official ranks there was the extraordinary Dyce Sombre, the heir of the Begum Samru, who married an earl's daughter, and spent his fortune in the English courts trying to prove his sanity, and the German Principal of the Delhi College, whose trousers were hidden by his plain but good wife every night in order to prevent his leaving her.[23] Wherever a few Englishmen were stationed social life was organised as far as possible on the model of the great Residency towns. Here is Sleeman's picture

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22 Heber. Journal of a Journey through India ed., 1844, II. 29-30.

23 Lady Clive Bayley; Autobiography.

of Meerut, one of the larger up-country stations about 1835.[24]

"Every newcomer calls in the forenoon upon all that are at the station when he arrives, and they return his call at the same hour soon after. If he is a married man, the married men upon whom he has called take their wives to call upon his; and he takes his to return the call of theirs. These calls are all indispensable; and being made in the forenoon, very disagreeable in the hot season; all complain of them; yet no one forgoes his claim upon them; and till the claim is fuifilled, people will not recognise each other as acquaintances. Unmarried officers generally dine in the evening, because it is a more convenient hour for the mess; and married civil functionaries do the same, because it is more convenient for their office work. If you invite those who dine at that hour to spend the evening with you, you must invite them to dinner, even in the hot weather; and if they invite you it is to dinner. This makes intercourse somewhat heavy at all times, but more especially so in the hot season, when a table covered with animal food is sickening to any person without a keen appitite, and stupefying to those who have it. No one thinks of inviting people to a dinner and a ball—it would be vandalism; and when you invite them, as is always the case, to come after dinner, the ball never begins till late at night, and seldom ends till late in the morning. With all its disadvantages, however, I think dining in the evening much better for those who are in health, than dining in the afternoon, provided people can avoid the intermediate meal of tiffin. No person in India should eat animal food more than once a day; and people who dine in the evening generally eat less than they would

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[24] Sleeman, Rambles and Recollections, ed. 1893, II. 251.

if they dined in the afternoon. A light breakfast at nine; biscuit, or a slice of toast with a glass of water or soda water, at two o'clock; and dinner after the evening exercise, is the plan which I should recommend every European to adopt as the most agreeable. When their digestive powers get out of order, people must do as their doctors tell them."

Until well into the 19th. century Bombay always stood somewhat apart from the settlements. Its confined situation, its lack of extensive trade and of a profitable *hinterland* made it less important both commercially and politically. The great prosperity of Calcutta and Madras and the storms which swept over them passed it by. Up to 1800 it was not even self-supporting. While Calcutta was glowing with the achievements of Wellesley, Bombay for sixteen years experienced the sober administration of Jonathan Duncan. Its hour, however, was to come, and the first sign was the Maratha war of 1818, which made Bombay for the first time the capital of a large province. The governships of Elphinstone and Malcolm marked this advance, and recognition took the form of sending out governors from England as in the case of Madras and Calcutta. Though the days of its modern greatness were to wait until the rise of the cotton industry and the opening of the interior by rail, Bombay was just finding its feet as a great city.

The isolation of Bombay was reflected in the social life of the city. The whole life of the English was on a more modest scale than elsewhere. Even commercially they shared this supremacy with the enterprising Parsi community. The English houses were smaller and their general style of living was simpler, and when they came to control central India and parts of Gujerat and the Deccan, it was noticed that they were not so skilful as elsewhere in their measures to deal with the greater heat of the main-

land.[25] Bombay had also a tradition of inhospitality handed down by a series of travellers. Even in the thirties Trevelyan wrote that the agents of Bombay compared unfavourably with those of Calcutta. The tide began visibly to turn during the eight years' reign of Elphinstone, who dispensed a princely hospitality and created the modern tradition of culture and enlightenment. Sir James Mackintosh, while Recorder of Bombay, had made a start in this direction, though he was all the time bitterly complaining of the stifling mental and social atmosphere of the Island. The judges of the new High Court who succeeded him, though their first public action was to quarrel furiously with the Governors, undoubtedly helped to waft a fresher intellectual breeze from a larger world. So we leave Bombay, just emerging from more than a century of cramping restraint and general detraction, but as yet quite unaware of the industrial revolution which was to transform it in the sixties.

But the English world in India of a century ago was not all light and prosperity. Over it there hung one of those periods of depression and retrenchment which have periodically jerked its standards of living away from the Moghul and towards the English. Lord William Bentinck, armed with the Company's imperative instructions, had struck a heavy blow at both the soldiers and civilians. It is doubtful whether anything less than his exceptional firmness united to a tact acquired with the years, could have carried these measures without a major crisis. As it was, the murmurings were deep and prolonged but they remained murmurings. On the top of this retrenchment came the first spectacular commercial crash in Calcutta, when a number of old established European firms, foremost among them Messrs. Palmer and Co., suddenly collapsed.

[24] Heber, op. cit., II. 120.

Metcalfe, a man not given to rash speculation, lost £6000 savings in the fall of that house alone. Macaulay, who, fortunately for his purse, arrived in Calcutta when the full effect of the crash was being felt, thus described it in 1837.[26]

"That tremendous crash of the great commercial houses which took place a few years ago has produced a revolution in fashions. It ruined one half of the English society in Bengal and seriously injured the other half. A large proportion of the most important functionaries here are deeply in debt, and accordingly, the mode of living is now exceedingly quiet and modest. Those immense subscriptions, those public tables, those costly equipages and entertainments of which Heber and others who saw Calcutta a few years back, say so much, are never heard of . . . . . . the general distress has forced everyone to adopt a moderate way of living."

There was of course a recovery. "Quiet and modest" was hardly an accurate description of Calcutta life under Dalhousie. But never again was English life quite so lordly and spacious, never again was it so carefree and open handed. One more step had been taken down that staircase of financial and social contraction which descends from the India of Clive and the Nabobs to the India of Mahatma Gandhi and Lord Linlithgow.

[26] Sir G. O. Trevelyan. Life of Lord Macaulay ed. 1908. p. 308.

AKBAR'S ECLECTICISM AND PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS

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I

The recent celebrations of the quater-centenary of the birth of Akbar the Great form a fitting occasion for bringing to the popular mind some of the ideals which that Emperor pursued in his religious policy and the attitude which he was convinced that the state should adopt towards the different religious communities of the land. The honouring of a great scholar like Dr. Mookerji whose aim has been, among others, the demonstration of the unity of Indian culture is a most fitting occasion for the submission of this paper.

Recently several treatises have been published, in which the birth and life of Akbar are detailed as well as the inner strands of the great religious upheaval that marked his age. These latter forces have been revealed, as they probably worked not only in India, but in other parts of Asia, in that age of renaissance through which our continent also passed. We learn from one of these writers that Jauhar who was a personal attendant on Humayun and who wrote a history of his master's chequered career, confused the date of Prince Akbar's birth with that of his tonsure ceremony which took place forty days later. On the basis of evidence supplied by both Jauhar and Gul Badan Begam, the talented sister of Humayun, who has left us a historical account of the times, perhaps the view may be maintained that the great

Emperor was born on the night of 4/5 Rajab 949 A.H., *i.e.*, on the night of October 14/15, A. D. 1542. In spite of his continued misfortune and exile from his Indian throne for a number of years, Humayun contrived to contribute his own quota to the culture that was bequeathed by the Mughal state to India. All the members of Babar's family, including even the ladies, were highly educated and talented. Akbar's own mother Hamida Banu Begam, was an amiable, pious, intelligent and fairly literate lady. She doted on her only son, as was natural, and wielded great influence over him and lived to a ripe old age, dying only a year before Akbar.

Humayun was a widely read personage, a scholar who was also an expert in the epistolary art and, besides, master of Turki, Arabic, Persian and even Hindi. He was a generous patron of learning and helped to build the nucleus of the Indo-Moslem school of painting that was at its zenith in the 17th century. He was versed in Mathematics and Astronomy; and we read that he once danced in delight, at the study of Akbar's fortunate horoscope. Likewise, he manifested Sufic tendencies; and above all, he had been deeply impressed by his noble father's secret will, directing him to respect the feelings of the Hindus by refraining from cow-slaughter and from the destruction of temples. This had tended to liberalise his views and inclined him to maintain good relations with the Hindus of his empire and particularly the Rajputs. Also, Humayun made a strenuous attempt to bring together the Turanis to whose race he himself belonged, and the Iranis who had a powerful influence over him, and taught them to live amicably.

Akbar's schooling was not very satisfactory, as we learn from several contemporary accounts. It began on the completion of his 5th year; his first tutor was devoted to pigeon-flying and neglected his duties; nor was the

second effective; the third was a learned man; but, in spite of their care, the boy was more interested in riding horses and camels, in pigeon-flying and in coursing with dogs. It may be easily accepted that, in the years when he should have been at school, his studies were neglected. The question of Akbar's illiteracy has been hotly disputed by historians; but as against an assumption of its reality, we may quote the following extract from the *Akbar Námáh*, of the learned, but courtly, Abul Fazl; "*A. N. tr.*, 520: says: The inspired nature of His Majesty is strongly drawn to the composing of Hindi and Persian poetry and is critical and hair-splitting in the niceties of poetic diction. Among books of poetry, he recites off-hand Maulana Rumi's *Masnavi* and the *Diwan* of *Hafiz* and takes delight in their verities and beauties."

II

A study of Akbar's religious views should take into account the background of cultural and religious conditions that prevailed not only in India, but also in other countries like Persia and Central Asia, which exerted a definite influence on the thought and action of the Mughals. The age of Akbar was the age of the Renaissance and the Reformation in Europe and of the Mehdevi movement in Islam, which believed in the eagerly expected advent of the Imam *Mahdi* at the end of the first millennium after the Hijra. It also saw the Ming Revival in China, when the new imperial capital, Peking, offered immense scope to architects, sculptors and painters and when Chinese cultural life was at its best and was marked by an admirable tone of leisurely ease and æsthetic pleasure. The whole tendency of the higher stratum of Chinese culture may be summed up in a series of phrases of *Chenchi-Ju* (*died* 1639) which throw a flood of light on the manners and customs of the Chinese upper classes and of their

proper appreciation of pictures. "A party of connoisseurs, A Buddhist temple, in the season of tea, of bamboo shoots and oranges . . . In the midst of mountains and streams . . . When the country is at peace . . . When surrounded by rare stones of beautiful tripods and vases."

Likewise, Sufic forces were at full work and the *Bhakti* cult was in the ascendant in India, under the influence of such powerful saints as Chaitanya, Tulasidas and Mira Bai. The forces of Islam which had been steadily tending towards liberalism were now at vigorous work in the age; and in India, in particular, the eclectic tendency of Hindu teachers as well as of Muslim litterateurs, like Jayasi and Rajabji, provided a favourable soil for the spread of Sufism, which encouraged the essentially Hindu idea of *guru-shishya bhava*, with all its technique of worship and veneration. Both Sufism and the Mehdevi movement had powerfully affected the strength of Sunni-orthodoxy and prepared the way for new doctrines to germinate and spread. The process of the fusion of all these concepts and ideas, as well as the details of new ritual and concepts which were in gestation, was furthered by the unconscious attempts of Hindu saints and Muslim *faqirs* who had always appealed to the softer side of man. The *Chishti* cult, of which Akbar was so ardent a follower for a number of years, is regarded as a landmark in the history of Indo-Moslem religious thought. Many Hindu teachers themselves supported the growing protests against an exclusively ritualistic cult. The poet, Amir Kushru who belonged to an earlier age, was so liberal and pro-Hindu in his tendencies that he was scoffed at by the orthodox Muslims as a worshipper of idols. Mirza Abdur Rahman, Khan Khanan, the famous son of the powerful regent of Akbar, Bairam Khan, was the *Mæcenas* of Akbar's Augustan Age and his Hindi *dohas* are comparable to the outpourings of an inspired

Vaishnava saint. He was a good scholar of Sanskrit and his love poems have been held to be "specimens of a wonderful combination of Sanskrit and Hindi." As a learned writer, Prof. M. L. Roychaudhuri, has well put it in his suggestive work, 'The Din-i-Ilahi':—"The Indian atmosphere, charged with its assimilative cosmic ideal and its Vedantic outlook was very congenial to the growth of the Sufi ideas, and at the same time, Islam, with its absence of metaphysics, its stern rigidity, clear commands and emphatic taboos was favourable to the birth of Sufism."

Reacting on this liberated Indian background, was that of Central Asia where the pliable and never-too-orthodox Mughal ancestors of Akbar had frequently changed their beliefs. They had been stressing Buddhism in some areas, embracing Islam in certain of its forms in others and retaining generally traces of their aboriginal cult of Shamanism. In one area of their far-flung dominions, they professed even Christianity for a time. Kubla Khan, the hero of Coleridge's well-known poem, and a descendant of Chenghiz Khan, was 'an Akbar' in his own age, and 'a ruler of the Chinese soil and still greater a ruler of the Chinese soul.' To his court flocked Muslim divines, Buddhist Shamans and Christian theologians and monks, as testified by the ambassador of Saint Louis of France who visited his capital. He is even said to have invented a script, a new alphabet, which would combine the scripts of the Chinese, the Mongols and the Zoroastrians. The ancestors of Akbar in the paternal line belonging to the Turki tribe of Timur, were marked by the same intellectual and cultural inquisitiveness. Timur is an enigmatic figure; and it has been held by some of his recent biographers like Harold Lamb, that the great conqueror was not a devout Muhammadan at heart, but one who followed his own ideas, and never even ac-

cepted an Islamic surname. He and his Tatar followers were deemed to be but half Muhammadans, by their neighbours and often condemned to be as bad as heretics and Pagans. Both the Khalifā of Egypt and the orthodox Sultan of the Othmanlis emphatically looked upon Timur as a Pagan. His Mongol followers were but recently converted Muslims; and, they were primarily soldiers and only secondarily Churchmen. However, Timur always cherished a great and mystic regard for Muslim saints and *darwishes*, and showed much sympathy for the learned. His lineal successor Babar, in whose veins also ran the blood of Chenghiz Khan, was both orthodox and liberal. Humayun was equally broad-minded and came largely under Shiah influences. He was specially instructed by Babar, on the eve of his Indian expedition, to refrain from destroying places of worship of any community and, in particular, from the slaughter of cows. As is well known, Sher Shah's administration was entirely Hindustani or Indian in tone; his dream was the ideal of a common Hindu-Muslim rule.

The very impressive and suggestive advice of Babar to Humayun given on the eve of his Indian expedition, as taken from a manuscript in the State Library of Bhopal and quoted by Prof. Roy Choudhuri, may be well repeated here. "O, my Son, People of diverse religion inhabit India . . . It, therefore behoves you that . . . You should not allow religious prejudice to influence your mind, and administer impartial justice, having regard to the religious susceptibilities and religious customs of all sections of the people. You should, in particular, refrain from the slaughter of cows . . . You should never destroy places of worship of any community . . . The propagation of Islam will be better carried on with the faith of love and obligation than with the sword of suppression." (The *Din-i-Ilahi*, p. 47.)

The spirit of the imperial administration under Sher Shah and in the very early years of Akbar was essentially Indian or Hindustani. It tended to make the Musulmans in India more Indian. The Hindu element in the Muslim administration had by this time become a permanent factor. Akbar's generous nature had been expanded in his childhood and youth by Persian influences and by Shiah teachers who injected into his mind the essence of Persian mysticism. Even as a youth, Akbar was accustomed to commune with nature in lonely spots; and he is said to have exclaimed, on one occasion, that "from the lack of spiritual provision for the last journey, my soul was seized with exceeding sorrow." His great biographer, Abul Fazl, tells us of the innate 'communing spirit' of the Emperor and describes him as the "orient where the light of form and ideal dawns." For a number of years, indeed, Akbar indulged in Saint worship and tours of pilgrimage to famous tombs. In honour of Shaikh Salim Chishti who was the god-father of Prince Salim, Akbar laid the foundation of Fatehpur Sikri, a city "as beautiful as a dream and as woeful as its remains." Even according to the bigoted Badauni, Akbar had been fond of enjoying the company and conversation of ascetics and mystics, with whom he would discuss 'the Word of God and the Word of the Prophet.' "His heart was full of reverence for Him who is the True Giver, from a feeling of thankfulness for his past successes; he would sit many a morning alone in prayer and meditation on a large flat stone of an old building which lay near the palace, in a lonely spot, with his head bent on the chest, gathering the bliss of the early hours of dawn."

III

The memorable discussions in the Ibadat Khānā of Akbar's Dream-city, whose construction was begun out of

purely religious motives, and of which Badauni has left us so vivid an account, at first merely annoyed Akbar, who perceived, with dislike, the 'Pharaoh-like' pride of the learned Ulema who had been indulging in a bitter persecution of everything unorthodox and, in special, of the Mehdevi sectarians. Soon Akbar saw that these "Scribes and Pharisees" formed a power of their own in his kingdom. According to the learned Blochmann, the translator of the *Ain-i-Akbari*, Akbar was affected most deeply by the course of the discussions, which had been aptly termed 'the period of quest,' in his career of religious experience. Akbar had discovered several cases of corruption indulged in by the *qazis* and other officials, and of the mismanagement of affairs by the chief Sadr of the Empire. "Impressed with a favourable idea of the value of his Hindu subjects, he had resolved, when pensively sitting in the mornings on the solitary stone at Fatehpur-Sikri, to rule with an even hand, men of all creeds in his dominions; but as the extreme views of the learned and the lawyers continually urged him to persecute instead of to heal, he instituted the discussions, because, believing himself to be in error, he thought it his duty as ruler to enquire." Hence the starting of the discussions, according to Blochmann.

Akbar was profoundly disturbed by the diversity of the interpretation of the Traditions and by the conflicting decrees awarded by the Sunni lawyers. He desired to know what the other sects of Islam had to say on these disputed questions; and in consequence, he admitted Shiahs, Mehdevis and other sectarians in Islam to the discussions. We are given in the nearly contemporary work, *Dabistán-i-Mazáhib* of Mohsin Fani (translated by Shea and Troyer), a list of the subjects that were discussed in the Ibadat Khana. Akbar became convinced in due course that there were "sensible men in all religions

and abstemious thinkers and men endowed with miraculous power among all nations." His expanding mind was no longer satisfied within the limits of a sectarian creed. The Ibadat Khana which started as a Sunni assembly, developed in the next stage into a pan-Muslim gathering, and in the third stage of the development of Akbar's mind, was thrown open to Hindus, Sikhs, Jains, Zoroastrians, Buddhists, Jews and Christians. Fatehpur-Sikri became for years the seat of the first great Parliament of the Religions of the World. The memorable decree of 1579 which was promulgated by the Emperor and to which the Ulema subscribed, was a political document, both in the obvious meaning of its language and in its implications. Historians have been at pains to explain its significance, religious and otherwise; but, perhaps, it had not much of a religious import; and, as has been explained by Prof. Roychoudhuri, it was probably a clever attempt to declare that the Mughal dominion in India regarded itself to be a separate sovereign entity and not in any way subordinate to the religious hegemony of Rūm.

While stressing on Akbar's political appreciation of Hindu help, our idea of the breadth of view of Akbar is limited by the statement that, in spite of his social eclecticism and Hindu sympathies, the Emperor was nothing but a Muslim. "The followers of each faith, Parsi, Christian and Shiah, flattered themselves that they had converted, or nearly converted the great Mughal and that he had ceased to be an orthodox Muslim."

It was true, however, that after Islam, Zoroastrianism was the greatest influence on Akbar. In discussing the Jesuit evidence on the Christian forces at work in Akbar's court, one should examine the motives that lay behind the Emperor's invitation of the Jesuit Fathers; and perhaps one may perceive in them a combination of both

political incentive and religious urge. This mixture of motives was certainly nearer the truth than "the one-sided statements of the jealous English contemporaries and the equally partial and weighted view of the Portuguese Missionaries."

IV

The prophesies prevalent in the Islamic world, regarding the advent of the Imam Mahdi (or the Restorer of the Faith), became particularly important when Islam entered on the tenth century of its first millennium; everywhere there was agitation among the learned which spread even to the masses in many places. The bigoted historian of Akbar's reign, Badauni, who was himself influenced by Mehdevi ideas, supplies us with particulars regarding this movement which, according to him, originated in Badakshan, where it gained numerous adherents and created such disturbances that troops had to be sent against its leader Sayyid Muhammad Nur Baksh, so that he fled to the mountains of Iraq wherein also he speedily gained a following of 30,000 men. From Badakshan Mehdevi ideas spread over Persia and India. In the latter country it assumed a definite form through the teaching of Mir Sayid Muhammad, son of Mir Sayid Khan of Jaunpur, who believed that the fall of his native city into Sultan Bahlol Lodi's hands was a sign that the latter days of the millennium preceding the Advent had actually come and declared that a voice from heaven whispered to him the words "Thou art the Mahdi." It was held by many of his contemporaries that he did not really declare that he was himself the Mahdi; but that he claimed only to be the Lord of the Age. Even Sultan Mahmud I of Gujarat believed in the Saiyid's mission. He then went to Makkah, but was driven away from it. After some vicissitudes, he died in 1505 A.D. in Baluchis-

tan, where his tomb rapidly became an object of pilgrimage.

There were several other claimants to the Mahdiship in India, one of whom was Shaikh Alai, a Bengali Mussalman, and another was Mian Abdullah, a disciple of Mir Sayid Muhammad. The Mehdevi community became very powerful in Bayana; and Shaikh Alai contrived to charm even Sultan Islam Shah Sur who had originally resolved to put him to death as a dangerous demagogue. It was now that Shaikh Mubarak, the learned father of Abul Fazl and Abul Faizi, became a member of the sect and began to profess Mehdevi ideas. All the Mehdevis aimed at breaking up the strength and influence of the orthodox Sunni officials at court, at whose head was Abdullah of Sultanpur, the Makdhum-ul-Mulk, who was a Chishti in his religious opinions and was, besides, one of the most distinguished among the learned men and saints of India. He had been vigorously persecuting heretics and sectarians of all kinds and, in particular, vented his spleen on Shaikh Mubarak, deprived him of his lands and forced him to flee for his life. Shaikh Mubarak had to endure persecution for nearly 20 years, till his sons began to enjoy imperial favour and turned the tables on the bigoted persecutor and cleverly procured his banishment to Makkah.

Islam Shah of the Sur dynasty was forced, in spite of his liberalism, to sentence to corporal punishment Shaikh Alai, when he would not recant, in order to preserve an appearance of authority, though he had whispered into the Shaikh's ear the words:—"Whisper into my ear that you recant and I will not trouble you." Shaikh Alai who was then greatly ailing, died immediately of the severity of the punishment; and his body was ordered to be thrown under the feet of an elephant and nobody was to bury it. But, suddenly, a most destructive

cyclone broke forth at the time and after the storm and darkness had passed away, the Shaikh's body was found literally buried among roses and other flowers. The multitude prophesied, as they did on the occasion of the end of Sidi Mullah in the reign of Jalal-ud-Din Khilji, that Islam Shah would come to a speedy and tragic end and his house would collapse in disaster. The Makhdum-ul-Mulk was never popular after this event.

All the Mehdevi leaders were men of great oratorical powers and swayed the minds and passions of large crowds. Most of them were openly hostile to the Ulama who dominated the government. Even Akbar could not stem its policy of persecution; and the Ulama continued it far into Akbar's reign, though there had been an abatement for a short period, when Humayun's return to Delhi created a wholesome fear in their minds, as he was strongly in favour of Shi'ism and when subsequently the Shiah, Bairam Khan, was in power as the regent for the youthful Akbar. Shaikh Mubarak was even recommended to capital punishment by the intolerant Makhdum-ul-Mulk and his colleagues, and as noticed above, he had to live in concealment for some time. He applied for protection to Shaikh Salim Chishti, and on the latter's advice, migrated to Gujarat. At last he got an amnesty through the good offices of Akbar's generous-minded foster-brother, Mirza Azīz Khan Kōkah. Abul Faiz, the elder son of Shaikh Mubarak, who had already acquired some reputation as a poet and whose compositions had been favourably noticed by the Emperor was attempted to be seized in his house at Agra by the governor of the city, who had been persuaded to do so by the Makhdum-ul-Mulk, lest the invitation to go to the Imperial presence that the Emperor had sent to him from Chitor where Akbar was then encamped, should result in the diminution of the Ulama's influence. Faizi was not at first quite

eager to go to court, but had to comply when the command was repeated. It was only his favourable reception by the Emperor that convinced him of the latter's goodwill, as well as of "the blindness of his personal enemies."

His younger brother, Abul Fazl, who had been all along pursuing his studies zealously, had learnt early the lesson of toleration that his father's long-drawn persecution impressed on his mind; while his remarkably unusual exertions at learning enabled him to overwhelm the clique of the orthodox by his superior skill in argument and breadth of sentiment.

Abul Fazl's breadth of mind and outlook found a congenial soil for expansion, when Faizi prepared the way for a most favourable reception of him at court, 1574 A.D. Abul Fazl has, in his own words, given a picture of his state of mind at the time of his introduction to Akbar:—"As fortune did not at first assist me, I almost became selfish and conceited, and resolved to tread the path of proud retirement. The number of pupils that I had gathered around me, served but to increase my pedantry. In fact, the pride of learning had made my brain drunk with the idea of seclusion. Happily for myself, when I passed the nights in lonely spots with true seekers after truth, and enjoyed the society of such as are empty-handed, but rich in mind and heart, my eyes were opened and I saw the selfishness and covetousness of the so-called learned. The advice of my father with difficulty kept me back from outbreaks of folly; my mind had no rest, and my heart felt itself drawn to the sages of Mongolia or to the hermits on Lebanon; I longed for interviews with the *lamas* of Tibet or with the *padris* of Portugal, and I would gladly sit with the priests of the Parsis and the learned of the *Zendavesta*. I was sick of the learned of my own land. My brother and other relatives then advised me to attend the court, hoping that I would find in the Emperor

a leader to the sublime world of thought. In vain did I at first resist their admonitions. Happy, indeed, am I now that I have found in my sovereign a guide to the world of action and a comforter in lonely retirement; in him I meet my longing after faith and my desire to do my appointed work in the world; he is the orient where the light of form and ideal dawns; and it is he who has taught me that the work of the world, multifarious as it is, may yet harmonize with the spiritual unity of truth. I was thus presented at Court. As I had no worldly treasures to lay at the feet of His Majesty, I wrote a commentary to the *A'yat-ul-Kursi* and presented it when the Emperor was at Agrah. I was favourably received, and His Majesty graciously accepted my offering."

Akbar gradually turned away from the bigoted leaders of the Ulama whose personal interests had been affected by some of his administrative reforms. They were seriously upset when he allowed the Shiahs to attend meetings at the Ibadat Khana, and positively roused into fury when it was thrown open to non-Muslims. Their implication in the rebellion of Bengal was another great provocation to the Emperor, who resolved to abolish the office of the Imperial Sadr, cut down many charitable endowments, and dismissed many *qazis*. It is held by many writers that if Akbar was driven away from the Sunni fold, it was not so much his fault; on the other hand it was more the fault of the Sunnis themselves, who could not understand the Emperor's liberal tendencies, nor the eclectic movements of the age, nor even the Sufi ideas at work in many people's minds.

V

Hindu influences at the court of Akbar were very largely encouraged by Akbar's conviction that Hindu

loyalty should be rewarded as against the stubborn defiance often displayed by the Pathan and Turki elements. He had early experimented upon the abolition of the *Jaziya;* and he boldly recognised Hindu merit wherever it could be found, being of the opinion that the right man should always be put in the right place. Mr. Roy-choudhuri has eloquently put this idea in the following passage:—"He unhesitatingly chose Rajput princes as his generals and raised Tansen (originally a Hindu) to be the first musician of the court. Daswa Nath, son of a Kahar (palanquin-bearer), was appointed the first painter of his court; Mahadev became the first physician and Chandrasen the first surgeon. His court was full of the learned Hindus like Madhu Saraswati and Ram Tirtha. Amongst the famous Nine Jewels of his court, no less than four were Hindus. The greatness of the Indian Timurid Empire, in whatever direction we take it—art, literature, music, sculpture, painting, organisation, government and army—was as much due to the Hindu contribution as to the Imperial patronage. But the orthodox section of the state Mullas could not and did not like the idea of equal treatment between the believers and the non-believers."

Faizi translated the *Yōga-Vāsishta*, the *Līlāvati* and the *Nala-Damayanti;* Haji Ibrahim Sarhindi translated the *Atharva Veda* and Mulla Sheri took up the *Harivamśa* for his share. Similar work on the great epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata*, were entrusted to groups of scholars. Akbar invited many learned Hindus to his court, and we find mention made of Madhu Saraswati, Madhusūdan, Narayanan Misra, Dāmōdara Bhatta, Ramatīrtha, Narasinga, Paramīndra and Aditya, all of whom were in the rank of first class scholars, according to Abul Fazl. Besides them we find others of a lesser rank, like Ramabhadra, Jadrup Narayan, Madhu-bhatta, Srībhatta, Vāsudēva Misra, Vidyā Nivās,

Gopinath and Bhagirath Bhattacharya. Most of these were listed in the fourth class, comprising men such as knew philosophy; and four of them are included in the lists preserved in the *Ain*, in the class of doctors and physicians. The *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* mentions a few Hindu doctors of distinction, who lived during Akbar's reign, like Chandra Sen who was an excellent surgeon. Akbar's connection with the great saints of the age like Mahatma Tulasidas, Dadu and Sur Das, is preserved, even at the present day, in a number of stories and incidents. According to Badaoni, one Purushottam was commissioned by the Emperor to draw up a list of technical and other terms; and another Brahman, named Devi, who was one of the interpreters of the *Mahabharata*, used to instruct the Emperor daily at night in the secrets and legends of Hinduism. The famous Rajah Birbal, the Kavi Rai of the Empire, tried to persuade his master into worshipping the Sun and the Fire; and on account of his influence with his master, he received any number of opprobrious epithets from Badaoni's pen. Akbar's Rajput wives and other Hindu women in the harem were allowed a great amount of latitude in the practice of their religious rites, subject to a few rules.

The Zoroastrians were invited from Navsari to the Ibadat Khana, in its third or cosmopolitan stage of evolution; and Dastur Meharji Rana of Navsari initiated the Emperor into the ordinances, and ceremonies of the Parsi creed. Akbar was also said to have come under the influence of a Persian Zoroastrian, by name Ardeshir. Jain scholars had also their own share in this matter, and Akbar got the learned monk, Hīra Vijaya, and two companions of his, from Gujarat. According to Abul Fazl, Akbar was taught by the Jain Sadhu the righteousness of *Ahimsa*. Hīra Vijaya was given the title of *Jagad Guru;* and the Emperor read the *Sūryaśahasranāma*

along with Bhanu Chandra, a Jain *muni* that accompanied Hira Vijaya.

The Emperor's kindness and generosity to the Sikh gurus of his age, Amardas, Ramdas and Arjun Singh, are well known. Buddhistic *lamas* might possibly have been brought to his court to share in the discussions in the Ibadat Khana; and proofs have been given of such participation. . The Jews had their own share as well, because Mohsin Fani, in his work, the '*Dabistan*,' records the part played by a Jew in the midst of a debate between a Shiah and a Sunni. The Christian missions that visited Akbar's court have been elaborately described by Vincent Smith, C. H. Payne and E. D. Maclagan and other scholars; and we read of three definite missions that worked at the court. Of these the first under Father Rudalf Aquaviva and Father Monserrate fared much better than the missions that had proceeded to earlier Mongol rulers, like Chenghiz Khan and Kublai Khan. They contrived to secure permission to make converts and build churches and hospitals and to raise the prestige of the Portuguese power. The second was comparatively unfruitful; and the third, which has been well described by Maclagan, had a fairly long stay with the court. They had hoped to effect the conversion of Akbar; but it was as far off as ever.

VI

The new cult of the Din-i-Ilahi that has been so prominent a feature in the treatment of the religious side of Akbar's life may be best summarised as being an undefined religion. The author of the *Dabistán* tells us that the faith was propounded in ten virtues, though it was accompanied by a number of rituals and practices, the interpretation of the exact significance of which is rather difficult, particularly in the matter of the formula—"There is no God but God, and Akbar is His representa-

tive." The ten virtues propounded were as follows:—(1) Liberality and beneficence. (2) Forgiveness of the evil-doer and repulsion of anger with mildness. (3) Abstinence from worldly desires. (4) Care of freedom from the bonds of worldly existence and violence as well as accumulating precious stores for the future real and perpetual world. (5) Wisdom and devotion in the frequent meditation on the consequences of actions. (6) Strength of dexterous prudence in the desire of marvellous actions. (7) Soft voice, gentle words, pleasing speeches for every body. (8) Good treatment with brethren, so that their will may have the precedence to our own. (9) A perfect alienation from creatures and a perfect attachment to the Supreme Being. (10) Dedication of soul in the love of God and union with God the preserver of all (Roychoudhuri).

Opinion seems to hold that the Din-i-Ilahi was a mere Sufi order with its own formula in which all the principles enunciated are to be found in the *Quran* and in the practice of contemporary Sufis. Its influence was but little and soon decayed after the death of the great Emperor.

Abul Fazl has been charged with having led the mind of his Master away from Islam and the Prophet, by the great majority of writers. But Blochmann remarks, with great justice, that "Abul Fazl also led his sovereign to a true appreciation of his duties, and from the moment that he entered Court, the problem of successfully ruling over mixed races, which Islam in but few other countries had to solve, was carefully considered, and the policy of toleration was the result. If Akbar felt the necessity of this new law, Abul Fazl enunciated it and fought for it with his pen, and if the Khan Khanans gained the victories, the new policy reconciled the people to the foreign rule; and whilst Akbar's apostacy from Islam is

all but forgotten, no emperor of the Mughal dynasty has come nearer to the ideal of a father of the people than he."

The courtiers of Akbar attributed his deviation from Islam solely to Faizi and Abul Fazl; and the poet, Urfi of Shiraz, in an ode of his, makes a sly allusion to this belief about the brothers. "O Prophet, protect the Joseph of my soul (*i.e.*, my soul) from the harm of the brothers; for they are ungenerous and envious, and deceive me like evil spirits and lead me wolf-like to the well (of unbelief)."

"The 'Durar ul Manshur,' a modern Tazkirah by Muhammad 'Askari Husaini of Bilgram, selects the following inscription written by 'Abul Fazl for a temple in Kashmir, as a specimen of his composition and of his religious belief and it has been accepted as being his own composition. Unlike the trend of prevailing opinion, Abul Fazl had a very high opinion of the Brahmans of Kashmir. He thus wrote of them in the fourth book of his *Ain* :—"The best people in Kashmir are the Brahmans. Although they have not yet freed themselves from the fetters of blind belief and adherence to custom, they yet worship God without affectation. They do not sneer at people of other religions, utter no desires, and do not run after lucre. They plant fruit trees and thus contribute to the welfare of their fellow-creatures. They abstain from meat, and live in celibacy. There are about two thousand of them in Kashmir."

The inscription above-mentioned has been thus translated by Blochmann; and the temple was, appropriately enough, erected for the purpose of uniting together the hearts of the Unitarians in Hindustan, especially those of "His worshippers that live in the province of Kashmir:

'O God, in every temple I see people that seek Thee, and in every language I hear spoken, people praise Thee!

Polytheism and Islam feel after Thee,

Each religion says, 'Thou art one, without equal.'

If it be a Mosque, people murmur the holy prayer, and if it be a Christian Church, people ring the bell from love to Thee.

Sometimes I frequent the Christian cloister, and sometimes the Mosque,

But it is Thou whom I search from temple to temple.

Thy elect have no dealings with either heresy or orthodoxy; for neither of them stands behind the screen of Thy truth.

Heresy to the heretic, and religion to the orthodox,

But the dust of the rose-petal belongs to the heart of the perfume-seller.'

This is the best expression of the significance of Akbar's liberal age.

IDAṂ ME SAṂDHĀYA BHĀṢITAṂ

BY

DR. E. J. THOMAS, M.A., D.LITT.

The practice of paronomasia, *vakrokti*, or the use of words in more than one sense doubtless goes back to a very early stage of language, and seems to have become established in several directions long before we have any literary evidence for it. It appears in the form of the oracle or the riddle, or as the point or theme of a folk-tale, as in Somadeva's story in the *Kathāsaritsāgara* of the queen who said *modakaiḥ* (*mā udakaiḥ*) to her consort, when she did not wish to be splashed with water, and the king thought she was asking for sweetmeats (*modaka*). Its everyday use in the form of a pun was vigorously denounced by Dr. Johnson, but his objection does not apply when each of the double senses has its legitimate application, as in the case of the poor old man who was asked to praise Hari, which he did by describing his old robe:

Anantaguṇasaṃyuktaṃ sahasrākṣaṃ purātanam
ādyantarahitaṃ vande madvastrasadṛśaṃ Harim.[1]

"I praise Hari, who is like my dress with infinite strands (guṇas), with a thousand holes (eyes), ancient, and without beginning or end."

Such a mode of expression easily passes into the riddle, when the real meaning is deliberately hidden and left to be discovered by the hearer's ingenuity. There are riddles in the Ṛig-veda, though they do not depend on the intentional use of words in two senses.

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[1] Given in Ind. Ant., 1891, p. 292.

The Buddhists appear to have adopted the general literary use of *vakrokti*, and to have applied it to a means of enforcing some moral or doctrinal truth. In this way the real meaning becomes all the more impressive when it is discovered. In *Dhammapada* 97 we read:

Assaddho akataññū ca sandhicchedo ca yo naro,
hatāvakāso vantāso, sa ve uttamaporiso.

At first this appears to mean that the man who is without faith, who is ungrateful, and a cutter of alliances, a destroyer of opportunities (for them) and an eater of vomit, is a supreme man, the real sense being a description of the arhat, as being without faith (because he has passed beyond mere faith to actual realization), who knows the unmade (*akata*, i.e., Nirvāṇa), who has cut off his connexions (with worldly existence), who has destroyed the opportunity (for them), and has ejected his desires. Such an expression is said to be *sandhāya bhāṣitam*. This phrase is common in Mahāyāna works, but it occurs also in Pāli, where it seems to mean merely 'spoken with reference to.' But when it was applied to enigmatic expressions it is easy to see how it developed the sense of 'spoken with a special or hidden meaning.' The phrase has been discussed in the valuable papers by Vidhushekhara Bhattacharya Shastri in I.H.Q. 1928, pp. 287 ff, and Dr. P. C. Bagchi, I.H.Q. 1930, pp, 139 ff. Dr. Bagchi has well brought out the mistakes in its modern Bengali use due to a lack of knowledge of its real history.

In the *Saptaśatikā Prajñāpāramitā* there is a whole series of such expressions, where the speaker, Mañjuśrī, says of them, *idaṃ saṃdhāya vadāmi*.[2] He also uses one

[2] This Prajñāpāramitā was published by G. Tucci in the Memoirs of the Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Rome, 1923, and perhaps for that reason is not so well known as some of the other recensions of the Prajñāpāramitā. The chief speaker throughout is Mañjuśrī, and though this feature does not seem to

word identical with one of those in the above Dhp. passage. The believing monk, he says, is not worthy of being believed or supported, *śrāddho bhikṣur nārhati śrāddhādeyaṃ paribhoktavyam*, the reason being that such a monk is not a *kṣṇāsrava* arhat, as he has not reached the state of full knowledge and become *aśrāddha*. The arhat, says Mañjuśrī, is also *anuttīrṇabhaya*, not in the sense of 'having the fear that he has not crossed over,' but 'not having any fear about having crossed over.' There is the same ambiguity about the place of the negative in *anutpannakṣāntika*, and Mañjuśrī says it means, *yena . . aṇur api dharmo notpāditaḥ*.

The most striking of the statements is one which appears to contradict a fundamental doctrine of Buddhism, where he says that one who wishes to seek the Tathāgata should seek the ātman, and further that the word 'ātman' is a name of Buddha, *ātmeti . . . buddhasyaitad adhivacanam*. "As the ātman through its extremeness (*atyantatā*) is not known, not perceived, so too is the Buddha; as the ātman is not to be expressed by any thing (*dharma*), so the Buddha is indicated as not reckoned to exist anywhere." Neither the ātman nor the Buddha exists as a *dharma*, a thing of object perceptible to the senses. The Buddha is *tathatā*, *paramārtha*, ultimate reality of an entirely different kind from the so called reality apprehended by the senses, which in the true sense is void.

Śāradvatīputra thereupon observes to the Lord that Mañjuśrī does not teach so that bodhisattvas who are at the beginning of their career (*ādikarmika*) can understand.

This elaborate type of riddle has doubtless developed out of the older and simpler kind, in which the object

indicate an early date, yet it is free from the verbose repetitions found in some of the others, and contains other features which point to an early date. The only MS. is in the Cambridge University Library, and is unfortunately slightly defective.

meant is described in obscure terms. There is an example of this widespread type in the Book of judges, where Samson proposes a riddle to the Philistines: "Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness." The 'eater' was a lion which Samson had killed, and in the dried up body of which he afterwards found honeycomb. When the solution was discovered by the Philistines through the help of Samson's wife Samson replied with a riddling answer, "If ye had not plomed with my heifer, ye had not found out my riddle."

There are some riddles of this kind in the Rig-veda and Atharva-veda, especially the famous hymn to Vāc (R.V. X, 125, A.V. IV, 30). There Vāc is never named, and we are dependent on tradition for the interpretation. A hymn to the Viśve devas (R.V. VIII, 29) describes a number of gods, none of whom is named. The first is said to be "tawny, of changing form, beautiful, young; with golden raiment he decks himself," evidently a description of Soma.

The Dhammapada itself has two versions of a riddle of this kind (294, 295): *Mātaraṃ pitaraṃ hantvā, rājāno dve ca khattiye, raṭṭhaṃ sānucaraṃ hantvā, anīgho yāti brāhmano*. According to the commentary the meaning is, "having slain mother (*taṇhā*, craving) and father (*asmimāno* the idea of self) and two kṣatriya kings (the heresy of *sāsvata*, eternality, and of *uccheda*, annihilation) along with their country (the twelve *āyatanas*, i.e., the whole world of sense-experience) the brahmin (arahat) goes free from pain."

All this, however, touches merely the fringe of a wide subject of Indian folklore and culture.

ŚRICANDRA AND HIS APABHRAṀŚA KATHĀKOŚA

BY

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[1. Earlier Acquaintance.—2. The Ms. Described.—3. The Author, his Genealogy and Contemporaries.—4. Śrīcandra's Date.—5. The Apabhraṁśa Kathākośa, its Source and Basis.—6. Comparison with Hariṣeṇa's Kathākośa and Remarks on their Mutual Relation.]

1. Śrīcandra's Kathākośa in Apabhraṁśa has been already introduced to the students of Indian literature;[1] but the details that have come to light are insufficient, and some of the views already expressed require modification. My friend Prof. Hiralalaji Jain, who announced its discovery some fifteen years back, has kindly placed at my disposal the Karanja Ms. which is the only known Ms. of this Apabhraṁśa work.

2. It is a paper Ms., measuring 14.5 × 5.75 inches and containing 173 folios written on both the sides, the first page of the first folio being blank. There are some fifteen lines on a page, and each line contains about 55 to 60 letters. It is written in uniform Devanāgarī hand, the ink being black and the numbers of Kaḍavakas on a few opening pages being rubbed with red chalk. The paper has fatally absorbed the ink, and the written portion of most of the folios (excepting the last 40 or so which are intact) is brittle and broken too here and there. It has

[1] Catalogue of Sanskrit and Prākrit MSS. in the Central Provinces and Berar by Hiralal, Nagpur 1926, pp. Intro. 49 f., 630, 725—27; Hiralal Jaina: Apabhraṁśa Literature, Allahabad University Journal I, pp. 171-72; Winternitz: A History of Indian Literature, II, p. 543.

to be handled very carefully. It belongs to the Balātkāragaṇa Jaina Mandira, Karanja, and it is labelled 'A No. 79, Kathākośa Māgadhī.' According to the closing Lekhaka-praśasti, this Ms. was copied at Surat in Saṁvat 1787 (-57=1730 a.d.). It was written at the instance of Devendrakīrti, the successor of Dharmacandradeva, the Bhaṭṭāraka of Kārañjā (*Kāryarañjakapura-vāsi-bhaṭṭāraka*), of Kundakundānvaya, Balātkāragaṇa, Sarasvatīgaccha and Mūlasaṁgha. The cost of copying was defrayed indirectly by the nun Pāsamati (*āryikā-Śrī-Pāsamati-parokṣa-datta-vittena*). It is interesting to note that the Kārañjā Bhaṭṭārakas called themselves Malayakheḍa-siṁhāsanādhīśvara, indicating thereby that the Bhaṭṭārakas of Karanja had some connection with the spiritual line of monks at Mānyakheṭa, the present Malakhed in the Nizam State.

3. In all there are 53 Saṁdhis in this Kośa, and the first Saṁdhi is thus concluded.

विविहरसविसाले णेयकोऊहलाले
ललियवयणमाले अत्थसंदोहसाले
भुवणविदिदनामे सव्वदो सोवसामे
इह खलु कहकोसे सुन्दरे दिन्नतोसे ॥
मुणि-सिरिचंद-पउन्ते सुविचित्ते णंतपयदसंजुते ।
पढमो पीढियनामो अहियारोयं समत्तो त्ति ॥

The colophon of the last canto runs thus:

विविह रस विसाले। इत्यादि।
मुणि सिरिचंदकरा कहकोसे रात्थ जणमणाणंदे।
एसो पन्नासमओ तिहिं अहिओ समाणीओ संधी।

The colophons make it clear that the work is called Kathākośa and its author is Śrīcandra who was a monk.

Immediately after the colophon of the last canto, the author adds a pretty long Praśasti in Sanskrit which gives some important information about his contemporaries and

about his spiritual genealogy. As it is already printed,[2] I shall just summarise its contents which have a direct bearing on the problem of the date of this work. It is true that the Praśasti of an Apabhraṁśa work is written in Sanskrit, but that should not raise any doubt about its genuineness. Śrīcandra specifically gives the names of his predecessors and refers to himself in the first person (verse No. 20). The Praśasti clearly falls into two divisions: verses 1—10 describe the family with which the composition or ceremonious reading of this Kathākośa was connected, and verses 11—22 give details about Śrīcandra's spiritual ancestors and glorify the present text.

In the country of Sūrastha (perhaps a back-formation of Soraṭha, Sk. Saurāṣṭra), in the town of Aṇahillapura (modern Anavada, 3 miles from Patan in Gujarat), there was one Sajjana, of the Prāgvāṭa family, who was a legal adviser (*dharmasthānasya goṣṭhikaḥ*) of king Mūlarāja. He had a virtuous and generous son, Kṛṣṇa by name, whose sister was Jayatī and whose wife was Rāṇū. By his wife Rāṇū, Kṛṣṇa had three sons: Bījā (-pāla), Sāhaṇapāla[3] and Sāḍhadeva, and four daughters: Sirī, Sṛṅgāradevī, Sundū and Sokhū. Sundakā (i.e., Sundū) was much devoted to Jaina-dharma. It is by the sons and daughters (*santānena*) of Kṛṣṇa that this Kathākośa was got explained for their spiritual benefit.

In the Kundakundānvaya, there was a great monk Śrīkīrti who was an embodiment of religion itself. His successor was Śrutakīrti. After him came Sahasrakīrti (*tato guṇākaraḥ kīrti* (*ḥ*) *Sahasropapado 'janī*) who was learned and well-versed in various Śāstras, who was far-famed, who was gifted with exegetical and poetic merits,

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2 This has been already printed in the catalogue referred to above.

3 It is interesting to note that some of the names are Prākritic.

who was worshipped by various kings such as Gāṅgeya (-deva) and Bhojadeva (*Gāṅgeya-Bhoja-devādi-samasta-nṛpa-puṅgavaiḥ pūjitotkṛṣṭa-pādāravindo*), and who made the pious people happy by his instructions. His pupil was that fomous Vīryacandra. His pupil is Śrīcandra who is sensible and learned (*viveka-vasatir vidvān*), and who composed this Kathākośa, at the request of pious people, after grasping the work of a *pūrvācārya*, i.e., some earlier saint-author. He requests the wiser to correct him and to excuse him, if there have been any errors; and finally he prays that his Kathākośa should live long.

It appears that Śrīcandra might have lived somewhere near Aṇahillapura. He is silent about his date, but reasonable limits can be put to his age in the light of the age of his contemporaries some of whom are well-known and who may be thus arranged in three columns :

Śrīcandra's Line	Royal contemporaries	Sajjana's Line
1. Śrīkīrti		
2. Śrutakīrti	Mūlarāja (961-96) ⟵	1. Sajjana
3. Sahasrakīrti ⟵ (roughly *c.* 1020-40)	(Gāṅgeyadeva (*c.* 1015=40) (Bhojadeva (*c.* 1018-60)	2. Kṛṣṇa
4. Vīryacandra		3. Three sons and Four daughters.
5. Śrīcandra		

4. As to the date of Śrīcandra, Prof. Hiralal remarks: 'History tells us that there have been two kings of this name [i.e. Mūlaraja] in the Chālukya line of Aṇhillvāḍ. The first was the founder of the dynasty and reigned from A.D. 941 (961 ?) to 996, and the second, who was the tenth in the line, sat on the throne in 1176 A.D. and ruled only for two years. Our author flourished about the time of one of these kings, probably of the first'. But we may study the Praśasti and the above table more care-

fully. The most important fact noted by the Praśasti is that Sahasrakīrti was honoured by Gāṅgeyadeva and Bhojadeva who are undoubtedly the kings of those names from the Kalachūri dynasty of Cedi and the Paramāra dynasty of Malwa.[4] According to the evidence available, they were not only contemporaries for some years, but had also come into conflict with each other. Probable periods, namely, c. 1015—1040 and 1018—1060 (or 1010—1055) are assigned respectively to Gāṅgeya and Bhoja; so roughly speaking Sahasrakīrti must have been alive in A.D. 1020—40; and our Śrīcandra is the grand-pupil of Sahasrakīrti. Looking at the third column, Sajjana was a contemporary of Mūlarāja of Aṇahillapura who is to be identified with Mūlarāja I (A.D. 961—996) of the Chālukya dynasty of Gujarat, in view of the facts that Śrīcandra refers not only to Sajjana's son Kṛṣṇa but also to his grand-sons and grand-daughters who appear to be sufficiently grown up when this Kathākośa was composed. Sajjana might have been a senior contemporary of Sahasrakīrtī. These considerations lead us to the conclusion that Śrīcandra composed this Kathākośa some time in the last quarter of the 11th century A.D.

(5) This Kathākośa is written in Apabhraṁśa with varied metres and interspersed with quotations in other Prākrits and in Sanskrit. The number of Saṁdhis does not correspond to the number of stories which can be ascertained only when the text is prepared for the press. Roughly, however, Śrīcandra's Kośa has nearly the same number of tales as found in the Kathākośa of Hariṣeṇa which gives some 157 stories. Some of the stories in Śrīcandra's Kośa are vivisected by the Saṁdhi division: for instance, the 12th Saṁdhi is completed just

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[4] Smith: Early History of India, 3rd ed. (Oxford 1914), pp. 392, 395; H. C. Ray: The Dynastic History of Northern India (Calcutta 1936), Vol. II, pp. 774, 866.

in the middle of the story that is being narrated. In the following lines, he speaks of the Kathākośa of some early poet-saints :

> मह धम्मे परेक्कभत्ति गुरुक्क अण्णु किं पि न[5] वियाणमि।
> जलहि व्व असोसु जो कहकोसु सो हउं केम समाणमि॥
> जो विरइउ आसि महामईहिं
> महरिसहि अणेयहि सक्कइहिं।
> तं रयमि केम हउं मंदमई
> भूयरहो होइ किं गयणगई॥

In the opening Kaḍavakas the author broods over the fleeting character of worldly life and its temptations. He modestly says that he does not know much, but it is his deep devotion towards religion that induced him to undertake this difficult task of composing Kathākośa on which the gifted saint-poets of yore had tried their hand. He gives important clue about the source or the literary basis of his Kośa in the following lines :

> गणहरहो पयासिउ जिणवइणा सेणियहो आसि जिह गणवइणा।
> सिवकोडि-मुणिंदि जेम जए कहकोसु कहिउ पंचम समए।
> तिहं गुरुकमेण अहमवि कहमि नियं बुद्धिविसेसु नेव रहमि।
> मह देवि सरासइ संभुहिया संभवउ समत्थु लोयमहिया।
> आयण्णहो मूलाराहणहें सग्गापवग्ग सुहसाहणहें।
> गाहंतरियाउ सुसोहणउ बहु कहउ अत्थि रंजियजणउ।
> धम्ममत्थकामम्मो क्खासयउ गाहासु जासु संठियउ तउ।
> ताणत्थं भणिऊण पुरउ पुणु कहमि कहाउ कयायरउ।
>
> घत्ता—संबंध विहूणु सव्वु वि जणु रसु न देइ गुणवंतहं।
> तेणिय गाहाउ पयडिवि ताउ कहमि कहाउ सुणंतहं॥
>
> भणिदं च—
> जिह कुड्डेण विहूणं आलेक्खं नत्थि जीवलोयम्मि।
> तिह पयवेण विहूणं पावंति कहं न सोयारा॥

The author is announcing almost in the manner of

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[5] I have followed the readings of the MS. in retaining *n*. These extracts are quoted with a few minor corrections.

Purāṇas that the Kathākośa has descended from Jinendra, i.e., Mahāvīra, to Gaṇadhara and through Gaṇadhara to Śreṇika; Śivakoṭi-munīndra narrated it in the present age; the Pañcamakāla; and from teacher to teacher (*guru-krameṇa*) it has reached Śrīcandra who is narrating it here. The gāthās of Mūlārādhanā, whose study paves the path of heaven and liberation, contain so many nice and interesting stories. Śrīcandra would first interpret the gāthās and then give the stories connected with them. Without the proper context, nothing would be intelligible; it is necessary, therefore, that the stories should be given only after the gāthās are explained. A painting presupposes a wall; so also the narration of a story must be preceded by an understanding of the gāthā on which the story is based. Taking the second line by itself, one would be tempted to suggest that some Kathākośa was composed by Śivakoṭi; but reading the whole Kaḍavaka together, we would not be justified in attributing any work like that to Śivakoṭi. The knowledge of Kathākosa was possessed by Śivakoṭi who consequently has referred to many stories in the gāthās of his Mūlārādhanā, or as it is popularly called, the Bhagavatī Ārādhanā.[6] To begin with, Śrīcandra explains its first two gāthās; and on the second one he gives the tales of Bharata, etc. in Apabhraṁśa. Thus it is plain that he gives stories associated with the gāthās of Mūlārādhanā of Śivārya or Śivakoṭi. He picks up only those gāthās on which the stories are to be illustrated, explains their literal meaning in Sanskrit, and then gives short and long tales in Apabhraṁśa. Possibly he complains against his predecessors that they did not give these gāthās, but

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[6] For details about the Bhagavatī Ārādhanā and the Kathākośas connected with it, see my Intro. to the Bṛhat Kathākośa of Hariṣeṇa, in the Singhi Jaina Series, which is in the press. Some of these conclusions are being passingly touched in that Intro. also.

narrated only the stories; in a way his is a commendable procedure, but unluckily he has not quoted those gāthās upto the end. As far as p. 68 of the Ms. (say roughly 20 Saṁdhis), the gāthās are regularly given and explained at the beginning of every story; but as we approach the close of the work, we find that the procedure of giving gāthās is neglected, and sometime Apabhraṁśa verses are put instead. The gāthās, as given by Śrīcandra, show interesting dialectal variants which deserve to be used in building a critical text of the Bha. Ā.

(6) Among the Kathākośas of Hariṣeṇa, Prabhācandra and Nemidatta, the stories from which are based on the gāthās of the Bhagavatī Ārādhanā, it is with Hariṣeṇa's text that Śrīcandra's Kośa is closely related; and the results of their comparative study are quite interesting. The Ms. being very closely written and there being no indication to divide the different stories, it is very difficult to compare its contents with any other work. I tried to read these two texts side by side; and I am struck by the remarkable agreement in the sequence of stories adopted by both of them. Whenever the stories are common—and their number is pretty large—the basic contents are hereby identical in both. When the contents are alike, we come across identical words and expressions. Hariṣeṇa is more exhaustive in giving details about pre-births and after-births, and sub-stories. Almost in every case Śrīcandra's tales look like summaries of those given by Hariṣeṇa. Śrīcandra does not specifically mention the sources used by him; but the above points make it highly probable that he might have used Hariṣeṇa's Kathākośa (HK) as one of his main sources. For such a conclusion, we have some circumstantial evidence: Śrīcandra's Kathākośa (ŚK) is assigned to the last quarter of 11th century, while Hariṣeṇa had finished his Kothākośa much earlier, i.e., in A.D. 931-32. Śrīcandra

plainly says that Kathākośa was composed by many monk-poets in the past and that he used the work of a Pūrvācārya. It appears that he has in view some predecessors who gave only the stories without noting the relevant gāthās of the Bhagavatī Ārādhanā, and this suits very well with HK which gives merely the stories without any gāthās. Śrīcandra omits, at times silently and at times with specific remarks, some of the stories found, according to corresponding sequence, in the Kathākośa of Hariṣeṇa. I have not been able to detect in ŚK the stories corresponding to Nos. 73, 79, 83-4, 90, 102-9, 107, 123, 125 and 149 of HK.[7] With regard to No. 73 Śrīcandra plainly says that Yaśodhara's tale is too well known to be given (*atrārthe Yaśodharākhyānaṁ kathyate, suprasiddhatvān na likhitam*, p. 99a); and with regard to Nos. 83-4, he says that the stories of Bhārata and Rāmāyaṇa are endless (*Bhāraha-Rāmāyaṇai anantai*, p. 111). There is no doubt that these stories were present in his sources, otherwise such remarks become meaningless. I do not find any such explanation for omitting other Nos., nor is it possible to gauge the reason of his omission.

There are a few other considerations which indicate that Śrīcandra might have used, in addition to the Kathākośa of Hariṣeṇa, some more sources including perhaps some commentaries on the Bha. Ārādhanā. From the Kathākośas of Prabhācandra and Nemidatta it appears that some tales were connected with the second gāthā of Bha. Ārādhanā, but that gāthā is passed over by Hariṣeṇa. Śrīcandra, however, illustrates Uddyotana (both *laukika* and *lokottara*) referred to in that gāthā by the stories of Bharata and Jitaśatru for which

[7] These Nos. are from the ed. of the Kathākośa of Hariṣeṇa noted above.

Hariṣeṇa gives no counterparts.[8] ŚK and HK show important phonetic differences in some of the proper names; and these are impossible if ŚK was solely indebted to HK. ŚK has Jasahara (p. 5) Vissaṁbara (ibidem), Doṇimanta (p. 44) and Kuccavāra (p. 119) for which HK has Yaśoratha, Viṣaṁdhara (No. 5), Toṇimaṁ (No. 54) and Kūpakāra (No. 95) respectively. Then we may compare some of the quotations found in ŚK and HK in different contexts :

1. HK, 54, 17-18 :

तथा चोक्तम्—
पापच्छेदकरी दीक्षा निरवद्या सुनिर्मला।
पशूनां तु हितार्थाय महादेवेन भाषिता॥
न चा कार्यशतेनापि शिवदीक्षा विहन्यते।
गुरुद्रोहयुजां पुंसामित्याह परमेश्वरः॥

SK, p. 45 :

उक्तं च—
भव विच्छेदिनी दीक्षा निरवद्या सुनिर्मला।
नृपशूनां हितार्थाय महादेवेन भाषिता॥
न चा कार्यशतेनापि शार्वी सा हन्यते सती।
गुरुद्रोहादृते पुंसामित्याह परमेश्वरः॥

2. HK, 57. 518-19 :

ध्मायमानं यथा लोहं मलं त्यजति सर्वतः।
व्रतोपवासतोयेन तथा पापमलं त्यजेत्॥
जलागमे यथा रुद्धे सरः शोषयते रविः।
गुप्तेन्द्रियस्तथा नूनं नरः पापं विशोधयेत्॥

SK, p. 75 :

उक्तं च—
धाम्यमानं यथा लोहं मलं त्यजति सर्वतः।
व्रतोपवासतापेन तथा पापमलं त्यजेत्॥

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[8] I have prepared a table of gāthās and their correspondence with various stories in the Kathākośas of Hariṣeṇa, Śrīcandra, Prabhācandra and Nemidatta; and it would be included in my Intro. noted above.

उक्तं च--

उदकागमे यथा रुद्धे सरः शोषति भास्करः।
तथोपवासयोगेन प्राणी पापं विशोषयेत्॥

3. HK, 143, 37, (39):

नरेणैक शरीरेण नयशास्त्रयुतेन च।
व्यवसायेन युक्तेन जेतुं शक्या वसुंधरा॥

SK, p. 164:-

शक्यमेकसहस्रेण नीतिशास्त्र विशारदाः
व्यवसायद्वितीयेन जेतुमेनां वसुंधराम्॥

Some of the readings show wide differences which cannot be easily explained, if Śrīcandra followed mechanically and solely the text of Hariṣeṇa. There are major differences in the readings; with Śrīcandra they are all quotations, as they occur in the body of an Apabhraṁśa text; and if Śrīcandra took them from HK, he would not change them, because he is quoting them. Some of the verses are not correctly preserved; and till the original source is detected, it is difficult to say who is correctly quoting. I would explain the divergences thus. Both Śrīcandra and Hariṣeṇa are indebted to a common source, so far as such quotations are concerned. Perhaps Śrīcandra quotes them as they are. Hariṣeṇa, however, may have required to retouch them, because some of them are to form a part of his running Sanskrit text and are not necessarily quotations. I have shown elsewhere[9] that Amitagati also rewrites in this manner some of the Sanskrit verses which stood as quotations in the Prākrit Dharmaparīkṣā used by him. There is at least one instance where Śrīcandra's quotation is nearer the original than that of Hariṣeṇa:

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[9] See my paper 'Hariṣeṇa's Dharmaparīkṣā in Apabhraṁsa' which is awaiting publication in the Jubilee Number of the Annals of the B.O.R.I., Poona.

HK, 57, 531:

तथा चोक्तमागमे—

ए कम्मि भगवग्गहणे समाहिमरणेण कुणइ जो कालं।

ण हु सो हिंडइ बहुसो सत्तट्ठभवे पमोत्तूण॥

SK, p. 75:

भणिदं च आगमे—

एक्कम्मि भवग्गहणे समाहिमरणेण जो मदो जीवो।

न हु सो हिंडदि बहुसो सत्तट्ठभवे पमोत्तूण॥

This quotation comes from the Bhagavatī Ārādhanā (No. 682, Sholapur ed.) where the reading is *jo mado jīvo* and not *kuṇai jo kālaṁ*. It is a good indication, though not a conclusive evidence, because it is a Prākrit quotation. To conclude, it is quite possible that Śrīcandra had used HK; and further he appears to have used some additional sources, perhaps common with those of Hariṣeṇa, in composing his Apabhraṁśa Kośa.

[10] These quotations are given as they are.

A NOTE ON THE BHIKKHU SAṄGHA AND THE LAITY

BY

SISTER VAJIRĀ,

Sarnath.

During my sojourn in India, I have the opportunity to stay in a place sacred to the Buddhists, and where the Buddha delivered the *Dhamma-cakka-pavaṭtana Suṭṭa.*

The Sakyaputtiya Samanas who were brought over from their Lanka home have resided here since their youth. Their maintenance depends on what the laity of their own country send them. This also applies to the Indian Bhikkhu, especially for his supply of the three garments or robes which he wears daily, the *sanghāṭi*, *uttarāsanga*, and the *antaravāsaka*. Robes, bowl, lodging place and medicinal appliances for use in sickness are the four standard requisites for a bhikkhu (*cīvara*, *piṇḍapāta*, *senāsana*, *gilāna-paccaya-bhesajja-parikkhara*) : "And we should have robes and a bowl, and a lodging place, medicine for the sick—all the requisites of a recluse—made ready, and beg him to accept of them. And we should order watch and ward and guard to be kept for him according to the law." (Digha-Nikaya, 1. 61. *Samañña-Phala Sutta*).[1] The difficulties which the Buddhist monk has to expect in India to-day when he

[1] *Samañña-Phala Suṭta* ("The Fruits of the Life of a Recluse") contains a most interesting conversation between King Ajatasattu of Magadha and the Buddha, as to the advantage, as to the use, of having any Order at all. Ajatasaṭtu had always been hostile to the Buddha and his Order. The famous physician, Jīvaka Komarabhacca, persuaded the king to visit the Buddha.

endeavours to lead the genuine life as laid down by the Buddha, has impressed me very much. Indeed, it is hardly possible for him even to go *piṇḍapāta* into any of the villages here to collect cooked food in his alms bowl. Uncooked grain will only be collected unless arrangements are made with the village folk before; and neither are the Indian people accustomed to the rule which the bhikkhu has to oberve on his begging round, which is silence, as he passes from door to door.[2]

How is it feasible for the Bhikkhu Sangha to flourish again on its own native soil, in all its significance unless the Indian people themselves realise that they themselves must become part of the Sangha and so help the bhikkhu to lead the life he wants to live in all its fullness? It is not a matter of "becoming Buddhist" on the part of the laity, but it does necessitate an appreciation, knowledge and understanding of the rules which Gotama the Buddha, formed during his lifetime as circumstances arose to make such rules necessary.

The assembly of men and women which the Buddha gathered together during his life time in India, constituted a recognised Order, known as the Sangha. Lay supporters composed of the lay-men and the lay-women, were part of this assembly or Sangha. As a venerable Pāli and Sanskrit Scholar, who had been a bhikkhu himself at one time, observed to me that the complete Sangha is composed of the Bhikkhus, Bhikkhunis, the Lay-men and the Lay-women. A causal reading of the *Suttas* and the *Vinaya* will confirm this.

In return religious discussions and discourses would be held, the laity benefiting from the nucleus of ethical principles which would be imparted to them by the Theras and the Theris.

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[2] A summary of such rules, including others, will be found in the section known as the Pātimokkha of the Vinaya Text.

There were two famous lay supporters of the Sangha in the Buddha's time; *Anāthapiṇḍika*, the merchant, who became famous because of his unparalleled generosity to the Buddha, and *Visākhā* who was considered the ideal lay-woman (Anguttara Nikaya IV. 348). Gotama was always ready to listen to advice offered by his lay supporters. There is the well known event of Visakhā, who considered that she was justified in requesting Gotama to allow her to bestow eight gifts to the Order. Certain incidents had occurred which she had not approved of and which she enumerated to the Buddha at his request :—

> "I desire, Lord, my life long to bestow robes for the rainy season on the Sangha, and food for in-coming Bhikkhus, and food for outgoing Bhikkhus and food for the sick, and food for those who wait upon the sick, and medicine for the sick, and a constant supply of congee and bathing robes for the Nuns." (Vinaya, VIII, 15, 7, Mahavagga).

Thereupon Gotama asked for details of such circumstances which Visakhā related in detail. He gives his approval for Visakhā's request, predicts the merit she would certainly gain, and then informs his disciples what has occurred with the result that the eight gifts are allowed and so become part of the Rules (Vinaya, VIII, 15, 15, Mahavagga). Again, Visakhā was instrumental in having one of the arrangements in the monastery changed. A grandson of Visākha went to the Bhikkhus and asked them for the *pabbajjā* ordination (admission as a novice): "The Bhikkhus said to him, 'The Sangha, friend, has made an agreement that nobody shall receive the *pabbajjā* ordination during the rainy season. Wait, friend, as long as the Bhikkhus keep Vassa; when they

have concluded the Vassa residence, they will confer on you the *pabbajjā* ordination.' " (Vinaya III. 13. 1. Mahavagga). The result was at the end of the rainy season the grandson had changed his mind. Visakhā expressed her displeasure. Some Bhikkhus heard about Visakhā's attitude and told Gotama. Whereupon Gotama immediately altered the arrangement: "Such an agreement, O Bhikkhus, ought not to be made—that nobody shall receive the *pabbajjā* ordination during the rainy season. He who makes (an agreement like this), commits a *dukkaṭa* offence." (Vinaya 13. 2. Mahavagga).

The opinions of the rich and poor were all duly considered by the Buddha when such affected the welfare of the Order. When the Bhikkhus went into the villages for alms, some incident would occur which caused the people to be shocked and indignant. The matter would be reported to Gotama who would at once condemn such conduct. The following is an instance the way in which the rules would come about through the people themselves: "Now at that time a certain Bhikkhu, who had taken upon himself a vow to wear or use nothing except what he could procure from dust-heaps or cemeteries, went on his round for alms carrying a bowl made out of a skull. A certain woman saw him, and was afraid and made an outcry, saying 'O horror! This is surely a devil.' People murmured, were shocked, and indignant, saying, 'How can the Sakyaputtiya Samanas carry about bowls made out of skulls, as the devil-worshippers do?' They told this matter to the Blessed One. 'You are not, O Bhikkhus, to use bowls made out of skulls. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkaṭa*. And you are not, O Bhikkhus, to take a vow to wear or to use nothing except what you procure from dust-heaps or cemeteries. Whosoever does so, shall be guilty of a *dukkaṭa*." (Vinaya V, 10. 2. Cullavagga).

It is interesting to learn the first occasion when the Buddha himself first accepted cloth or a robe from a lay man. According to the great Indian Commentator, Buddhaghosa, Gotama only clothed himself in *paṁsukula* robes (rags taken from a dust heap or a cemetery) during the first twenty years from his *Sambodhi*. Buddhaghosa's note is in connection with the famous physician, Jīvaka Komarabhacca who was the first lay man to present such a robe to the Buddha. The physician had been attending Gotama for the first time and had succeeded in curing Buddha of an illness (Vinaya, VIII, 1, 3, 4 Mahavagga). The physician had in his possession some excellent quality of cloth :—"Lord, the Blessed One wears only *paṁsukūla* robes, and so does the fraternity of Bhikkhus. Now, Lord, this suit of Siveyyaka cloth has been sent to me by king Pajjota, which is the best, and the most excellent, and the first, and the most precious, and the noblest of many cloths and of many suits of cloth, and of many hundred suits of cloth, and of many thousands suits of cloth, and of many hundred thousand suits of cloth. Lord, may the Blessed One accept from me this suit of Siveyyaka cloth, and may he allow to the fraternity of Bhikkhus to wear lay robes (a robe presented by lay people)." (Vinaya VIII, 1, 34 Mahavagga) Gotama accepted the cloth. Jīvaka Komarabhacca then listened to a religious discourse by the Buddha, which seemed to impress the physician considerably. Later on he again returned to Gotama with a gift of a wollen garment made half of Benares cloth: ". . . . May the Blessed One, Lord, accept this wollen garment, which may be to me a long time for a good and a blessing." (Vinaya, VIII, 3, 1 Mahavagga).
which has been presented and accepted, and so allows the

As usual when Gotama accepts such gifts, he delivers a discourse to the fraternity on the particular gift

fraternity to be recipients of such gifts in the future. When the people of Rajagaha heard that Gotama allowed his disciples to receive robes from the laity, they immediately "became glad and delighted (because they thought), 'Now we will bestow gifts (on the Bhikkhus) and acuqire merit by good works, since the Blessed One has allowed the Bhikkhus to wear lay robes.' And in one day many thousands of robes were presented at Rajagaha (to the Bhikkhus)". (Vinaya VIII, 1, 35 Mahavagga).

Robes of different kinds were also allowed, those made of linen, of cotton, of silk, of wool, of coarse cloth, and hempen cloth. Gotama also allowed his fraternity to accept robes from the lay people as well as to get rags from the dust heap: "I allow, O Bhikkhus, that he who accepts lay robes, may get also *paṁsukūla* robes. If you are pleased with those both sorts of robes, I approve that also." (Vinaya VIII, 3, 1, 2 Mahavagga).

When yellow robes are presented to the Bhikkhus in Lanka to-day by the laity, the robes will have been already torn into pieces and re-sewn again according to the rules. Gotama found it necessary to lessen the value of a Bhikkhu's robe: "And it shall be of torn pieces, roughly sewn together, suitable for a Samana, a thing which his enemies cannot covet." (Vinaya VIII, 12, 2, Mahavagga).

The business of tearing up the robes was duly considered: "And the Blessed One beheld how the Magadha rice fields were divided into short pieces, and in rows, and by the outside boundaries (or ridges), and by cross boundaries. On seeing this the Blessed One spake thus to the venerable Ananda: 'Dost thou perceive, Ananda, how the Magadha rice fields are divided into short pieces, and in rows, and by outside boundaries, and by cross boundaries?' 'Even so, Lord.' 'Could you, Ananda,

provide robes of a like kind for the Bhikkhus?' 'I could, Lord' (Vinaya VIII, 12, 1, Mahavagga).

Ananda duly carries out the instructions and eventually showed the result of his handiwork to the Master, who thoroughly approved of the result. (Vinaya VIII, 12, 2, Mahavagga). Hence, the modern machine sewn patched robes of the Buddhist monks of Ceylon and Burma, still follow the pattern of the rice fields of India.

Besides begging for their food, the Buddha and his fraternity would accept food in the homes of the laity. The custom of inviting the Bhikkhus for their daily meal, before noon, is still faithfully carried out in Buddhist countries, as it was in the time of the Buddha. At the end of the meal the Buddha would deliver a suitable discourse to those householders who had given the meal. It is interesting to read the following descriptions in connection with the invitation. In the *Bodhi-Rajakumara Sutta* (Majjhima-Nikaya, LXXXV), the Prince Bodhi's palace, had just been finished, "but had not as yet been inhabited by recluse, brahmin, or any person. Said the prince to a young brahmin named Sanjika-putta:—'Go to the Lord and in my name bow your head at his feet, ask after his health and invite him to be so good as to take his meal with me to-morrow and to bring his Confraternity with him.' The message was delivered to the Lord who, by silence, signified acceptance—as was duly reported to the prince . . . . With his own hands the prince served that excellent meal without stint to the Confraternity with the Buddha at its head till all had had their fill. The Lord's meal over and done, the Prince Bodhi, seated himself on a low seat to one side, said to the Lord: 'My view, Sir, is that true Weal must be sought not through things pleasant but through things unpleasant." Gotama gives an interesting answer to the prince on this particular point of view.

Siha, the General-in-chief of the Licchavis visited the Buddha, and after having a conversation about the merit obtained by alms-giving, about the duties of morality: "he said to the Blessed One: 'Lord, may the Blessed One consent to take his meal with me to-morrow, together with the fraternity of Bhikkhus.' The Blessed One expressed his consent by remaining silent. Then Siha, the General, when he understood that the Blessed One had accepted his invitation, rose from his seat, respectfully saluted the Blessed One, and, passing round him with his right side towards him, went away . . . And Siha, the General, served and offered with his own hands excellent food, both hard and soft, to the fraternity of Bhikkhus with the Buddha at its head; and when the Blessed One had finished his meal, and cleansed his lowl and his hands, they sat down near him. And the Blessed One, after having taught, incited, animated, and gladdened Siha, the General, by religious discourse, rose from his seat and went away." (Vinaya VI, 31, 12, 14 Mahavagga).[3]

In this note on the relationship between the Bhikkhu Sangha and the Laity, I have touched upon a vital cord of the Sangha's existence which existed amongst the Indian people themselves some centuries ago. Such a relationship still flourishes but in lands outside India where the Buddhist laity are still a part of the Sangha which they consider worthy of charity, hospitality, gifts and reverend greeting, the finest field of merit in the world :—

> "*Āhuneyyo pāhuneyyo dakkhiṇeyyo añjalikaraṇīyo anuttaraṁ puññakkhettaṁ lokassā'ti.*"

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[3] Paul Carus in his work, *The Gospel of Buddha* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago and London, 1915) has copied sections from the Mahavagga of the meeting between Siha, the General, and the Buddha. The author has then added on a number of paragraphs in which we read the Buddha assuring Siha that he is justified in going to war "in a righteous cause . . . ." These additional paragraphs are not only not to be found in the Pāli Canon, but they are an invention of the author and an absolute travesty of the Buddha's teaching.

USE OF DIFFERENT PREPOSITIONS IN THE SAME SENSE IN THE LANGUAGE OF THE BRĀHMAṆAS

BY

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ABBREVIATIONS

AB.—Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, Bibliotheca Indica, 1895.

Śāṅ B—Śāṅkhāyana Brāhmaṇa, Lindner's Edition, 1887.

GB—Gopatha Brāhmaṇa, Bibliotheca Indica, 1872.

TB—Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa, Ānanda Āśrama, Poona, 1898.

ŚB—Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, Bibliotheca Indica, 1903 and Weber's Edition, 1855.

JB—Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa, Caland, 1919.

ṢB—Ṣaḍviṃśa Brāhmaṇa, Vidyāsāgara's Edition, 1881.

JUB—Jaiminīya or Talavakāra Upaniṣad Brāhmaṇa, Oertel, 1894.

Saṃ B—Saṃhitopaniṣad Brāhmaṇa, Burnell, 1877.

ŚBK—Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa of the Kāṇva recension, Caland, 1926.

TA—Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, Ānanda Ashram, Poona, 1897-8.

AA—Aitareya Āraṇyaka, Keith, 1919.

Tāṇ B—Tāṇḍya Mahābrāhmaṇa, Bibliotheca Indica, 1870—74.

Sā B—Sāmavidhāna Brāhmaṇa, Burnell, 1873.

MB—Mantra Brāhmaṇa, Satya-Vrata, 1890.

Use of different Prepositions in the same sense in the language of the Brāhmaṇas.

The occurrence of a large number of prepositions (used adnominally) in a highly inflectional language like Sanskrit is a striking, if not unexpected, phenomenon. Nay, to express the same sense, several prepositions have been used even in one and the same Sanskrit work.

The object of this paper is (1) to enumerate the various prepositions used in the same sense in the language of the Brāhmaṇas; (2) to determine their exact *nuance*, though they may agree in their general signification with several other prepositions; (3) to indicate the preponderance of a preposition's meaning; (4) to show their relative frequency in the language, and (5) to point out the cases governed by them in a particular sense.

VARIOUS MEANINGS AND THE CORRESPONDING PREPOSITIONS.

We shall now enumerate the various meanings and the corresponding several prepositions which convey them:—

(1) "Above".

The following prepositions have been used in the sense of "above":—

upari, *upariṣṭāt*, *adhi*, *ati* and *ūrdhvam*.

UPARI.

Of the five prepositions used in the sense of "above", *upari* is the only preposition which conveys the sense of "above" or "over" *only*:—

upari bhūmeḥ "above (or over) the ground" (AA I. 2. 4).

upari mūrdhnaḥ "above (or over) the head" (JUB I. 14. 44).

The occurrences, however, are only two, giving the *prima facie* indication that no single preposition in the

sense of "above" had acquired any wide usage in the language of the Brāhmaṇas.

The use of *upari*, as available in the two occurrences, "above the ground" and "above the head" is confined to spatial phenomena and it is not known whether *upari* was ever used to signify something in connection with non-spatial phenomena as well.

Whether *upari* governed the Ablative or the Genitive in view of *bhūmeḥ* and *mūrdhnaḥ* is difficult to say; nor are the prepositions for the opposite concept "below" decisively illuminating in this respect, for, as we shall presently show, the forms of cases actually available can be equally construed as Genitive or Ablative; except the preposition *arvāk* "below", which governs the Ablative in the following occurrence (the only one available):—

arvāk sahasrāt "below a thousand" (Śāṅ B XVIII. 3).

All that we could say is that *upari* possibly governed the Ablative.

UPARIṢṬĀT.

upariṣṭāt, an extension of *upari*, has in two occurrences the sense of "above":—

upariṣṭād etasyai ' above this one" (JUB, I. 6. 1).

upariṣṭād madhucchandasya vaiśvadevasya "above the all-gods of the *Madhucchandas*" (Śāṅ B XXIV. 1). But the majority of occurrences, as will be shown presently, signify "after"—the sense of "above" being either only secondary or a relic from the use of *upari*.

The sense of *upariṣṭāt*, as occurring in "above the all-gods" is non-spatial. It is not possible to conjecture from this single occurrence that the sense of *upari*, confined to spatial phenomena, was further extended in the use of *upariṣṭāt*.

The case governed by *upariṣṭāt* in the first occurrence is Dative, in the other occurrence Genitive. This can hardly throw any light on the case actually governed by *upari*—Ablative or Genitive?

ADHI.

Though *adhi*, in an overwhelming number of occurrences, means "on", "from" or "after", in the following occurrences it gives the sense of "above" or "over" :—

adhi . . . anne "over (his) food" (AA II. 3. 1.).

adhi . . . samānānām "over (his) friends" (AA II. 3. 1).

agneḥ . . . . adhi "over Agni" (AB IV. 7).

sarvasmād bhuvanād adhi "over the whole world" (TA. I. 2. 1).

This sense of "over" seems to be a secondary sense of "after", as in most of these examples the non-spatial sense of "above" is predominant.

ATI.

ati as a preposition (used adnominally) has five occurrences in Brāhmaṇa literature, in three of which the sense is of "above" (or "over").

sarvaṃ lokam ati "above the whole world" (AA II. 3. 3).

sahasram ati "over a thousand" (Śāṅ B XVIII. 3).

ati . . . ātmānam "exceeding oneself" (AB, IV. 6).

The other two senses are of "beyond", as will be shown presently, while the last two of the above occurrences could equally give the sense of "beyond", the meaning being non-spatial. This seems to indicate that the primary signification of *ati* is not the spatial "above", which is conveyed by *upari*.

ati throughout governs the Accusative, which is quite unusual for the other prepositions meaning "above".

ŪRDHVAM.

Ūrdhvam, as a preposition, in the vast majority of occurrences means "after" (as will be presently shown), but in the following instances it means "above":—

ūrdhvaṃ nābheḥ "above the navel" (ŚB, VI. 1. 1. 3).

ūrdhvam antarikṣāt "above the atmosphere" (ŚB, VI. 2. 3. 8).

ūrdhvaṃ pṛthivyāḥ "above the earth" (ŚB VI. 2. 3. 8).

ūrdhvam asmāllokāt "above this world" (ŚB, XIII. 6. 1. 10).

ūrdhvaṃ madhyāt "above the middle region" (ŚB, XIII. 6. 1. 11).

ūrdhvam . . . divaḥ "above the firmament" (ŚB, XIV, 6. 8. 3).

ūrdhvam in the sense of "above" in half the number of occurrences definitely governs the Ablative, and, as pointed out above, when the case governed by *arvāk* "below" is also Ablative, there may be some reason to suppose that the cases governed by *upari* in connection with *mūrdhnaḥ* and *bhūmeḥ* are also Ablative.

When we take into account the fact that *ūrdhvam* is originally an adjective and means "high," its signification as "above", when used as a preposition, could be expected. But actually the sense of *ūrdhvam* as a preposition, in the majority of occurrences, is "after". This indicates that the primary sense of "above" later acquired a secondary sense of "after" just as Greek **υπερ** "over" partly acquired the sense of Latin *de* "from, of" (vide Walde-Pokorny, Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen, I, 192).

We may therefore conclude that *upari* is the only pure preposition occurring *only* in the sense of "above" in the language of the Brāhmaṇas, but its occurrences are poor, the sense being conveyed occasionally by other prepositions like *ati* and *ūrdhvam*.

(2) "Below".

The following prepositions have been used in the sense of "below":—

avastāt, *adhastāt*, *arvāk*, *avāṅ* and *adhaḥ*.

The occurrences of prepositions signifying "below" (or "under") are extremely scanty: only *avastāt* occurs twice; others occur only once. This indicates that these prepositions were hardly current in the language. From this meagre material it is difficult to form an estimate of the difference of *nuance* among these prepositions. All except *arvāk* (connected with a "thousand") have a spatial sense.

Only *arvāk* governs definitely the Ablative, the others may possibly govern the Ablative or the Genitive.

AVASTĀT.

Avastāt śīrṣṇaḥ "below the head" (ŚB, IX. 3. 1. 6).

Avastāt . . . divaḥ "under the firmament" (ŚB, IX. 3. 1. 6).

ADHASTĀT.

Adhastāt hanvoḥ "under the jaws" (ŚB, XII. 2. 2. 4).

ARVĀK.

Arvāk sahasrāt "below a thousand" (Śāṅ B, XVIII. 3).

AVĀṄ.

Avāṅ nābheḥ "below the navel" (ŚB, VI. 1. 1. 3) & ŚBK, II. 2. 4. 10).

ADHAḤ.

Ātmano (a)dhaḥ "under the body" (ŚB, IV. 2. 4. 15).

(3) "Before".

The following prepositions have been used in the sense of "before" :—

purā, purastāt, puras, prāk, pūrvam and *agre*.

Three significations are conveyed by the prepositions meaning before :—(*a*) the temporal sense, which is mainly conveyed by *purā* and *purastāt*, which are of the most frequent occurrence; (*b*) the spatial sense, which is conveyed partly by *purā* and *purastāt*, and by several of the other prepositions; (*c*) the superiority sense, conveyed in single instances by *purastāt, pūrvam* and *agre*.

There is a curious difference regarding the cases used : *purā* governs the Ablative, but *purastāt* the Genitive, e.g., *purā (a)havanīyāt, purā kālāt, purā pravaditoḥ*, but *kṣatrasya purastāt, āhavanīyāgārasya purastāt, purastāt pūrṇamāsasya*. For details see below.

PURĀ.

Of the 28 occurrences recorded by me, in which *purā* appears as a preposition, only the following three have definitely a spatial sense :—

purā vasatyai "before the place of piling up fire" (ŚB, VI. 8. 1. 12).

purā barhiṣah "before the grass" (ŚBK, II. 2. 3. 23).

purā (ā)havanīyāt "before Āhavanīya" (ŚB, XIV. 2. 2. 1).

Otherwise the sense is temporal, as in

purā kālāt "before time" (ŚB, XIV. 5. 1. 11).

purā tamasaḥ "before darkness" (Śāṅ B, II. 9).

purā jarasaḥ "before old age" (GB, II. 2. 19).

purā saṃvatsarāt "before a year" (GB, I. 1. 31).

purā . . . āyuṣaḥ "before (the normal) age" (ŚB, II. 1. 3. 4).

purā . . . pravaditoḥ "before uttering" (AB, II. 15).

PURASTĀT.

Of the 24 occurrences recorded by me, in which *purastāt* appears as a preposition, only the following three have a definitely spatial sense :—

āhavanīyāgārasya purastāt "before the place for the Āhavanīya (ŚB, I. 7. 1. 8).

purastād ātmanaḥ "before the body" (ŚB, VI. 5. 3. 4).

purastād dhruvāyai "before the ladle called Dhruvā" (ŚB, I. 8. 1. 13).

Only in one occurrence *purastāt* appears in the sense of "superiority of position, i.e., "precedence", viz., in *kṣatrasya purastāt* "(Brāhmaṇa) before (i.e., superior to) the Kṣatriya" (Tāṇ B, II. 16. 4).

PURAS.

In all the three occurrences recorded, in which *puras* appears as a preposition, it has only the spatial sense :—

puraḥ . . . ebhyo lokebhyaḥ "before these worlds" (ŚB, VI. 3. 3. 1).

puraś cakram "before the wheel" (JB, 86).

asmat puraḥ "before us" (ŚBK, II. 2. 1. 18).

PRĀK.

One instance of *prāk* has a temporal, and another a spatial sense :—

prāg homāt "before the *homa*" (AB, VII. 12).

prāg avakāśebhyaḥ "before the vacant places" (TA, V, 11. 6).

PŪRVAM.

The only sense conveyed by *pūrvam* as a preposition is that of "superiority", appearing only in one occurrence :—

brahma khalu vai kṣatrāt pūrvam "the holy power is prior (i.e., superior) to the lordly power" (AB, VIII. 1).

AGRE.

Agre, in one instance, has the *nuance* of "away from" (literally "before") : in another occurrence it has the sense of "superiority" :—

asmād agre (a)pakrāntaḥ "retreated away from him" (Śāṅ B, XXIII. 2).

itaresām ṛtvijām agre . . . yad brahmā "Brahmā (who was) before (i.e., superior to) other priests" AB, V. 34).

(4) "After".

The following prepositions have been used in the sense of "after" (or "behind") :—

upariṣṭāt, *parastāt*, *paś-cāt*, *ūrdhvam* and *anu*. The prepositions mostly used strictly in the sense of "after" —the temporal sense being predominant—are two, viz., *upariṣṭāt* and *parastāt*. There are very few occurrences of *paś-cāt* as a preposition, and these are only in the spatial sense. *anu* is generally used in some idiomatic sense.

The prepositions strictly used in the sense of "after" viz., *upariṣṭāt* and *parastāt* govern the Genitive, and so does *paś-cāt*. *ūrdhvam* governs the Ablative and *anu* the Accusative.

UPARIṢṬĀT.

ūpariṣṭāt in the sense of "after" is used only to imply sequence in time, the sense being only temporal, as the following examples will indicate :—

upariṣṭād mṛtyoḥ "after death" (ŚB, XI. 2. 2. 5).

upariṣṭāt stotrasya "after the stotra" (ŚB, IX. 4. 4. 11).

upariṣṭāt saṃvatsarasya "after a year" (JB, 164).

upariṣṭād viṣuvataḥ "after the midday" (Śāṅ B, XXIV, 3).

upariṣṭāt pragāthasya "after a Pragātha" (Śāṅ B, XIX. 10).

PARASTĀT.

The use of *parastāt* in the sense of "after" is mostly temporal, as in

saṃvatsarasya parastāt "after a year" (AB, II. 33).

etāvataḥ kālasya parastāt "after so much time" (ŚB, X. 6. 5. 4).

parastāt sāmidhenīnām "after the Sāmidheni verses" (Śāṅ B, III. 3).

PAŚ-CĀT.

Only two occurrences of *paś-cāt* in the sense of a preposition appear in the Brāhmaṇa literature :—

paś-cād dhiṣṇyasya "behind the seat" (AA, V. 1. 4).

paś-cād gṛhyasyāgneḥ "behind the gṛhya fire" (AB, VIII. 10).

URDHVAM.

The use of *ūrdhvam* in the sense of "after" fluctuates between the temporal and the spatial, though more on

the side of the former, as the following examples will indicate :—

(a) Temporal :—

ūrdhvam āhāvāt "after the invocation" (AB, II. 38).

ūrdhvaṃ savanebhyaḥ "after the pressings" (ŚB. XI. 5. 9. 7).

pratihārād ūrdhvam "after the Pratihāra" (Śaṅ B, XVIII. 6).

(b) Spatial :—

ūrdhvaṃ gārhapatyāt "after (i.e., "behind") the Gārhapatya", (ŚB, X. 1. 5. 2).

praṇītād ūrdhvam "after (the fire) brought (on the altar)" (ŚB, X. 1. 4. 11).

ANU.

Anu in the sense of "after" is one of the most fluid of prepositions, giving various *nuances*. The temporal sense is rare, as in the following :—

anu . . . apahatim "after the destruction" (AB, VI. 1).

asmān anu "after us" (ŚB, II. 2. 4. 11).

"According to" is one of the most common of meanings, as in

anupasthitim anu "according to the absence" (ŚB, II. 3. 1. 13).

dvayam . . . anu "according to both" (ŚB, II. 3. 1. 24).

The spatial significance is more frequent, but the *nuance* is of "along" :—

anu diśaḥ "along the directions" (ŚB, X. 6. 3. 2).

pṛthivīm anu "along the earth" (AB, VIII. 27).

yāvad anu pṛthivī "as far as the earth extends" (AA, II. 1. 7).

(5) "Beyond".

The following prepositions have been used in the sense of "beyond" :—

paras, *parastāt*, *parāñ*, *parācīnam*, *tiras* and *ati*.

Of the six prepositions in the sense of "beyond", four—viz., *paras*, *parastāt*, *parāñ* and *parācīnam*—have been built from the Indo-european stem *per*—and of these only *paras* shows a little frequency. *tiras* is a preposition really belonging to the language of the *Saṃhitās*, its occurrence in the Brāhmaṇa literature being extremely rare.

Paras.

In a considerable number of occurrences *paras* means "beyond", and no occurrence in which *paras*, unlike *parastāt*, means "after", has been met with.

kūpasya paraḥ "beyond a well (JB, 103).

dvitīyāt . . . lokāt paraḥ "beyond the second world" (Tāṇ B, XX. 11. 6).

paro mūjavataḥ "beyond the Mūjavat Mountain" (ŚB, II. 6. 2. 17).

paraḥ . . . asmāllokāt "beyond this world (GB, II. 6. 2).

Parastāt.

parastāt, in a vast majority of occurrences, signifies "after"; only in the following two occurrences it means "beyond" :—

parastād antarikṣasya "beyond the atmosphere" (JB, 103).

parastād nakṣatrāṇām "beyond the stars" (TB, I. 5.

3. 4). This indicates that the secondary sense "after" has been developed much more than the primary sense "beyond".

parastāt, like *purastāt*, governs the Genitive, while *paras* fluctuates between governing the Genitive and the Ablative. All others (except *ati*, which governs the Accussative) govern the Ablative.

PARĀṄ.

Only one occurrence of *parāṅ* as a preposition has been met with in the Brāhmaṇa literature :—

parāṅ . . . itaḥ "beyond this world" (Tāṇ B, IX. 8. 6).

PARĀCĪNAM.

parācīnam ādityāt "beyond the sun" (JB, 4).

parācīnam agniṣṭomāt "beyond Agniṣṭoma" (JB, 63).

parācīnaṃ saṃvatsavāt "beyond the year" (JB, 63).

TIRAS.

tiras in only one instance has the sense of "beyond" :—

tiraḥ . . . manuṣyebhyaḥ "beyond men" (ŚB, III. 1. 1. 8).

ATI.

ati in the sense of "beyond" is not of frequent occurrence, being only found in :—

atīmāṃllokān "beyond these worlds" (ŚB, XI. 1. 2. 8).

imāṃllokānati "beyond these worlds" (ŚB, I. 2. 1. 12).

(6) "In".

The following prepositions have been used in the sense of "in" :—

antar, *abhi* and *adhi*.

But practically *antar* may be called the only preposition for "in", the other prepositions being used most rarely in the sense. The sense of all these prepositions is nearly always spatial.

Both *antar* and *adhi* govern the Locative, *abhi* governs the Accusative.

ANTAR.

antar has a copious number of occurrences: in the vast majority of instances the sense is spatial: only in one instance it is temporal:—

saṃvatsare (a)ntaḥ "in the year" (Tāṇ B, XVIII. 9. 7).

The spatial sense, being more general, may be noticed in the following:—

bhuvaneṣv antaḥ "in the world" (AA, II. 1. 6).

antaḥ cakṣuṣi "in the eye" (ṢB, II, 6).

Samudre (a)ntah "in the ocean" (JB, 199).

kuśyorantaḥ "in the two receptacles" (ŚB, III. 6. 2. 9).

Sometimes the sense is of "within"—

antar vedyām "within the altar" (GB, II. 4, 6).

garbhe (a)ntaḥ "within the womb" (JUB, III. 10. 12).

ABHI.

In two occurrences *abhi* has the sense of "in":—

apo (a)bhy amriyata "(he) died in the waters" (TB, III. 2. 5. 1).

svaś-arīram abhi "in your own body" (TB, I. 2. 1. 8).

adhi in only one occurrence has the sense of "in", its meaning generally being "on", "from" or "after" :—

eṣu lokeṣv adhi "in these worlds" (ŚB, III. 2. 1. 3).

The following prepositions have been used in the sense of "through" :—

tiras, *adhi* and *anu*.

The prepositions corresponding to the signification "through" are poorly represented in the language, as the following details will show :—

TIRAS.

tiras, in the sense of "through", has been found in only one occurrence :—

tiraḥ . . . tamāṃsi "through the darkness" (ŚB, I. 4. 1. 29).

ADHI.

adhi in only one occurrence has the sense of through" :—

kaśyapād adhi "through Kaśyapa" (TA, I. 7. 2).

ANU.

anu in the sense of "through" has only one occurrence :—

bhreṣam anu "through failure" (AB, V. 33).

Here *anu* and *tiras* govern the Accusative, *adhi*, the Ablative.

(8) "Between".

The following prepositions have been used in the sense of "between" :—

antarā and *antareṇa*.

Both *antarā* and *antareṇa* are copiously met with in Brāhmaṇa literature. They are virtually one and the

same preposition, having only dialectically different forms. Both of them govern the Accusative.

ANTARĀ.

The sense of *antarā* is generally spatial :—

antarā dyāvāpṛthivī "between heaven and earth" (ŚB, XIII. 3. 8. 6).

antarā diś-aś-ca raśmīṃś-ca "between the directions and the rays" (ŚB, X. 5. 4. 4).

antarorū "between the thighs" (Śāṅ B, III. 9).

antarāgnī "between the two fires" (TB, I. 4. 4. 10)..

pade (a)ntarā "between the quarters of verses" (JB, 74).

ANTAREṆA.

The sense of *antareṇa* is entirely spatial—

antareṇāgnī "between the two fires" (ŚB, XII. 4. 1. 2).

antareṇorū "between the thighs" (ŚB, XII. 5. 2. 7).

antareṇa sadaḥ . . . havirdhānāni "between the shed and the carts" (AB, I. 30).

gārhapatyāhavanīyāntareṇa "between Gārhapatya and Āhavanīya" (AB, VII. 12).

ubhe diś-āvantareṇa "between both the directions" (ŚB, XIII. 8. 1. 5).

(9) "With".

The following prepositions have been used in the sense of "with" :—

sākam, sārdham, saha.

Of the three prepositions used in the sense of "with", "*sākam* and *sārdham* have extremely few occurrences: actually *saha* is the only predominant preposition.

The sense is, in the case of all the three, almost exclusively associative: only one instance of a non-associative use occurs, as shown below.

The case governed by all of them is the Instrumental.

SĀKAM.

The use of *sākam* is entirely associative :—

sākaṃ devaiḥ "with the gods" (ŚBK, I. 6. 4. 8).

sākam . . . aśvena "with the horse" (JB, 65).

sākaṃ sūryeṇa "with the sun" (TB, I. 6. 6. 2).

SĀRDHAM.

The use of *sārdham*, like *sākam*, is entirely associative :—

vidyayā sārdhaṃ mriyeta "let him die with (his) knowledge" (Saṃ B, 3).

sa hovāca madhucchandāḥ pañcāśatā sārdham "he, *Maducchandas*, with the other fifty, said" (AB, VII. 18).

SAHA.

The associative use of *saha* is almost universal :—

saha rājñā "with the king" (Śaṅ B, XXVII. 6).

mātrā saha "with (my) mother" (TB, II. 1. 1. 3).

Only in the following occurrence, the non-associative use of *saha* appears :—

devāḥ . . . mādhyandinena savanena saha svargaṃ lokam āyan "the gods, by virtue of the mid-day pressing, came to heaven" (Tāṇ B, VII. 3. 5).

(10) "Near".

The following "prepositions" have been used in the sense of "near" :—

antikam, ardham.

No preposition proper is available in the sense of "near". Only two adjectives, *antikam* and *ardham*,

have been used in this sense, and their occurrence is meagre. Both govern the Genitive case.

ANTIKAM.

tasya . . . antikam "near him" (ŚB, I. 4. 5. 3).

aśvatthasyāntikam "near the fig tree" (ŚB, XIII. 8. 1. 16).

asyā antikam "near her" (JB, 205).

ARDHAM.

The extraodinary use of *ardham* as a preposition occurs in the following instances:—

āhavanīyasyārdham "near the Āhavanīya" (ŚB. VII. 3. 1. 6).

naḥ . . . ardham "near us" (ŚB, XI. 4. 1. 2).

asyārdham "near it" (ŚB, II. 3. 10. 3).

ardham āgnīdhrasya "near the Āgnīdhra" (ŚB, III. 6. 1. 28).

(11) "Towards".

The following prepositions have been used in the sense of "towards":—

abhi, *prati* and *accha*.

For "towards", *abhi* is the most widely used preposition: next comes *prati*, while *accha* is used only in a few occurrences.

All of them govern the Accusative.

ABHI.

For "towards" in the sensuously directing, spatial sense, *abhi* is used much more than *prati*:—

prācīm abhi "towards the east" (ŚB, II. 3. 3. 16).

anyatra carantam abhi "towards one who is walking elsewhere" (ŚB, III. 2. 2. 27).

udantam abhi "towards the border" (AB, III. 13).

senām abhi "towards the army" (AB, III. 22).

antarikṣalokam abhi "towards the atmospheric world" (AB, VI. 9).

PRATI.

For "towards" in the sense of "about", "in connection with", prati is used much more. In ŚB there occurs the following interesting passage, in which *prati* has been paraphrased for *abhi* in the text of the Saṃhitā :—

abhi savanāni pāhīti tadetaṃ graham āha sarvāṇi hyeṣa savanāni prati " 'offer thy protection in connection with all the pressings' (Vājasaneyi Saṃhita, VII. 20), so he addresses the *graha* in connection with all the pressings" (ŚB, IV. 2. 2. 10). This seems to indicate that during the Brāhmaṇa period *prati* was becoming more prevalent as an equivalent for the *abhi* of the Saṃhitās in the sense of "in connection with."

imam . . . prati "about him" (AB, VIII, 7).

tṛtīyas-avanaṃ prati "about (the time of) the third pressing" (GB, II. 6. 6).

ACCHA.

The following are the meagre occurrences in which *accha* occurs in the sense of "towards" or "to" :—

somam . . . accha "towards Soma" (AB, III. 25).

aṅgiraso (a)ccha "to Aṅgirasas" (ŚB, III. 5. 1. 16).

(12) "On this side of".

The following prepositions have been used in the sense of "on this side of" :—

arvācīnam, arvāṅ.

No preposition proper has been used in the sense of "on this side of". They are only two adjectives, being

radically only one word with extremely meagre occurrences.

Both govern the Ablative.

ARVĀCĪNAM.

arvācīnaṃ divaḥ "on this side of the firmament" (ŚB, VI. 2. 3. 8).

arvācīnam antarikṣāt "on this side of the atmosphere" (ŚB, VI. 2. 3. 8, VIII. 2. 1. 2).

arvācīnam ādityāt "on this side of the sun" (JB, 4, ŚB, X. 5. 1. 4).

ARVĀṄ.

tataḥ . . . arvāṅ "on this side of it" (AB, VII. 1).

amutaḥ . . . arvāṅ "on this side of it" (TA, V. 12. 3).

(13) "Without".

The following prepositions have been used in the sense of "without":—

ṛte, *vinā* and *antareṇa*.

The preposition *par excellence* for "without" is *ṛte*. *vinā*, so predominant in classical Sanskrit, occurs only once in the whole of the Brāhmaṇa literature, in ŚB. *antareṇa*, in an overwhelming majority of occurrences signifying "between", in two instances means "without" —a meaning which becomes more frequent in classical Sanskrit. *ṛte* governs the Ablative: both *vinā* and *antareṇa* govern the Accusative.

ṚTE.

ṛte (a)nnāt "without food" (Tāṇ B, XVI. 8. 9).

ṛte goḥ "without a cow" (ŚB, II. 2. 4. 13).

ṛte yūpāt "without the sacrificial past" (ŚB, III. 7. 3. 1).

VINĀ.

prādeśamātraṃ vinā "excepting the distance of a span" (ŚB, III. 5. 4. 5).

ANTAREṆA.

prāṇān antareṇa "without the breaths" (Śaṅ B, XXV. 12).

antareṇātmānam "without the body" (Śāṅ B, XXV. 12).

(14) "For".

The following prepositions have been used in the sense of for :—

abhi, *prati* and *adhi*.

"For", in the purposive sense, is rarely expressed by means of prepositions, for we have already in the language the Dative case which regularly conveys this sense. Only a few occurrences of *abhi* and *prati* and a single occurrence of *adhi* have been recorded in this sense.

abhi and *prati* govern the Accusative, *adhi* the Locative.

ABHI.

prajām abhi "for progeny" (ŚB, II. 3. 1. 29).

ātmānam abhi "for the body" (ŚB, II. 3. 1. 29).

dvayam . . . abhi "for two purposes" (ŚB, III. 5. 4. 1).

PRATI.

trayīṃ vidyāṃ prati "for the threefold lore" (Śaṅ B, VI. 12).

ṛṣīn prati "for the sages" (ŚBK, II. 1. 2. 8).

prati prajñātyai "for enlightenment" (TB, I. 2. 5. 3).

ADHI.

ahorātrayo . . . adhi "for (the possession of) the day and the night" (JB, 74).

GENERAL RESULTS.

We have enumerated above fourteen different sets of synonymous prepositions in the language of the Brāhmaṇas. The following significations have been richly represented by prepositions :—

Before, after, in, between, with, towards, without.

On the other hand, the following significations have been poorly represented by prepositions :—

Above, below, beyond, through, near, "on this side of", for.

Why one set of significations required a copious use of prepositions, and why the other set did not do so, is a problem for future investigation.

The most favourite sense which the language liked to be conveyed by prepositions of diverse formations was "after", taking into service even *ūrdhvam* and *parastāt*.

The use of the following prepositions was very fluid :—

adhi, ati, ūrdhvam, anu, abhi and *prati*. Thus *ūrdhvam* (see p. 1029) strictly meant "above" and was sometimes used in this sense, but it more generally conveyed the sense of "after".

The strict meaning of some of these prepositions is difficult to indicate, e.g., it is hard to say definitely whether *ati* meant "beyond" or "above", though the former meaning, strictly speaking, was more probable (see p. 1028).

We have noticed an indication of a historical change as appearing in the growing use of *prati* in the Brāhmaṇas instead of *abhi* in the Saṃhitās (p. 1043).

For "without", the preposition *par excellence* is *ṛte* : *vinā* occurs only once in the whole of Brāhmaṇa literature (p. 1044).

Though both *purā* and *purastāt* mean "before", *purā* governs the Ablative, while *purastāt* the Genitive (p. 1032). This seems to be curious; but considering the fact that all prepositions formed by the suffix *-tāt* like *upariṣṭāt* and *parastāt* tend to govern the Genitive (pp. 1028, 1034, 1036), *purastāt* probably follows the same tendency.

In conclusion, we see that though the language of the Brāhmaṇas, being highly inflectional, is not very rich in prepositions, yet it occassionally felt the need of prepositions, to express more exactly the *nuance* intended. The locative, for instance, required an additional preposition *antar* in order to show that "in" was intended, and during this period, which began to feel this need, a number of prepositions in the same sense was used.

CURRENT PROPER NAMES (मनुष्यनाम) IN PĀṆINI

BY

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Names of persons in India have undergone evolutionary changes through the following periods, (1) Rigvedic, (2) Later Vedic, (3) Sutra and Buddhist, (4) Kushāna and Gupta, (5) Medieval and (6) Modern. Proper names from each historical epoch reveal certain distinguishing features which taken together constitute a 'style' for that age. For example, the most usual method of referring to a person in the Ṛigveda is to give his own name along with another epithet derived from his father's name. In the later Vedic literature the emergence of the *gotra* name replacing the patronymic is a marked feature. In some cases the personal name is accompanied by the name derived from a country or locality, e.g., Bhīma Vaidarbha (*Ait. Br.*, vii. 34). In the *Vaṁsa* lists of the late Brāhmaṇa period we find also the frequent use of metronymics. (P. V. Kane, Naming a Child or Person, I.H.Q., June 1938, pp. 227-28). On the other hand we also notice that there is in the Vedic literature hardly any individual name which is derived either from the names of gods or from the names of stars, both of which were regular features of names in the Buddhist period and must be assigned to a much later epoch. It should be presumed that such a transition was accompanied by a corresponding change in the religious attitude of the people.

Classes of Pāṇinian Names.—In the light of the above if we examine the evidence regarding names in the Ashṭādhyāyī we discover certain chronological considerations of great value besides the purely cultural interest

of the subject. These will be discussed in their proper place.

There are four principal classes of names dealt with in the Ashṭādhyāyī. Firstly, a considerable number of sūtras usually having a *gaṇapāṭha* teach the formation of *gotra* names (Ch. IV, *pāda* 1). It shows that the ancient custom of designating persons after their *gotra* names was in full swing upto the time of Pāṇini. We find the use of the *gotra* names as a normal feature in the time of the Buddha. A majority of these *gotras* traced their beginning to ancestors who lived long anterior to Pāṇini. Secondly, the patronymic or the name derived from that of the father is also prescribed (*Tasyāpatyam*, IV. 1. 92, etc.). Thirdly, a vast body of names discussed by Pāṇini are those derived from place names or localities which were either the residence of a person himself or the abode of his ancestor (*abhijana*). It was in one way very fortunate that Pāṇini took within his purview this line of name-formation, for the geographical evidence incidently incorporated is of the utmost value. The fourth class of names includes purely personal names and these are chiefly the object of the present study.

Pāṇini refers to individual names as *manushya-nāma* (V. 3. 78) or simply as *saṁjña* (V. 3. 75; V. 2. 106; VI. 2. 159; VI. 2. 165).

Special Features.—Pāṇinian names are distinguished by the following three main features: (1) name as a compound word consisting of two members, (2) the principle of contraction as applied to the two or more parts of the compound, and (3) the custom of deriving names from stars (*nakshatra-nāma*).

Names which are compound words normally consist of a *pūrvapada* and an *uttarapada* (V. 3. 82), and the compound is either Bahuvrīhi or Tatpurusha. Almost all names envisaged in the relevant sections (V. 3. 79—83;

VI. 2. 106—115) are polysyllabic (*bahvach*), i.e., consist of more than two syllables (*ūrdhvam dvitīyādachaḥ*, V. 3. 83), the actual number of syllables being usually four or five. According to the Gṛihya Sūtras a name should end in a *kṛita* word and never in a *taddhita*. Pāṇini gives two examples of such ending, viz., *datta* and *śruta* (VI. 2. 148). To these Patañjali adds *rakshita* (Bhāshya Vol. I. 189) and *gupta* (I. 37, e.g., Āmragupta, Śālagupta). Both these characteristics are confirmed by the injunction of the Yājñikas quoted by Patañjali (I. 4) and apparently based on the living tradition of the Gṛihya Sūtras.[1] *Mitra*, *Ajina* (VI. 2. 165, V. 3. 82) and *Sena* (IV. 1. 152; VIII. 3. 99) are other words which were used as the second member of personal names in the time of Pāṇini.

Contraction of Names.—The principle of contraction as applied to names is unknown in the Vedic literature. In Pāṇini we find elaborate rules governing the shortening of individual names, but *gotra* names were not subject to contraction. It is only in compound names that we find the dropping out of the *uttarapada* (V. 3. 82) or the retention of only the first two syllables and the elision of the rest of the syllables (V. 3. 83). Pāṇini analyses the psychological factor responsible for the contraction of a personal name; it is the desire to address a person out of endearment (*anukampāyām*, V. 3. 76). For example Vyāghrājina, a dignified name, was contracted to Vyāgraka (V. 3. 82) which was a more affectionate form, and Devadatta to Devika, Deviya, and Devila (V. 3. 79). There is also a provision to expand it to Devadattaka (V. 3. 78) which for syllabic quantity exceeds even the

[1] For rules about names in the Gṛihyasūtras, see Hiraṇyakeśi, ed. Kriste, II. 4. 10; Āśvalāyana, ed. I. 13. 5-6; Kāṭhaka, III. 10. 2; Pāraskara, I. 17. 2; Āpastamba, VI. 15. 9; Mānava, I. 18. 1. (I.H.Q., 1935, p. 88); Baudhāyana, II. 2. 24-31 (I.H.Q., June, 1938, pp. 223-44 P. V. Kane) and also Gobhila, II, 7. 15-16; Śānkhayana, I, 24; Khādira, II. 2. 31-32; Bhāradvāja, I. 26.

original form. Similarly in the opinion of the eastern grammarians Upendradatta was shortened to Upaḍa and Upaka (V. 3. 80) and also to Upiya and Upila, the last being the form which must have been transformed into Upali, a name so well-known in Buddhist literature.

Names from Stars (Nakshatra Nāma).—The next important fact about names which we learn from Pāṇini is about the custom of designating persons after the asterism of their birth (IV, 3. 34-37; VIII. 3. 100). For example a boy born under Tishya would be called Tishya and one born under Punarvasu named Punarvasu (IV. 3. 34).[2] In the whole of the Vedic literature comprising the Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas, Āraṇyakas, and Upanishads, examples of *nakshatra* names are practically non-existent. We find only Chitra and Āshāḍha out of a very limited number of cases and even there the stellar significance of the names is doubtful.[3] The star names, therefore, indicate a definite watershed of time separating the sutra period from that of the Brāhmaṇas and their supplementary portions, the Āraṇyakas and the Upanishads.

On the other hand we find in the Pali literature the star names to be a common phenomenon. The inscriptional records of the Mauryan and Sunga periods although removed in time from Pāṇini show the continuation of the star names over a period of several hundred years. The Gṛihyasutras give the earliest indication of the practice of star names. According to Āpastamba the *nakshatra* name is the secret name of the person. The Khadira, Varāha, Hiraṇyakeśi and Gobhila Gṛihya-

[2] *Tishyaścha māṇavakaḥ Punarvasū cha māṇavakau Tishya-Punarvasavah.* Patanjali takes these examples implied in sutra I. 2. 65 (Bhāshya I. 231).

[3] As Chitra Gāṅgyāna (Sānkh, Ār. III. 1); Āshāḍha Sāyavasa (Jaiminīya Br.) who was a *grāmaṇī* of the Sārkarākshyas; Āshāḍhi Sauśromateya (Satapatha, VI. 2. 1. 37), son of Āshāḍha and Suśromata.

sūtras contain injunctions about having *nakshatrāsrya* names. Pāṇini clearly falls in a line with them.

Below is a detailed analysis of the different types of proper names in Pāṇini, explaining the rationale of a majority of names in the inscriptions of the post-Pāṇinian period. The names fall under three groups, *viz.*, miscellaneous names, star names and abbreviated names.

A. Miscellaneous.

1. Names with *viśva* as the first member इगीह्रौविश्वसंज्ञायाम् VI. 2. 106). The pre-Pāṇinian examples are Viśvāmitra, Viśvamanas (Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa) and Viśvasāman; they are not so varied as in the Jātakas which record Vissakamma (I. 314), Vissasena, king of Baranasi (II. 345), Vessabhu Buddha, Vessamitta, former king (*porāṇakarājā*) (VI. 251), and Vessantara.

2. Names ending in *udara*, *aśva*, and *ishu* (उदराश्वेषुषु VI. 2. 107). The names cited in the Kāśikā, viz., Vṛikodara, Haryaśva, Maheshu seem like pre-Pāṇinian. Allied classical instances are absent except Bahuśodarī *devadhitā* found in a Jātaka (VI. 83).

3. Names ending in *karṇa* (VI. 2. 113) as Mayūrakarṇa (Śivādigaṇa, IV. 1. 112) and a few others in the gaṇapāṭha which seem to be of the same age as Pāṇini.

4. Names ending in *kaṇṭha*, *pṛishṭha*, *grīvā* and *jaṅghā* (VI. 2. 114). Names with these endings are rare in the Vedic literature except Śitipṛishṭha and Śitikaṇṭha. Pāṇini mentions Kalaśīkaṇṭha, Dāmakaṇṭha, and Khārījaṅgha in the Upakādi group (II. 4. 69), which appear to be contemporaneous names. Tālajaṅgha cited in Kāśikā was certainly an earlier name. Maṇikaṇṭha occurs in the Jātakas (II. 282).

5. Names ending in *śṛiṅga* (VI. 2. 115). Ṛishyaśṛiṅga is the only example in the Buddhist or classical period.

6. Names with the instrumental form *manasā* as first member (VI. 3. 4). Manasādatta and Manasāgupta are the illustrations in Kāśīkā, but no example of the actual use of these in literature is met with. However, they seem to have a distinctly classical look about them.

7. Names ending in *mitra* (VI. 2. 165), are few in the Vedic literature, but represented by an extensive series in the post-Pāṇiniya period, e.g., Sarvamitta. (Jāt. V. 13), Jitamitta (Jāt. I. 37), Chandamitta (Jāt. I. 41), etc. The richness of mitra-ending names in the later epigraphical records[4] contrasts with their paucity in the pre-Pāṇinian epoch.

8. Names ending in *ajina* (VI. 2. 165). The Kāśikā cites Vṛikājina, Kulājina and Kṛishṇājina. In the Jātakas the only examples are Migājina (VI. 58) and Kaṇhājinā (daughter of Vessantara, VI. 487). Pāṇini himself refers to Kṛishṇājina in the Upakādi (II. 4. 69) and Tika-Kitavādi (II. 4. 6) groups. The paucity of *ajinanta* names in literature may be due to the elision of ajina as noted by Pāṇini in sutra अजिनान्तस्योत्तरपदलोपश्च V. ३. ३८ For example, Vyāghrājina was contracted to Vyāghraka.

9. Names of species (*jāti-nāma*) adopted as personal names (*manushya-nāma*, V. 3. 81), e.g., Vyāghraka, Siṁhaka. The rule for adding *ka* was not constant, hence Vyāghrila and Siṁhila were also possible (Bühler's Sanchi List). This custom of deriving names from animals was unknown in the Vedic period. Pāṇini

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[4] The Sanchi inscriptions have Balamitra, Saṅghamitra, Ahimitra, Satyamitra (=Sachamita) among males, and Nāgamitrā, Uttaramitrā, Vasumitrā, Rishimitrā (=Isimitā), Jitamita, and simply Mitrā, among females (Bühler's list of Proper Names from Sanchi Ins., Ep. Ind., Vol. II, pp. 403—407) and Bharhut adds Saṅghamitrā and Gargamitrā (Lüders List, Nos. 759—832), and the Pañchāla coins give Bṛihaspatimitra, Agnimitra Bhānumitra, Bhūmimitra, Dhruvamitra, Phālgunīmitra, Sūryamitra, Vishnumitra, (Allan, Indian Coins, p. cxvii) and recently Prajāpatimitra on a Pañchāla Coin.

makes reference to contemporary ideals of personal bravery in instituting comparisions with a tiger or a lion (II. 1. 56).

10. Names ending in *sena* (VIII. 3. 99). Pāṇini makes special reference to *senānta* names in sūtra IV. 1. 152 (सेनान्तलक्षण कारिभ्यश्च). The only *senānta* names in the lists of Vedic teachers are Yajñasena (Tait. S., V. 3. 8. 1; Kāṭhaka Saṁ., XXI. 4) or Yājñasena[5] and Ṛishṭisheṇa (Nirukta II. 11), although Patañjali gives us to understand that Jātasena was also the name of a Ṛishi. Among ancient *senānta* names of Kshatriyas, Patañjali points out Ugrasena Andhaka, Vishvaksena Vṛishṇi and Bhīmasena Kuru. If we now turn to post-Pāṇinian names, we find *senānta* names to be much more common, e.g., Vārishena and Harisheṇa in Patañjali (*loc. cit.*); Sotthisena (Jāt. V. 88) equal to Svastisena). Śūrasena (Jāt. VI. 280), Ugraseṇa (Uggasena king of Benares, IV. 458), Upasena (Jāt. II. 449), Atthisena (Jāt. III. 352), Nandisena (minister of Assakarāja, Jāt. III. 3), Jayasena (Jāt. Nidāna, p. 41), Chaṇḍasena (Jāt. VI. 157) and Bhaddasena (Jāt. VI 134). Also Dhamasena, Varasena at Sanchi, Nāgasena (Lüder's List 719), Mahendasena (LL. 850) at Bharhut; and Asāḍhasena from Pabhosa.

According to Pāṇini VIII. 3. 100 the names of asterisms precede the word *sena* to form individual names, e.g., Rohiṇisena, Bharaṇisena, etc., and the one name without which Pāṇini's special ruling (*agakārād*, VIII. 3. 100) would remain unillustrated is Śatabhishaksena—a name seldom found in actual instance.

11. Names ending in *Datta* and *Śruta,* when a benediction is implied (VI. 2. 148), e.g., Devadatta, 'he

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[5] A descendant of Yajñasena, also called Sikhandin; Kaush. Br. VII. 4. In the list compiled in the Jaiminīya Br. Dr. Caland also gives Sutvan Yājñasena.

whom the gods may bestow' and Vishṇuśruta 'he whose wishes Vishṇu may hear'. These are examples of names ending in *Kṛita* of which we hear so often in the Griḥya-sūtras. We do not usually come across any real name ending in *śrura* in the Vedic or Buddhist literature. The number of names ending in *datta* is also limited as Brahmadatta (Jaim. Br., Kiṅg of Kosala, also called Prasenajita), Punardatta and Sūryadaṭṭa (Śāṅkh. Ār. VIII. 8), but in the Buddhist literature they are much more varied as Devadatta, Bhūridaṭṭa (Jāt. VI. 167), Matidatta (Jāt. IV. 342), Yaññadatta Brāhmaṇakumāra (Jāt. IV. 30), Somadatta (Jāt. VI. 170). These become a regular feature in the period of Sanchi records, e.g., Aggidatta, Vāyu-, Yama-, Id- (=Indra-), Ṛishi- (=Isi-), Brahmā- (=Baha-), Upendra- (=Upida- or Upeda-), Uttara-, Vaiṣramaṇa-, Pushya-, Gaṅga- Dharma- and Nāgadatta, etc., (Cf. Bühler's List). According to Kātyāyana's Vārttika on I. 4. 58-59, Maruddatta would be equal to Marutta (Bhāshya I. 341). Patañjali cites Yajñadaṭṭa and Devadatta as typical names of Brāhmaṇas (Bhāshya I. 189), often shortened simply to Datta (I. 111).

12. As instances of particular names Pāṇini mentions Ṣevala, Supari, Viśāla, Varuṇa and Aryamā (शेवल-सुपरि-विशाल-वरुणार्यमादीनां तृतीयात् V. 3. 84). They formed the first part (*pūrvapada*) of names and the three endearment suffixes, *ika*, *iva* and *ila*, added after them caused the elision of all the syllables after the third. For example Ṣevaladatta or Ṣevalendradaṭta became Ṣevalika Ṣevaliya or Ṣevalila; Suparyāśīrdatta became Suparika, Supariya, Suparila, and Viśāladatta became Viśālika, Viśāliya, Viśālila.

In the Jātakas the equivalent of Ṣevala is Sīvalikumāra (I. 408), or the feminine Sīvalīdevī wife of king Mahā Janaka (VI. 37). In the label of this Jātaka at

Bharhut Devī Sivalā is the form of the name (Lüder's List 709).

Instances of the use of Aryamā, Supari and Viśāla are rare. Varuṇa occurs as a common name in the Buddhist literature in the Kumbha Jātaka (V. 12) and elsewhere. Aryamā occurs only once at Bharhut as Ayama (Lüder's List 813). Aryamā was the name of an Āditya and Varuṇa was one of the Lokapālas or Mahārāja gods referred to by Pāṇini (IV. 3. 97) or was the name of a Nāgarāja.

13. Instances of names or virtually epithets given by reason of birth, were Gośāla, Kharaśāla (स्थानान्त गोशाल खरशालाच्च IV. 3. 35) and Vatsaśāla or Vātsaśāla IV. 3. 36). Of these the only historical example is that of Gosāla, also called Maṅkhali, which perhaps corresponds to Pāṇini's Maskarin (VI. 1. 154). As a popular name it occurs at Bharhut (üders List, 853).

14. Names ending in *putra*, and preceded by a masculine word (पुत्र: पुम्भ्य: VI. 2. 132), as Kaunaṭiputra. They have initial acute accent (आद्य उदात्त). As counter examples of these are names preceded by the name of the mother, as Gārgīputra and Vātsīputra, and distinguished by the acute accent on the final vowel. The practice of adding feminine *gotra* name before *putra* is found in the Vaṁśa list of teachers in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa beginning with Saṁjīvī-putra (Vedic Index, II. 443). A Kātyāyanīputra (Jātūkarṇya) and a Prātiyodhīputra also occur in the Śāṅkh. Āraṇyaka (III. 10; VII. 13). According to Pāṇini one's designation after the gotra name of one's mother (*gotra-strī* implied censure (IV. 1. 147), because it was supposed that the mother's name would be adopted in the event of the father's name being unknown (Kāśikā, पितुरसंविज्ञाने मात्रा व्यपदेशो पुत्रस्य कुत्सा In the long Vaṁśa lists of distinguished teachers in the Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa, the addition of the

mother's name is a regular feature and must be defended on the basis of a well-recognised practice. Patañjali seems to attribute honour in being addressed by the mother's name, as Gārgīmāta, Vātsīmāta (III. 340). We know from inscriptional records that at least in the Sunga and Andhra periods the additional metronymics as वात्सीपुत्र वासिष्ठीपुत्र etc., were considered honourable personal names.

Female names are generally implied in sūtra IV. 1. 113 which Kāśikā illustrates by names like Śikshitā and Chintitā which are very unusual, and the same rule also refers to name of rivers denoting *apatya* or a descendant. The Varāha Gṛihyasūtra offers the nearest parallel saying that the name of a girl should not be the name of a river, and that it should not end in *dattā* or *rakshitā* preceded by the name of a god (Kane, I.H.Q., 1938, 233).

B. Nakshatra-Nāma.

15. Pāṇini lays great emphasis on names derived from the names of stars (IV. 3. 34, 36, 37; VIII. 3. 100). According to the Gṛihyasūtras a person was given a *nakshatra* name in addition to his popular name. According to Āpastamba the star name was kept secret and in the opinion of Gobhila the teacher was to settle a *nakshatra* name which the student was to employ when bowing at the feet of his teacher (अभिवादनीय नाम Gobhila Gṛihya II. 10. 22—24). The Śāṅkhāyana and Khādira Gṛihyasūtras and also Mānava and Hiraṇyakeśa Gṛihyasūtras agree with the above. It appears that originally the *nakshatra* name started as a secret appellation, but because of its convenient form came to occupy an equal rank with the *gotra* name, e.g., Moggallāna Tissa and other names in Buddhist literature.

Pāṇini treats of the star names specially elaborately. The general principle underlying these names was the fact of a person's birth under a star (तत्र जातः IV. 3. 25).

The general rule is that suffixes are frequently dropped when names are formed from *nakshatras* (IV. 3. 37), e.g., we have Rohiṇa from Rohiṇī. It is said (IV. 3. 34) that names of males (and females also) are derived from Śravishṭhā (=Dhanishṭhā), Phalgunī, Anurādhā, Svāti, Tishya, Punarvasu, Hasta, Viśākhā, Āshāḍhā, and Bahulā (i.e., Kṛittikā) without adding any termination, which had the effect of making the name of the star the same as the personal name. Examples would be Śravishṭhaḥ, Phalgunaḥ, etc. In sūtra IV. 3. 37. Pāṇini states that from Abhijit, Aśvayak and Śatabhishak the terminations are optionally dropped (Cf. Kane, *ibid.*, p. 236).

As already remarked star names are rare in the pre-Pāṇinian literature. They are a regular feature of the post-Pāṇinian period, specially in the Buddhist literature and inscriptions. For example, Visākhā, Punabbasu, Chittā, Poṭṭhapāda, Phaggunī, Phussa and Tissa or Upatissa occur in the Jātakas. From Sanchi we get Phaguna, Phagula, Tissaka, Upasijha (=Upasiddhya), Sijhā, Pusa, Pusaka, Pusini, Bahula (cf. Pāṇini's Bahulā), Sātila (=Svātigupta or Svātidatta), Asāḍha Mūla, Poṭhaka, Poṭhadevā (=Proshadevī), Rohinī or Rohā, etc. Bharhut adds Bharaṇideva, Anurādhā and Sonā (=Śravaṇā) to the above (LL. 758, 784, 874).

C. *Names with contraction of all syllables except the first two.*

16. Names ending in *ika* (V. 3. 78). A polysyllabic individual name was abbreviated in order to express affection. Only the initial two syllables were preserved and a suffix was added to them, e.g., Devadatta became Devika; Yajñadatta Yajñika. Chhadika may now, be explained as equal to Chhandodatta, and Chandika as Chandradatta; similarly Yaśika as Yaśodatta (LL. 757).

17. Names ending in *iya* (=*ghan*, V. 3. 79), added on the same principle as the first one, giving the forms Deviya (=Devadatta) and Yajñiya (=Yajñadatta). If we consider the material in the Jātakas we find Giriya (III. 322), Chandiya (=Chandakumāra, VI. 137), Nandiya (II. 199; same as Nandika, II. 200, or Nandaka), Bhaddiya (=Bhadrasena, Bhadrakāra or Bhadraśāla, I. 140; VI. 135), Meghiya (=Meghakumāra, IV. 95) and Sabhiya (VI. 329, =Sabhādatta). Names contracted with *iya* suffix are rarely found in Sanchi and Bharhut.

18. Names ending in *ila* (=V. 3. 79), denoting endearment like the above two, and regularising forms like Devila (from Devadatta) and Yajñila from Yajñadatta. The Jātakas have Guttila (II. 248), Makhila (=Makhadeva, Jāt. Nidāna, p. 41).

Some Sanchi names can now be explained as Agila (=Agnidatta), Sātila (=Svāti-datta), Nāgila, Yasila, Yakhila Saṅghila, Buddhila, and from Bharhut Mahila (Maha-Kumāra, LL. 766), Yakhila (Yakshadatta, 846) and Ghaṭila (Ghaṭakumāra, 860).

19. Names beginning with *upa* were treated as a special case in the opinion of Eastern teachers (प्राचां) who formed the contraction by adding *aḍa* and *aka* (=*vuch*) to *upa* with the result that the whole name form except the initial *upa* was elided (प्राचामुपादेरडज् वुचौ च V. 3. 80). Kāśikā's illustration is Upendradatta, which by dropping *'indradatta'* assumed the double from Upaḍa and Upaka. Other teachers favoured Upiya, Upila, Upika (V. 79-79) and also Upendradattaka. The Buddhist name Upali (I. 140) corresponds to Pāṇini's Upila and may be a contraction of Upendradatta. It is curious that in the Sanchi inscriptions the name occurs without contraction under various forms as Upendradatta, Upidadatta or Opedadata. Other names beginning with *upa*-were Upaka, an Ājīvika (Jāt. I. 81) Upakaṁsa (Jāt.

IV. 79) Upakañchana (Jāt. IV. 305) and Upajotiya (Jāt. IV. 382). Upaka is a *gotra* name in Pāṇini (II. 4. 69) and Upagu and Upajīva occur in the Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa (Caland 199, 249). But *Upādi* names are properly of the post-Brāhmaṇa epoch.

20. Names ending in *ka*:

(*a*) To denote a sense of inferiority as Pūrṇaka, a servant (V. 3. 75). There always is a tendency for names of servants and low people to be shortened on this basis.

(*b*) To form benedictory epithets (III. 1. 150) as *Jīvaka* (may you live), *Nandaka* (may you prosper), adopted as names.

Later Trends.—The system of contraction so elaborately dealt with by Pāṇini evolved still further in the Maurya and Sunga periods as indicated by the discussions in the Vārttikas and the Bhāshya. The following features may briefly be noted :—

(*a*) Retention of the first four syllables instead of two as in Pāṇini V. 3. 83. Thus Bṛihaspatidatta became Bṛihaspatika, and Prajāpatidatta Prajāpatika. Pajaka in the Jātakas (III. 463) may be according to Pāṇini's rule of two syllables from Prajapatidatta or be equal to Prajāgupta.

(*b*) Substituting *ka* suffix for Pāṇini's *ika* as in (16) above. Thus Devaka and Yajñaka stood for Devadatta and Yajñadatta. Pahaka (I. 40, Prabhākara or Prabhagupta), Sonaka (V. 247, Sonananda), Sachchhaka (VI. 478, Satyayajña) of the Jātakas follow the *ka* suffix. In Sanchi, of course, we have many names ending in *ka*, as Balaka = Baladeva,

Balarāma, Balamitra; Pusaka (= Pushyagupta), Dhamaka (=Dharmagupta), etc.

(*c*) Substituting *la* in place of Pāṇini's *ila* as in (18) above. This was allowed only after such words as ended in *u*, as Bhānula for Bhānudatta, and Vasula for Vasudatta. Bandhula (Senāpati of Kosala, Jāt. IV. 148) and Rāhula are specimens of old names conforming to this rule.

(*d*) *Pūrvapada-lopa.*—It was a revolutionary development and a counterpart of Pāṇini's *Uttarapadalopa.* After dropping the first part of the name the same suffixes were added. It is also enjoined that no suffix may be added at all and Devadatta may become simply Datta or simply Deva. (Cf. also Bhāshya giving Bhāmā for Satyabhamā, I. 111). Pāṇini's Senaka (V. 4. 112), appears to be a Senānta name formed by dropping *pūrvapada* and adding *ka.* It also suggests the antiquity of the method of *pūrvapada-lopa* from the time of Pāṇini himself.

Carried to its logical conclusion a single name Devadatta would assume eleven forms, e.g., Devadattaka, Devika, Devila, Deviya according to the rules of Pāṇini; and Devaka, Dattika, Dattila, Dattiya, Dattaka, Deva, Datta according to the subsequent changes indicated in the Bhāshya.

Resume.—(1) In Pāṇini's time the system of having a personal name as distinct from *gotra* name had come into vogue. Persons of higher castes were asked their *nāma* and *gotra* separately (Cf. Jāt. VI. 2. 243, *nāmagottañ cha puchchh* and king Virāṭa enquiring of Yud-

hisṭhira गोत्रं च नामापि च Virāṭaparvan, 7. 11). According to the Vinayapiṭaka even the Bhikshus in *pabajjā* were designated by *nāma* and *gotra* (B. C. Law, Pali Lit., I. xiii).

(2) Names ending in *mitra*, *sena*, *datta*, *śruta*, *karṇa* *śṛiṅga*, and names beginning with *upa* were primarily belonging to the Pāṇinian and the Buddhist epoch, although their use in the Vedic literature is not wholly unknown.

(3) The *Nakshatra* names discussed at length by Pāṇini are practically unknown in the Vedic literature, and appear as an exclusive feature of the period approximately beginning from the Buddha. The subsequent popularity of such names is also a noteworthy feature. The agreement between the Gṛihyasūtras and Pāṇini in the matter of star names is suggestive of mutual chronological relationship. The Baudhāyana Gṛihyaśeshasūtra enjoining star names by mentioning the asterisms separately offers the closest parallel to Pāṇini (Asht. IV. 3. 34—37; Baud. I. 11. 9—18).

(4) The usage of contraction as applied to names of which Pāṇini takes such detailed notice is an essentially classical feature which is unknown in the Vedic literature and is unauthorized by the rules of the Gṛihyasūtras, but nevertheless forms such a common feature of the Buddhist literature of the period from the 6th or the 5th century B.C. That Pāṇini felt himself obliged to take note of the subject so thoroughly is an indication of its being well-established in the spoken speech in his time and prior to him and also over a considerable area as his pointed reference to the opinion of the eastern grammarians in the matter definitely shows (V. 3. 80).

APABHRAMŚA METRES

(Mātrā Vṛttas and Tāla Vṛttas)

BY

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1. I have discussed and described the Apabhraṁśa metres as given by the early Prākṛta metricians, namely, Virahāṅka, Svayambhū, Piṅgala, Nanditāḍhya, Hemacandra, Ratnaśekhara and the unknown author of the Kavidarpaṇa, in two articles published at the Bombay University Journal, November 1933, and November 1936. For the sake of convenience, I have included even the Prākṛta metres in my description. I have suggested in these articles that the Prākṛta and Apabhraṁśa metres differ entirely from the Saṁskṛta Varṇa Vṛttas, because the music which is at the basis of these two types is materially different. I reserve the detailed discussion of the different types of music underlying the different types of metres for my introduction to the critical edition of Hemacandra's Chandonuśāsana (only the portion dealing with Prakṛta and Apabhraṁśa metres), which I intend to publish in the near future. In the present article I propose to examine these metres from only a single point of view, namely their division into the Mātrā Vṛttas and the Tāla Vṛttas.

2. I have already explained how in the case of these metres there exist two different kinds of Gaṇas, namely the Mātrā Gaṇas and the Tāla Gaṇas, at para 19 in the first of the two above mentioned articles. I have however, not fully and carefully distinguished between these

two kinds of Gaṇas and the metres in which they are employed. Still, on the whole it is abundantly clear that every Prākṛta and Apabhraṁśa metre is not a Tāla Vṛtta, i.e., it does not obey the laws of Tāla, because it was not intended to be so amenable to Tāla by its poet, and that by the side of these proper Tāla Vṛttas, there exists a large number of Vṛttas which obey different laws and are very different from the Tāla Vṛttas in their composition. I shall describe these latter as the Mātrā Vṛttas for the sake of brevity and convenience. The Tāla Vṛttas are naturally more musical than the Mātrā Vṛttas for reasons which I shall explain below; they are generally employed for a sustained poetical narrative. The Mātrā Vṛttas on the other hand, appear to have been used for lyric and didactic poetry.

3. I find it rather difficult to define Tāla; but I may make an attempt and define it as 'the regulation with the help of time-element of the recurring rest in a metrical line by means of a stress.' This rest-regulating stress is indicated by means of vocal accentuation, but in addition to it also by the stroke of the palm or a similar movement of any other part of the body, or by the strokes of a time-keeping musical instrument like the hand-drum or a pair of cymbals. The music which is produced by this rest-regulating stress is the music which underlies all the Tāla Vṛttas and is the chief source of delight in them. The bard who sings metrical lines must naturally have occasional rest in the middle of it; this is known as Yati in the Saṁskṛta metres. In Saṁskṛta and Prākṛta metres which are not amenable to Tāla, it occurs at irregular intervals, though these latter are fixed by the practice of the poets and the rules of the metricians. In the Tāla Vṛttas on the other hand, this rest recurs after the lapse of a definite number of time-moments called the Mātrās. The word Mātrā is derived from the root *mā*

to measure and means 'a unit of measuring', here of measuring time. There are many different Tālas; but the chief among them, so far as the Tāla Vṛttas are concerned, are those in which the rest is regularly stressed after the lapse of 4, or 5, or 6, or 7 Mātrās or their multiples. But even among these the commonest is the Tāla of 8 Mātrās which may or may not be divisible into two parts of 4 Mātrās each. See Apabhraṁśa Metres I, para. 18.

4. A line in a Tāla Vṛtta is divisible into several Tāla Gaṇas; and these latter are made up of letters which can or have to be pronounced so as to cover the given number of Mātrās which must elapse between two stressed rests in accordance with the nature of the Tāla of the metre in question. Thus a Tāla Gaṇa of a metrical line composed in the Tāla of 5 Mātrās shall consist of a group of letters which must be capable of being pronounced so as to cover 5 Mātrās or, time-moments. The commencement of a fresh Tāla Gaṇa is indicated by the fresh stroke and before this the last letter of the last Gaṇa must have completely finished. Each Tāla Gaṇa has to be kept separate and must not be allowed to mix up with either the preceding or the succeeding one. This separateness is to be achieved by avoiding at the junction of the Gaṇas, a long letter which combines the last Mātrā of the earlier and the first Mātrā of the later Gaṇa in itself. For, it is impossible to represent separately these two Mātrās which are thus combined in a long letter, by pronouncing the first *without* the stress and the second *with* the stress which indicates the fresh Tāla Gaṇa as said above. And if such a long letter is used, the result will be that the stroke of the succeeding Gaṇa will be given *after* the pronunciation of the long letter and thus it will be late by 1 Mātrā and the whole Tāla will be disturbed; for, then the earlier Gaṇa will have one Mātrā more while the

later Gaṇa will have one Mātrā less than the number required and this can never be permitted. Seemingly, this is a very simple thing to do; but by experience it will be found that this is only possible for a poet whose ear is trained for the Tāla music. He, as a matter of fact, will not even be conscious of a difficulty; but for others it presents serious difficulties, and when such an unskilled poet composes his poem, he will find to his dismay, that the singer who sings his poem will be compelled to distort its letters by mispronunciation of short and long letters, or by an improper pronunciation of a group of letters or by the introduction of long silent rests awkwardly put in between two letters of the self-same word. This particularly happens when the poet is himself not a singer, or when an educated poet tries to compose bardic poetry without knowing the principles of Tāla which is the soul of it. On the other hand, a poet-singer may take liberties with pronunciation of short and long letters, or may squeeze several letters within a group of Mātrās which ordinarily would admit the pronunciation of only half of them (cf. Prākṛta Paiṅgalam, I, 5), but in any case he would not do it in an awkward manner. His Tāla will not be disturbed and his pronunciations will be according to his usual practice. Generally, a short letter takes one and a long letter takes two time-moments or Mātrās in pronunciation; *e* and *o*, as also nasalized letters are treated as short or long at the option of the poet. As a rule, a poet will not neglect these restrictions; but the preservation of his Tāla is more important for him and he may readily break any one of these rules if this is necessary for the sake of his Tāla.

5. The Tāla Vṛttas may be of the Dvipadī, or the Catuṣpadī or the Ṣaṭpadī type; but those of last two varieties are very common. In a continuous narrative, however, a stanza whether of 4 or 6 lines has no impor-

tance whatsoever. In it the unit is a couplet of lines which are parallelly constructed and rhymed; many such couplets held together by a common topic or an aspect of it, as also by the common metre and Tāla are used to form a Kaḍavaka and several Kaḍavakas form a Sandhi. Sometimes single unrhymed lines are added to these couplets here and there; but every line whether belonging to the couplet or not must obey the particular Tāla which is prevalent in the Kaḍavaka. The Kaḍavaka is preceded and followed by a Ghattā which is either a Dvipadī or a Ṣaṭpadī stanza. A Dvipadī Ghattā is without the Tāla and appears to have been sung in prose, with the time-keeping instrument held silent for a while. This must have supplied a breathing time and a change to the poet-singer, but what is more important, must have served as a transition to the next Kaḍavaka which may be sung in a different Tāla from that of the last Kaḍavaka. The Ṣaṭpadī Ghattā on the other hand, was generally sung in the same Tāla as the main Kaḍavaka and usually came at the end. Thus for example, Kaḍavaka II. 15 in Puṣpadanta's Jasaharacariu is in the Tāla of 8 Mātrās; the next two Kaḍavakas are in the Tāla of 5 mātrās, while the next one is again in that of 8 Mātrās. It will be seen that in these Kaḍavakas the Ghattā occurs only at the end and not also at the beginning; it is of the Ṣaṭpadī type, each half containing lines of 6, 6, and 12 Mātrās. It is not a Tāla Vṛtta and serves the purpose of the transitional Dvipadī. The two halves as also the first two lines in each half are rhymed. Similarly, in that same poem III. 13 is in the Tāla of 5 or 10 Mātrās, III. 14 in that of 8 Mātrās, III. 15 and III. 16 are both in the Tāla of 6 Mātrās and III. 17 is again in the Tāla of 8 Mātrās. Here in this Sandhi, namely the III, the poet has used the Dvipadī both at the beginning and at the end of a Kaḍavaka, neither being sung in a Tāla. The lines of the first Dvipadī are divi-

sible into 16 and 12 Mātrās and those of the latter into 15 and 13.

6. The Apabhraṁśa poets sometimes employ what appear on the face of them the Akṣaragaṇa or Varṇa Vṛttas. Thus Puṣpadanta, Jasaharacariu, I. 10, employs a Varṇa Vṛtta called Vitāna (*bha*, *sa la*, *ga*) by H.P. 5*a*/4. In that same poem, he also employs other Varṇa Vṛttas as follows:—I. 13 is Paṅktikā (*ra*, *ya*, *ja*, *ga*: H.P. 5*b*/10); I. 18 and IV. 17 is Bhujaṅgaprayāta (four *ya* Gaṇas: H.p. 7*b*/16); III. 2 and III. 15 is Citrā (*ra*, *ja*, *ra*, *ja*, *ra*, *ga*: H.p. 12*a*/9); III. 3 is Sragviṇī (four *ra* Gaṇas: H.p. 7*b*/17) and lastly III. 16 is Vibhāvarī (*ja*, *ra*, *ja*, *ra*: H.p. 8*a*/17). All these however, are amenable to Tāla; the first is sung in the Tāla of 6 Mātrās; there being two Tāla Gaṇas in each line, the second Gaṇa being completed by the addition of a silent rest of 1 Mātrā at the end. The stroke regularly occurs on the 1st and the 7th Mātrā of each line and this is never disturbed owing to the peculiar arrangement of the Akṣara Gaṇas where the 6th and the 7th Mātrās are necessarily kept separate:—thus,

छेलमिहुण सूयराऽ। रोझहरिण कुंजराऽ॥
वालवसह रासहाऽ। मेसमहिस रोसहाऽ॥

The next, i.e., I. 13 is Paṅktikā; this is sung in the Tāla of 8 Mātrās. Even here owing to the peculiar arrangement of the Akṣaras the 8th and the 9th Mātrās are never joined in a long letter and the Tāla is never disturbed. The poet has however enjoyed a little freedom and put two short letters where one long is required:

पक्खिपक्खल क्खेहि छाइयं। किलिकिलंतणिसि यरणिणाइयं॥

Thus in the 2nd line *kili* and *nisi* both stand for a long letter each in the first Tāla Gana and *yara* does so in the second. The next two namely I. 18 and IV. 17 are in the Bhujaṅgaprayāta metre and are amenable to the

Tāla of 5 Mātrās. Similarly, III. 2 and III. 15 which are in the Citra metre are sung in the Tāla of 6 Mātrās; but here the *ga* or the long letter required in Citra at the end of the line has to be substituted by a *la* or a short letter for the sake of the Tāla.

उज्जलंमि कोमलंमि तत्थ सच्छविच्छुलंमि।
संचरंतु हं तरंतु मीणमण्ड लं गिलंतु॥

The next, i.e., III. 3 is a Sragviṇī and is amenable to the Tāla of 5 Mātrās like the Bhujaṅgaprayāta. Lastly III. 16 which is Vibhāvarī has to be sung in the Tāla of 6 Mātrās;

झरंत सच्छ विच्छुलंभ कंदरं। भ रंतरुंद कुंडकूव कंदरं। ल लंतवेल्लि पल्लवोह कोमलं।

but the peculiarity in it is that the 1st stroke of the Tāla occurs on the 2nd letter in each line, and the last of the three Tāla Gaṇas of which the line consists has to be made up by adding the 1st letter in the next line. It will thus be seen that the Apabhraṁśa poets generally employed only those Varṇa Vṛttas which can also be sung as Tāla Vṛttas owing to the peculiar arrangement of letters in them which prevents the disturbance of the Tāla. The commonest metre however, that is used for a Kaḍavaka is the Pādākulaka or the Pajjhaṭikā. Both are sung in the Tāla of 8 Mātrās; but the 1st stroke in the Pādākulaka is always on the first Mātrā in each line and then on the 9th, while in the Pajjhaṭikā, the first stroke is on the 3rd and the second on the 11th Mātrās. See Apabhraṁśa Metres I. paras. 20 and 25.

7. The origin of the Tāla Saṅgīta and the Tāla Vṛttas which are adapted to it is necessarily popular; they both belong to the masses. The main sources of delight in this Tāla Saṅgīta is the stressing or accentuation of the regularly recurring rest, and this is done with the help of the time-element. For this reason, well counted time-moments called Mātrās are all-important;

they may be filled up by properly pronounced short and long letters whose *time-value* is fixed by convention, or by improperly pronounced letters to which time-value is attached by the poet at his sweet will and against convention, or sometimes even by silent rest in which no letters are pronounced at all. Poet-singers of repute generally follow the first alternative, or even the third; but they would surely be willing to break any of the conventionally fixed time-values of letters when they are afraid of losing their Tāla as said at the end of para. 4. The Tāla Vṛttas which belong to the lowest stratum of the masses, on the other hand are wholly negligent about the conventional time-values of letters and the poets who compose them squeeze any number of letters within a Tāla Gaṇa of a given number of Mātrās. This is so because these people are entirely innocent of the conventionally fixed or correct pronunciation of letters. The following Sailor's song will illustrate this :—

तांडेलाची बायको गोऽरी गोरि।
नरम बिछाना पलंगावरीऽऽ॥

The song is sung in the usual Tāla of 8 Mātrās and the 1st stroke is on the 1st and the 2nd on the 9th Mātrā in regular succession. In the song the first stroke is given on the letter *tā* and the next on *go;* but between these two, six long letters and one short intervene and naturally all these are pronounced within the prescribed time limit of 8 Mātrās. About the silent rest or pause adopted by the poet generally at the end of a line for the preservation of the Tāla, I have already spoken at Apabhraṁśa Metres I. paras. 18 (end), 20, and 25. But a clearer example is that of the Dohā. This is sung in the Tāla of 8 Mātrās. A stanza in this metre contains in each half, 2 lines respectively having 13 and 11 Mātrās. This means that in the first line there will be as many

short or long letters as can be normally pronounced so as to fill 13 time-moments, the normal time-value of letters being fixed by convention The same applies to the second line. Thus in both the lines together we shall have letters which shall cover only 24 time-moments out of the 32 which are necessary; for in each line the stroke of the Tāla will occur twice. Hence to fill up this gap of 8 time-moments we have to make use of silent pauses: one of 3 Mātrās at the end of the first line and the other of 5 Mātrās at the end of the second line. This will be particularly evident to those who have sung a Dohā or at least have heard it sung by others. I shall try to illustrate this :—

तेरह मत्ता विसम पइ ऽऽऽ। सम रायारह मत्त ऽऽऽऽऽ॥
अडयालीसं मत्त सवि ऽऽऽ। दोहा छंद निरुत्त ऽऽऽऽऽ॥

Here the first stroke of the Tāla is on *te* and the second on *vi* in the first line; the third stroke then comes on *sa*, the initial letter of the second line and the fourth on *ma*. The fifth will again be on the initial letter of the first line of the next half and thus the strokes will go on uninterrupted after an interval of every 8 time-moments. If these 8 moments between the two strokes are not filled by letters employed by the poet, the singer must fill them up by silent pauses if he wants to preserve his Tāla. In the case of Dohā, and also in many other cases, the pauses are intentional; but sometimes a singer may be compelled to resort to such pauses especially when he sings the composition of a non-singing poet who has no ear for the Tāla Saṅgīta.

8. As said at the beginning of the last paragraph, the main source of delight in the Tāla Saṅgīta is the stressing of the regularly recurring rest by means of time-element. The modulation of voice, i.e., the production of different tunes at different pitches by raising or lower-

ing the voice has a very minor share in this Saṅgīta. The Voice-modulation is surely present in it; but it exists merely for the sake of variety and in order to avoid monotony. Besides, it does not go beyond the three broadly distinguished tunes, namely, the high, the low and the middle. Similarly, the music due to sound-variation, i.e., to a fixed arrangement of short and long letters at a given place in a line, plays an almost imperceptible role—a negative role—in it; for, the only thing that is to be done in this connection is the avoidance of long letters at the junction of the Tāla Gaṇas as said in para. 4. Metres are closely allied with music and three main varieties of metres may be distinguished according as they are based upon the three main varieties of music, namely, the music of Voice-modulation, the music of Sound-variation, and lastly the music of Accentuation. The last is the popular variety of music and the Tāla Vṛttas are based on this variety which I have called by the name Tāla Saṅgīta as distinguished from the first two which may be described as the Svara Saṅgīta and the Varṇa Saṅgīta respectively. It is possible to imagine that the Tāla Saṅgīta was invented and developed by the masses from the regularized movements of their bodies and limbs required in a dance, or gestures which necessarily accompany the popular music. Dance or rhythmic movements of the bodily limbs has naturally a powerful appeal to the mass-mind and a popular bard conveys more sense by his gestures and movements than by his words. And the regularization of the corresponding movements of the tongue by means of the time-element may have been adopted by the people as a perfectly natural step, from the similarly measured movements of their body.

9. But by the side of these Tāla Vṛttas, there is quite a large number of Prākṛta and Apabhraṁśa metres which are not amenable to any Tāla and so cannot be in-

cluded under any of the Tāla Vṛttas. They are again wholly different from the Varṇa Vṛttas as they do not follow any fixed order of short and long letters like them in the formation of their lines. They may contain from 2 to 8 lines in a stanza and the only thing that apparently controls the formation of their lines is the number of metrical Mātrās, divided into smaller groups of 2 to 6, which they ought to contain. A short letter is supposed to represent 1 and a long letter 2 such metrical Mātrās. A letter with an Anusvāra or a Visarga as also the letter which preceded a conjunct consonant is supposed to represent 2 Mātrās being regarded as *guru* as in the case of the Saṁskṛta Vṛttas. A line is measured metrically with the help of these equations and the definitions of the different Mātrā Vṛttas are based upon them. A rest or Yati in the middle of a line is also mentioned. In some cases, a few restrictions about the use of short or long letters at particular places in a line are laid down; but generally such restrictions are rare. I have attempted to discuss the origin of such restrictions at Apabhraṁśa Metres I. para. 16 and described a few of such metres in the next paragraph. But apart from these few metres where such restrictions are prescribed, there are others, and quite a large number of them, where there do not exist any such restrictions and it is these that we now proceed to examine.

10. These Mātrā Vṛttas are mainly the product of the efforts of educated men who tried their hand at metrical composition, as I have already suggested at Apabhraṁśa Metres II. para. 44. For these educated men the correct pronunciation of short and long letters was absolutely compulsory. They could not enjoy the freedom of pronunciation like their illiterate brethren. The first necessity of a quantitive measurement of a letter, i.e., the measurement of the quantity which a letter possesses and

which can be pronounced in a given time, must have been felt by them when they proceeded to compose a Tāla Vṛtta, as said by me at the above mentioned place. Naturally, these Tāla Vṛttas which afforded great freedom in the choice of words when compared with the Varṇa Vṛttas of the Saṁskṛta language, must have attracted the attention of these educated versifiers in very early days. But soon they must have found to their dismay that the observance of the laws of the Tāla,—its unfailing recurrence after a definite period, the separateness of the Tāla Gaṇas which constitute a line and the like—was no easy job for them, particularly so when they stuck to their puritanic ideas about the correct pronunciation of short and long letters. Besides, the composition of a Tāla Vṛtta required a trained ear and a long poem written in such a metre would be almost an impossibility without such an ear. The result of this weakness of the educated poets was the discovery of a new type of metre altogether, as I imagine it. A similar discovery of a new metre namely, the literary Ovī, on account of similar considerations and circumstances has been explained by me at Apabhraṁśa and Marathi Metres (New Indian Antiquery, Vol. IV), paragraph 10. These new Mātrā Vṛttas were already free from restrictions about the order of short and long letters, as they imitated the Tāla Vṛttas in this respect; but when their sponsors found it difficult to follow the intricacies of the Tāla, they became free even from the restrictions about Tāla and soon enjoyed the distinction of being recognized as a distinct variety of metres. In this process, they were however, deprived of the essential feature of a metre, namely, its music. They have neither the music of Sound-variation lying at the basis of the Varṇa Vṛttas, nor the music of Accentuation on which the Tāla Vṛttas are based. It will be found however, that even these have to follow certain

kinds of restrictions and these secure for them the negative type of the music of Sound-variation. Besides the music of Voice-modulation in its elementary form also exists in them as it does in the Tāla Vṛttas (see para. 8) and as a matter of fact must exist in any composition that desires to be described as metrical. But of all metres these Mātrā Vṛttas are most unmusical and nearer to prose than the rest. The only restrictions in them alluded to above are about the avoidance of long letters at certain places in their lines and this happens in the following manner. The composition of a line in such metres does not merely depend upon the total number of the Mātrās which they ought to contain, but also on the division of these into smaller groups which must enjoy separate existence like the Tāla Gaṇas of the Tāla Vṛttas. This can be secured as we saw above in para. 4, only by avoiding a long letter at the junction of two Mātrā Gaṇas or groups; this means that the last Mātrā of an earlier Gaṇa must *never* be combined into a long letter with the initial Mātrā of the succeeding Gaṇa. Such groups are invariably mentioned in the definitions of the Mātrā Vṛttas, and this mention will be without any meaning if the total number of Mātrās in the line alone had been intended without any clear-cut division of them into smaller groups as described above. Besides, if these groups are not kept separate by avoiding a long letter at their junction, the peculiar structure of the metre will be destroyed, and the basis of distinguishing between metres whose lines contain exactly the same number of Mātrās will be entirely demolished. A reference to the structure of the Āryā described in the sequel will make this point abundantly clear.

Before proceeding to describe the most important Mātrā Vṛtta namely, the Āryā, it is necessary to understand the exact signification of the word Mātrā as used in the context of both the Tāla and the Mātrā Vṛttas. In

the context of the Tāla Vṛttas, the word signifies a time-moment as we saw above; a Tāla Gaṇa consists of a fixed number of Mātrās or time-moments which are to be filled up by letters short or long. In view of the quantitative valuation of letters dating from the Vedic times and also of the vocal effort needed for their pronunciation, a short letter is conventionally regarded as representing one and long letter two such Mātrās or time-moments. Thus Mātrā when spoken of in connection with letters in the context of Tāla Vṛttas signifies their *time-value*, while in the context of the Mātrā Vṛttas, it has its usual meaning namely, the *quantity* or volume which a letter is theoretically supposed to possess. Thus a short letter is supposed to possess half the quantity which a long letter possesses; hence the former represents one Mātrā as against the two represented by the latter. In the Tāla Vṛttas, letters occupy only a secondary place and play only a secondary role; they may or may not be employed for the completion of a Tāla Gaṇa which may be done even by silent pauses. But in the Mātrā Vṛttas, the Mātrās represented by the letters are all-important in the formation of lines and hence letters are as vital to the Mātrā Vṛttas as they are to the Varṇa Vṛttas. This being so, the measurement of a line in terms of such Mātrās presupposes a correct and conventional pronunciation of letters both in the writer and the reader of a Mātrā Vṛtta. The poet must be pretty sure that his reader will read his line just as he reads it to arrive at the given number of Mātrās which constitute it; and this is possible only if the poet faithfully adheres to the conventionally or grammatically correct pronunciation of short and long letters and if he assumes the knowledge of and adherence to this in his reader. Thus the very idea of this Mātrā unit is based upon the grammatically and conventionally correct pronunciation of letters and



it is for this reason that we maintain that such Mātrā Vṛttas are the creation of the brains of the educated poet and not of the purely popular bard for whom his music of Accentuation is more important than the correct and conventional pronunciation of short and long letters.

12. The earliest and the most frequently used among such Mātrā Vṛttas is the Gāthā, known as the Āryā in its Saṁskṛta garb. I have attempted to discuss its origin at Apabhraṁśa Metres II, para. 44. I have however not discussed the nature of the restrictions in the construction of a line in this metre, at that place. One indeed gets an impression that the Gāthā has no restrictions about the use of short and long letters in its construction except that the 21st and 24th Mātrās in its first half should be represented by a short letter each and that in the second half which contains only 27 Mātrās instead of 30 as in the first half, the 21st Mātrā should be represented by a single short letter; cf. Hemacandra, Chandonuśāsana (N.S.P. ed. 1912), p. 26. But this is not so. For, the first half is to be divided into 7 Caturmātrika Gaṇas followed by a Dvimātrika Gaṇa represented by a long letter at the end. The second half is similarly divided, but the 6th Gaṇa must consist only of a single Mātrā, the first five and the seventh being Caturmātrikas and the eighth being a long letter as in the first half. This means that all the 8 Gaṇas in each half are to be kept separate by avoiding a long letter at their junction as explained above. Thus the 4th and the 5th, 8th and 9th, 12th and 13th, 16th and 17th, 20th and 21st, 24th and 25th and 28th and 29th Mātrās in the first half shall never be joined in a long letter; similarly, Mātrās 4 and 5, 8 and 9, 12 and 13, 16 and 17, 20 and 21, 21 and 22, 25 and 26 must not be combined in a long letter, in the second half. If they are so combined the structure of the metre will be wholly des-

troyed. It is thus that the Āryā or Gāthā follows the music of Sound-variation in a negative manner as said in para. 10 above, by avoiding 7 long letters at definite places in each of its two halves.

13. This Gāthā or Āryā seems to have been very popular with the educated versifiers at the end of the Epic period. It was vastly employed for composing memorial verses on different scientific, philosophical and moral topics. On the one hand, it afforded greater ease and freedom in composition as also greater space for contents than the epic Anuṣṭubh, while on the other, it was more lucid and attractive owing to its metrical form when compared with the Sūtras of the older times. The Apabhraṁśa poets seem to have scarcely touched it except for the formation of their strophes, where it was evidently employed for the sake of a change. But otherwise, the metre enjoyed continued patronage at the hands of both the Saṁskṛta and Prākṛta poets as is clear from the very large number of metres based upon it. I have explained all these at Apabhraṁśa Metres II. para. 45.

14. The Mātrā Vṛtta which is next in importance to the Gāthā both in point of antiquity and popularity is the Mātrā, which I have fully described at Apabhraṁśa Metres I. para. 28. This metre is of course a purely Prākṛta and Apabhraṁśa metre and was evidently used for stray religious, didactic or lyric poetry. Dohā is similary a purely Apabhraṁśa metre; but it is a Tāla Vṛtta as I have shown above and has been employed since very old days both for lyric and narrative poetry. Of the remaining Prākṛta and Apabhraṁśa metres which I have described in my two articles, a vast majority are Mātrā Vṛttas, while comparatively a few are Tāla Vṛttas. A person with a trained ear can easily distinguish between a Tāla Vṛtta and a Mātrā Vṛtta merely by singing them. The nature of the particular Tāla can also be

similarly known. I have said above that the Mātrā Vṛttas owe their origin and development to the literate bards; but this need not be too strictly understood; the more cultured and less gifted among the popular bards too may have substantially helped in this direction.

A NEW GUPTA EMPEROR, GOVINDAGUPTA

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The name of this new Gupta emperor first became known in 1904, through the discovery of a clay seal of Mahādevī Dhruvasvāminī, chief queen of Candragupta II, from Basarh in the Muzaffarpur District of Bihar. The inscription on the seal which has been edited by Dr. Bloch is as follows[1] :—

1. महाराजाधिराज श्री चन्द्रगुप्त—
2. पत्नी महाराज श्री गोविन्दगुप्त—
3. माता महादेवी श्री ध्रु—
4. वस्वामिनी

The inscription describes the queen Dhruvasvāminī, as the wife of Mahārājādhirāja, the illustrious Candragupta, and the mother of Mahārāja Govindagupta. From the Gupta inscriptions discovered up to 1904, we knew that Candragupta II had only one son born of the queen Dhruvasvāminī, namely Kumāragupta I. The discovery of this seal revealed for the first time the existence of another son of Candragupta II. Since Kumāragupta had so far been known as the immediate successor of Candragupta II, scholars generally presumed that Govindagupta was the younger of the two brothers. Bloch,[2] Allan, R. D. Banerjee, all have held this view.

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[1] Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1903-4, p. 107.

[2] The possibility of his being identical with Kṛṣṇagupta of the Aphsad inscription was ruled out by Dr. Bloch on chronological considerations, ibid., p. 102. But curiously, some writers still continue to say that Dr. Bloch identified Govindagupta with Kṛṣṇagupta.

Allan remarks, "Govindagupta cannot have been Kumāragupta I but must have been a younger brother."[3] Dr. Krishnaswami Aiyyangar has even suggested that Govindagupta was a minor when Kumāragupta was serving as a Viceroy of Tīrabhukti during the reign of his father Candragupta II. He says, "Kumāragupta who was probably the Viceroy must have been detained at the headquarters, his brother Govindagupta carrying on the administration in his name. If Govindagupta happened to be too young for carrying on the administration himself we could understand Dhruvasvāminī being in charge of it in the name of her son."[4] He then quotes the instance of Prabhāvatī Guptā, who from her Poona and Riddhapur Plates is known to have acted as regent for her sons. However, there is hardly any parallel between the two cases. Prabhāvatī acted as a regent for her sons, as her husband had died. But in the present case Candragupta was alive, and could have easily appointed a governor, instead of putting a minor in charge of the province, and then appointing the queen as regent for the minor. A careful study of the Basarh seals will enable us to understand the real and correct position. Along with this seal of Queen Dhruvasvāminī were discovered some other seals belonging to certain officers connected with the administration of Vaiśālī. Of particular interest are the following inscriptions on some of these seals :—

1. युवराजपादीयकुमारामात्याधिकरणस्य।
2. श्री युवराजभट्टारकपादीयकुमारामात्याधिकरणस्य।
3. युवराजभट्टारकपादीयबलाधिकरणस्य।

Now all these seals speak of the officers who were serving under the heir-apparent (युवराज) who evidentally was the governor of the province. There is no seal which

[3] Catalogue of the Coins of the Gupta Dynasty, p. xl.

[4] Studies in Gupta History, p. 60.

gives the name of the *yuvarāja* but on account of a faulty division of the text of the first two seals Dr. Krishnaswami thought that these belonged to Kumāragupta who was the heir-apparent He says, "The expression 'Yuvarāja-Bhaṭṭāraka-Kumārāmātya Adhikaraṇa must be taken as a whole and broken up into *amātya-adhikaraṇa* chief among the ministers of the Yuvarāja and Bhaṭṭāraka-Kumāra. This Kumāra need not necessarily stand for Kumāra Gupta, but the titles before, Yuvarāja and Bhaṭṭāraka, may seem to indicate that it did."[5] It is evident however, that this construction is faulty; for in between Bhaṭṭāraka and Kumāra, there is the word *pāda* which entirely changes the meaning of the compound and forces us to translate the inscription thus: "of the office of the Kumārāmātya belonging to the illustrious *Yuvarāja.*" *Kumāra* does not go with Bhaṭṭāraka, but with *amātya,* and forms the word *Kumārāmātya.* The seals therefore furnish no evidence, to prove that Kumāragupta was the Viceroy of Vaiśālī.

Now let us revert to the seal of Mahādevī Dhruvasvāminī and ask ourselves why has the chief queen been called the mother of Govindagupta only, when she was also the mother of Kumāragupta?[6] There can be two answers to this question. Either Govindagupta was the elder of the two brothers and was therefore the *Yuvarāja;* and naturally Dhruvasvāminī felt some pride in styling herself as the mother of the heir-apparent, or Govindagupta was the favourite son of the chief queen, and

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[5] Studies in Gupta History, pp. 59-60.

[6] This question will suggest itself to any student of the Gupta inscriptions. It has been raised by R. D. Banerjee who says, "It is impossible to understand why the great queen calls herself the mother of Govindagupta only and not that of her eldest son the emperor Kumāragupta." (Age of the Imperial Guptas, p. 35). It attracted the attention of Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar, who gave the right answer long ago. (IA, 1912, p. 3) I have arrived, at the same conclusion, quite independently.

Kumāragupta was not in her good books. In that case also the queen must have used her influence and got her favourite son nominated as *Yuvarāja*. In any case it is evident that Govindagupta was the *Yuvarāja* and he had been appointed as governor of Vaiśālī. It may be asked that if Govindagupta was the *Yuvarāja* why did he not succeed his father, on the throne? In the light of the Gupta inscriptions published so far we could have given the following alternative explanations. Firstly, Govindagupta might have died during the lifetime of his father who was therefore succeeded by Kumāragupta. Secondly, he might have enjoyed a short rule and died without leaving an heir. The crown then passed to his younger brother Kumāragupta. It is not difficult to understand why Govindagupta's name has been omitted in the inscriptions of Candragupta's successors. As pointed out by the late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal 'the inscriptions do not seek to give either a complete genealogy or a complete list of successions' but only indicate the line of descent. The necessity of any reference to Govindagupta could not have been felt, as Kumāragupta I's descent could be directly traced from his father Candragupta II.

The first possibility is now ruled out by the fresh evidence supplied by the Mandasor inscription dated Mālava Samvat 524.[7] It is now certain that Govindagupta ruled as a mighty emperor, for sometime, at least. The following verse shows that Govindagupta was a very powerful ruler exercising suzerainty over a large number of feudatory kings:

यस्मिन्नृपैरस्तमितप्रतापैश्शिरोभिरालिङ्गितपादपद्मैः
विचारदोलां विबुधाधियोऽपि शङ्कापरीतः समुपारुरोह ।

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[7] This inscription was discovered by M. B. Garde, Esqr., Director of Archaeology, Gwalior. He is editing it in the Epigraphia Indica. I am deeply grateful to him for having supplied an excellent estampage of this important inscription.

In this verse we may take *vibudhādhipa* in the literal sense of 'the lord of the gods', i.e., Indra, and infer that Govindagupta was so powerful that even Indra became apprehensive. It is however more probable that in the word *vibudhādhipa* there is a covert reference to Kumāragupta I. Mahendrāditya is a biruda of Kumāragupta I, found on his coins. As *mahendra*, and *vibudhādhipa* are synonymous we can easily infer that there is a hint with regard to Kumāragupta. The verse indicates that Kumāragupta was not faithfully disposed towards his brother, and on finding that Govindagupta had established his supremacy over the feudatory kings, he grew jealous and began to conspire against Govindagupta.

Govindagupta was not destined to rule for a long time. The last known date of his father Chandragupta is 93 G.E., and the earliest known date of Kumāragupta I is 96 G.E. So Govindagupta ruled from 94 to 95 G.E., i.e., 413 to 414 A.D.[8] With respect to this unusually short reign, Dr. D. R. Bhandarkar remarks, "It is difficult to say why he had such a short reign. He may have been ousted by his brother Kumāragupta, or he may have died a natural death.[9] I think, there is some evidence now available,—thanks to the searches of Shri M. B. Garde—which shows that Govindagupta was overthrown by Kumāragupta. In the Tumain inscription, we have the following statement with regard to Kumāragupta I:—

श्रीचन्द्रगुप्तस्य महेन्द्रकल्पः कुमारगुप्तस्तनयस्समग्राम् ।
ररक्ष साध्वीमिव धर्मपत्नीं वीर्याग्रहस्तैरुपगुह्य भूमिम् ॥

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[8] It is incorrect to think that Govindagupta was ruling when the inscription was put up in 524 M.S. The statement with regard to Govindagupta and his general Vāyurakṣita or Vāyugupta, show that both belonged to the past. [See also, R. D. Banerji, *Are of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 66.]

[9] IA. 1912, p. 3.

[10] E.I. XXVI, p. 117

Here Kumāragupta is said to have protected the earth like a virtuous wife, after having embraced her with the right arm (that was his) might. Here Kumāragupta's valour is spoken of as his right hand with which he embraced his wife, i.e., the earth. We may conclude, that it was by the use of force that he had taken possession of the kingdom, and it is not improbable that he ascended the throne after overthrowing Govindagupta.

GLIMPSES OF THE REPUBLIC OF VAIŚĀLĪ

BY

MAHĀMAHOPĀDHYĀYA PT. VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

1. That the ancient state of Vaiśālī of the Licchavis was a republic (*gaṇādhīna* 'subject to a gaṇa or people) is well-known. The following lines aim at giving some glimpses of it as can be found in a Buddhist Sanskrit work entitled *Cīvaravastu* in the *Gilgit manuscripts*, edited by Dr. Nalinaksha Dutt, Vol. III, Part II, pp. 1—148.

2. The king of Magadha had five hundred ministers, Khaṇḍa being at the head of them. The prime minister was a very able and good man and his administration was just and right. As could be expected his colleagues became jealous of him and conspired against him giving false reports to the king. Khaṇḍa came to know about it and decided to leave the country. But where was he to go? He began to think over it. He could not go to Śrāvastī, or to Vārāṇasī, or to Rājagṛha, or to Campā. For, each of them was under the control of a king (*rājādhīna* 'subject to a king') and consequently under the control of one man (*ekādhīna*); and thus the same distress or dis advantage was in all the above places. This led him to think that he might go to Vaiśālī as it was *gaṇādhīna* 'subject to a people' or republic. Here "what was desired by ten was not desired by twenty" (*yad daśānām abhipretam tad viṃśatīnām nābhipretam*, p. 5).

3. Thinking thus Khaṇḍa sent a messenger to the Licchavis of Vaiśālī asking their permission to live there under their protection. They gave a favourable reply and Khaṇḍa went there with his kinsmen.

4. Vaiśālī was then divided into three divisions (*Skandhas*), lower, middle, and upper, and the people lived there according to their respective ranks. There were different rules or agreements (*Kriyākāras*) in the republic of Vaiśālī. One of them was with regard to the marriage of girls. A girl born in the upper division was to be given to one in the same division or to one in the middle division; one born in the middle division to one in the same division or to one in the upper division, but never to one in the lower division; but a girl of the lower division might be given to one belonging to any one of the three divisions.

5. There were other two special rules for marriage. The first of them was to this effect: No girl was to be given in marriage to an outsider, *i.e.*, who was not an inhabitant of Vaiśālī.[1] And the second was this that the most excellent girl (*strīratna* 'the jewel of women') of Vaiśālī was enjoyable by the people of Vaiśālī; in other words, she was to become a *gaṇikā*, 'one that belongs to a *gaṇa*' or people, *i.e.*, a courtezan.[2]

6. As Khaṇḍa was a person of a higher rank he was allowed to live in the upper division of Vaiśālī. Now

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[1] "Kanyāyā anirvāhaḥ, nānyatra dīyata iti". p. 7.
"nānyatra kanyā dātavyā rte vaiśālakāṅ". p. 11.

[2] This rule appears to have made many a family in Vaiśālī unhappy depriving the fathers of their freedom in choosing bridegrooms as they liked for their daughters. The case of Āmrapālī is an instance. Her father, Mahānāma, being unable to choose her husband was one day seen by her much dejetced and lost in thought. She approached and enquired. The father divulged the truth and said "So, my daughter, my desire is not fulfilled."

'Father, are you dependent in this matter?'

'My child, the Gaṇa has already made the rule that the most excellent girl is enjoyable by the Gaṇa and you are one of that type. I am therefore helpless."

The text may be quoted here (p. 17):

Sa (Mahānāma) kare kapolaṃ dattvā cintāparo vyavasthitaḥ. Āmrapālyā dṛṣṭaḥ pṛṣṭaś ca. tāta kiṃ asi cintāparaḥ. putri tvaṃ

when the Licchavis met in their Assembly, Khaṇḍa, though invited, would not first attend it. And when he was asked as to why he did not do so, his reply was that his distress was due to such an assembly and so he avoided it. However, being pressed by the Licchavis he began to attend the meetings of the Assembly, but refrained from offering his opinion owing to the thought that by doing so he might bring about his own distress. But afterwards he was prevailed upon by the Gaṇa of Vaiśālī and would express his individual opinion.

7. Now, the Licchavis of Vaiśālī before Khaṇḍa's joining the Assembly and taking part in its deliberations used to write letters to the persons concerned in a rough language, but after it there came a marked change and the Gaṇa would write letters courteously and politely. And it was known to all that this was due to the influence of Khaṇḍ.

In this connection it may be noted that in writing official letters in the republic such forms as the following were to be followed: "The Gaṇa headed by such and such commands." This is fully corroborated by the following lines found in the *Civaravastu* (p. 10) referred to above: *Khaṇḍapramukho gaṇa ājñāpayati, Siṃhapramukho gaṇa ājñāpayati.*

8. Khaṇḍa had two sons, Gopa and Simha, the former being elder. Gopa used to do misdeeds and on account of it Licchavis were annoyed and became indignant. Therefore Khaṇḍa advised him to go to a far off place and to live there carrying on a business, so that there might not be any excitement to the Gaṇa of Vaiśālī. The son followed the advice of the father.

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strīratnam iti kṛtvā gaṇabhogyā saṃvṛttā. mama manoratho na paripūrṇaḥ. tāta kiṃ tvaṃ parādhinaḥ. putri gaṇena pūrvam eva kriyākāraḥ kṛtaḥ strīratnaṃ gaṇabhogyam iti. tvam ca strīrat naṃ ato haṃ anīśvara iti."

9. As the time went on the Senāpati[3] 'General' or 'Prime minister' of Vaiśālī breathed his last and the Gaṇa elected Khaṇḍa for that post. After some time he also died. Now the Gaṇa of Vaiśālī assembled in a meeting to select one whom they could place on that position (*Kaṁ vayam senāpatim sthāpayāmaḥ*). Some said in the Assembly "As the Gaṇa was well-protected by Khaṇḍa, let us place his son on that position". Others said that of the two sons of Khaṇḍa, Gopa and Siṃha, the former could not be selected as he was strong, malicious and mischievous and as such he would certainly divide the Gaṇa. His younger brother Simha could, however, be chosen as he was compassionate and one with whom to live together was pleasant. Besides, he was quite capable of gratifying the mind of the Gaṇa. Therefore, if it was agreeable to it they could have him as their Senāpati. As all agreed upon the proposal the members of the republic went in a body to Siṃha and requested him to accept the office. But Siṃha said that as Gopa was his elder brother they could kindly make him their Senāpati. To this they gave the following reply: "Siṃha, the office of the Senāpati has not come down from your family in regular succession. He is the Senāpati whoever is liked by the Gaṇa. If you do not accept it we shall offer it to anyone we like." Siṃha thought it would not be good if that office would go away from the house he belonged to. Thinking thus Siṃha accepted the offer and was made with great honour the Senāpati of the republic.

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[3] In such cases the word Senāpati which generally means a General or a Commander-in-Chief, appears to have been used to mean an officer of a much higher rank. Jayaswal takes it (*Hindu Polity*, 1924, p. 185) in the sense of chief minister. Raychaudhuri (*Political History of Ancient India*, 4th edition, Calcutta University 1938, p. 227) writes, "In the last days of Maurya Empire we find the Senāpati overshadowing king and transferring to himself the allegiance of troops."

10. When Gopa, the elder brother of Siṃha, came to know of the fact that Siṃha was made the Senāpati he got angry and said to Siṃha, "Is it right, brother, for you to become the Senāpati when I, your elder brother, am still living?" Siṃha told him clearly all what had happened. Yet, Gopa was enraged and resolved to leave Vaiśālī, as he felt himself insulted by not offering him that office. He went back to Rājagṛha with the permission from its king Bimbisāra and became his prime minister.

11. Siṃha had two daughters the younger one being endowed with all auspicious characteristics. At that time king Bimbisāra lost his chief queen and Gopa seeing the sad condition of the king with his permission proposed in a letter to his brother, Siṃha, to give his younger daughter to Bimbisāra in marriage. The latter sent the following reply: "Brother, though you are now away, you are to be consulted. What you propose is authoritative. But, as you know, according to the rule of the Gaṇa no girl born in Vaiśālī can be married to one who is not an inhabitant of it". Yet by a secret way Siṃha's first daughter, instead of the second, was married to Bimbisāra, and on account of it there was a terrible fight between the Licchavis and Bimbisāra, in which the former had to suffer a tremendous defeat. And they resolved to make a requital of enmity (*vaira-niryātana*) even to the sons of the king. This resolution was got recorded and kept in a box duly sealed. ("patralekhyaṃ kṛtvā peḍāyāṃ prakṣipya jatumudrātāpam sthāpayata". p. 13).

SOME ASPECTS OF THE KUṚAL POLITY

BY

PROF. V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR, M.A.

What the Bhagavad Gītā is to the Hindus in general, what the Dhammapada is to the Buddhists, so is the Tirukkuṛaḷ of Tiruvaḷḷuavr to the Tamils of South India. The Tirukkṛaḷ or simply Kuṛaḷ is probably a composition of the first century B.C. which has been quoted as an authority by the author of the celebrated Tamil epic Śilappadikāram of the second century A.D. It is a great work dealing with moral and ethical principles and with the ideals to which the Tamil Aham stood through the ages. 'It is a book of aphorisms', says Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, 'which lays down how exactly one should conduct himself to lead the good life (*Hindu Administrative Institutions in S. India*, p. 32). The Kuṛaḷ has been known to the Tamils by the more significant expression muppāl, as it deals with the three aspects of life, namely, aṛam, poruḷ and iṇbam. A comparative student is at once reminded of that much valued concept of the Sanskrit epics and works on Polity, well known as the Trivarga. The term Trivarga stands exactly for dharma, artha and kāma. It is evident that muppāl is synonymous with Trivarga, and the terms aram, poruḷ and iṇbam are the literal translations, if we may say so, of the terms dharma, artha and kāma respectively. In this masterly work, Tiruvaḷḷuvar enters into a critique, as it were, of the relation of trivarga of muppāl to the science of daṇḍa which is in its broad sense protection of life and property of the citizens of a state.

The book is divided into three sections and the whole covers 133 chapters. Analysing these chapters, we find that the first 38 chapters deal with aṛam or dharma, chap-

ters 39 to 108 with poruḷ or artha, and the rest with iṇbam or kāma. Thus one sees that the largest portion of the book is devoted to a critical examination of the polity of the Tamils, containing as it does seventy chapters. In the first section of the book the author is out to instruct the people in the path of virtue and truth. For it is the firm belief of Tiruvaḷḷuvar that there is nothing higher than righteousness in this world and for the progress of the world every citizen should practise righteousness and cultivate feelings of brotherhood in every-day life. If we follow the spirit of the teachings of Vaḷḷuvar, we are led to believe that the practice of righteousness is entirely or to a large extent dependent on proper performance of the king's duties. The conception was that but for a well ordered state in charge of a righteous ruler, there will be no society and no state. Therefore the author devotes more chapters on the duties and responsibilities of the king and his officials, and points out how they should discharge their functions so that the country at large may be flourishing, prosperous and peaceful. This is a necessary condition for the welfare of the people. So the Kuṛaḷ is a logical presentation of the great values of life, and the ways and means by which to realise them. Thus the Kuṛaḷ is not a sectarian work but a cosmopolitan treatise written to suit not one age or a country but all ages and all countries. To a world rampant with materialism, the study of a work of this kind and the practice of the ideals which it stnds for is incalculably invaluable. One feels that the maxims of the Kuṛaḷ based as they are on excellent moral and ethical principles, should be broadcast throughout the world. This is bound to ensure more solace to the distressed who unfortunately loom large in the world of today.

In Sanskritic literature we hear of four Puruṣārthas or four ends of life. The fourth Puruṣārtha is moksha

or freedom from the bondage of samsāra or the cycle of care to stress that such life is possible, human nature of this school but he has confined himself only to the three ends of life. For, it is well to understand that a person who pursues the three ends of life in the ordained path is automatically led to the fourth end which is salvation leading to heavenly bliss. So our author does not feel called upon to expatiate on the fourth Purusartha. Emphasis is rightly laid on the fact that the state and the king who is at the helm of that state are largely responsible to attain these ends of life. The root of the polity is dharma or aṛam. A beautiful couplet says that aṛam or virtue is nothing more than a good family life (*aṛam eṇapparate ilvāḷkkai*). A good family life is the basis of a good society. To ensure the bond of love between individual and society, what is needed is discipline which is best afforded by the state represented by the King and his officials. The result is a harmonious coordination of the different spritual and moral standards tending to the material and moral progress of the world. So Vaḷḷuvar lays stress on the practice of aṛam by all the subjects of a state, duties to be observed by all classes of society. Among these, dāna (gifts) and ṭava (penance) figure prominently (Ch. II, 9). By this the author condemns selfishness and exalts selflessness.

More than the Sanskrit texts, it is the Kuṛaḷ that has cogently and logically worked out the exact relation between the polity and Trivarga or the three ends of life. The purpose of a state is the attainment of good life first by securing wealth and utilising it generously and properly on things which would aid the people of that state in their onward journey, secondly by enjoying pleasures of life with healthy restraints, and finally by cultivating a detached view of life as age advances. The author of the Kuṛaḷ attaches high value to these ends of life, or

more properly the conduct of life of every citizen and takes care to stress that such life is possible, human nature being what it is, only by the rigorous discipline enforced by a superior power. Hence the importance of a king in the polity of the Tamils.

The Kuṛaḷ does not go into the vexed theories of the origin of the State or society but simply envisages a well-established kingdom, with a righteous and powerful king being at the head. The form of government advocated is monarchy, and a constitutional monarchy based upon the entire will of the people who acquiesce in the selection of the monarch, though it was generally hereditary. The political philosophy of Tiruvaḷḷuvar was similar to that of Plato or Aristotle who emphasised the importance of the monarch in the progressive realisation of the ideals for which a state ordinarily stood.

With this background of the political philosophy ennunciated by Tiruvaḷḷuvar we can proceed to examine the aspects of polity which he has so elaborately described. In dealing with the institutions, he seems to follow the Kauṭalīyan school. The political and sociological data in the mānava dharma śāstra are also now and then pressed into service. The king is at the top of the state. He is all powerful yet constitutional. He should not play the role of an autocrat. Tyrannizing over the subjects would lead to the ruin of the king's family. He should avoid vices of different kinds and be a man of good character. The vices which he should abhor are extreme indulgence with women dealt with in two chapters. The author takes care not to shut out legitimate happiness. Only excessive indulgence of an illegitimate character is condemned. The other vice or vyasana as the Arhaśāstrā puts it, is that of drink. It has been conceded through the ages that drink is an evil that ought to be avoided at all costs. Otherwise it was

felt that he could not be sober-minded. Another vice prohibited is gambling. Though Hindu idea has from Vedic times indulged in the game of dice, still it has been prohibited by law and custom. The idea was that such vices would cut into the legitimate functions of the king, or make the ruler lose his normal health which is so essential to a protector and guardian of the realm.

Having said what a king should not do, we shall examine what he was expected to do as a ruler. The Arthaśāstra polity speaks of a seven limbed kingdom (saptāngam rājyam). The Kuṛaḷ polity points to six limbs of the kingdom. These are the army, the people, the treasury, the ministry, the allies and the fortifications. While the Sanskritists would include the institution of monarchy as a limb of the state, the Kuṛaḷ polity has excluded him from the limbs of the state, and has thus apparently assigned to him a more important place. Notwithstanding this here is a correspondence between the Arthaśāstra polity and the Kuṛaḷ polity, for if we include the king, the Kuṛaḷ polity becomes a seven limbed kingdom. It is not enough that a monarch possesses these institutions to aid him. They may be supplementary or complementary to the discharging of his responsibilities. What was required was a ruler of excellent character devoted to the duty of protection of his subjects. He must be wise, possess tremendous courage and energy and be liberal. He was to be learned and must keep vigilant. He should avoid wasteful expenditure and enrich his treasury. Before taking up a decision, he should consult his advisors and try to follow them. Such a king was regarded as a god among men. God is impartial and just to all the people and protects the world from disaster. So also the king by his just rule shields his subjects from the unrighteous path (Kuṛaḷ 382—390).

After laying stress on the importance of perfect learning for a monarch,—for knowledge is wealth—in two chapters (40 and 41), the learned author of the Kuṛaḷ says that this learning should be enriched by the habit of listening to the wise (kēḷvi) in one full chapter (42). This adds to his wisdom which enables him to discriminate between right and wrong, good and evil, and gives him foresight to see things ahead (Ch. 43). In fact learning and wisdom are considered the foundation on which a monarch carries on the ship of state. Emphasis is placed on the fact that learning and righteousness would flourish in a kingdom where the king is learned and righteous. Speaking on righteous rule, the Kuṛaḷ beautifully puts it that it is not the javelin but the sceptre that glorifies a king and his kingdom (546). He must be easy of access to his people and he must patiently listen to their grievances and bring succour to them. But if, on the other hand, he is swayed by evil propensities and uses his position for his own selfish ends, he is an improvident king and is said to prostitute justice. Under the rule of a cruel king, even the seasons alter, reminding us of the famous concept Rāja Kālasya Kāraṇam (559). It was the ancient belief, call it superstitious if you will, that the king was a god on earth, and the Tamils also entertained the same opinion. Though they hedged him with divinity, they fought tyrants and tyrannical rule. Says a Kuralvenba: 'The days of a tyrant are numbered and he perishes'. The reign of terror was abhorred (Ch. 57) and it is said that that monarch who indulged in a terrorist rule would surely meet with ruin. So the Kuṛaḷ advises the monarch to do justice tempered with mercy and earn the goodwill of his subjects. Otherwise he invited destruction on himself.

Thus it is ordained that a king should be compassionate, sympathetic and noble, Unflagging energy

should move the king in his acts and deeds. This is the utthānam of Sanskrit literature. On him fortune smiles, and of him despair takes leave. He should place high ideals before him and act up to them with grace and grandeur. Enthusiasm and not idleness should be the guiding spirit. Sloth is a canker that should not find a place in a king. It is the birth-place of poverty and disease to the different limbs of a kingdom. When once work is undertåken, effort should be made to carry it through to a successful termination. In the hour of distress one should not despair. He should take courage with both hands and tide over the crisis. What is wanted is the maintenance of what he calls a divine composure when assailed by misfortunes. If need be, he must fight even against fate. Ultimately his labour would be rewarded, and once more the sunshine of prosperity will illuminate his kingdom (Ch. 62-3).

The king as envisaged by the Tirukkuṛaḷ is a law-abiding monarch. He took the advice of his ministers and consulted them on all affairs of the state. The ministers were to be learned, impartial and far-seeing. A minister is one who works out the details of an undertaking, studies the pros and cons of achieving it, waits for the opportunity and commences it when the right moment presents itself. A minister must be equally of indomitable will and of inexhaustible energy. It was he who should create dissension among enemies, cement the bond of friendship with fallen ones and cherish old allies. It is not enough that the minister is versed in the laws of the kingdom and knows the theory too well. But he must in addition be wise and put his knowledge to practical application to make the administration really sound. Even when a king would not listen to his advice, the minister should not abandon him. But he would continue to give his advice in season and out of

season so that the king would be finally compelled to act up to his advice. The most indispensable qualification of a minister is said to be eloquence and command of language. He must be precise in his expression and endeavour to create a public opinion in his favour. He must be a bold and dauntless debator (Ch. 64-65).

A minister should be a man of character. He is a statesman and he should behave nobly. Purity in action is a virtue that must be cultivattd by him. He should not stoop to conquer. He must not indulge in ease and rest. He should not resort to foul means in achieving his objects. By clean fight he should remove obstacles. By walking in the path ordained he should advise the king to act up to the laws of the land. He should endeavour to command the respect of the world by following the policy of his predecessors and by firmness of action. Vacillation at a time of action will bring him down in the estimation of the people. Before he comes to a decision the minister is asked to deliberate calmly and deeply, and when once the decision is arrived at he should execute without losing a single minute, for delay is dangerous. For instance, a minister can advise a declaration of war, only after taking into consideration the following resources, weapons of war, the opportune moment, the nature of action, and the place of battle. In every enterprise he should follow the method of deliberation and decision (Ch. 66—68). But at the same time it will spell disaster to a state if the minister proves dishonest and wicked and goes to the length of plotting the downfall or ruin of the king. A vile minister is said to be worse than a host of enemies (639).

We shall now examine the other limbs of the state. One of them is the nāḍu or kingdom. The Kuṛaḷ says (Ch. 74) that alone is a kingdom where a contented peasantry, wise men and wealthy people live Add to this

boundless natural resources which lead to the abundant supply of foodstuffs, notwithstanding a drain in time of pressing need. It should have plenty of water supply, natural fortresses which ensure defence. It is concluded happy is the kingdom where prevailed peace and harmony between the ruler and the ruled. It should be free from the ravages of pestilence and famine. It must be a country where people live in amity and harmony, free from all civil and religious dissensions.

The importance of fortresses is emphasised in a special chapter (75). In those days a fortress was considered an invaluable defence. For there were frequent wars between the various chieftains. Especially the weaker powers regarded their fortifications as a sure refuge in case of an invasion by the enemy. Similarly the king who went out on an expedition should see that his subjects were safe during his absence. The fortress-city was provided with foodstuffs and kept beyond want, and at the same time well garrisoned.

The army was another limb of the state. The necessity of a disciplined army is insisted on (Ch. 77). The soldiers should be valorous and loyal. They should summon all their courage in the hour of peril and fight to the finish. The army should be contented and well paid. The success of an army is said to depend on the leader of the host. Though one should fight valourously, still one should be chivalrous to the fallen and to the defenceless. He was a hero who had the courage to draw out the javelin from his wounded breast and send it back with more fury. The Tamil soldier wore an anklet which produced a ringing sound when engaged in the thick of action. He took a vow not to return from the field without success, or to meet with a glorious death by fighting undaunted. Otherwise he brought ignominy.

The Kuṛaḷ in this connection mentions the institu-

tion of ambassador and spies. The qualifications of an ambassador are that he should be highly connected, learned and skilled in debate. He must be a statesman of high order, and a gentleman of winning personality. He was expected to deliver his message as briefly as possible and persuade the alien king to his way of thinking by the magic of his eloquence and wit. He was to answer to the point put before him calmly with an eye to the time, the place and the circumstances of the case for which he was sent on a mission. Even under a threat of torture, he should rise to the occasion and not utter any word that would leave a stain on his king and kingdom (Ch. 69).

Referring to the spies (Ch. 59) the author of the Kuṛaḷ follows almost entirely the Arthaśāstra texts. The spies are said to be one of two eyes of the monarch, the other eye being the established law of the land. There was a regular system of espionage and spies who went in different disguises throughout the kingdom and in other kingdoms were to report to the king day to day happenings. It was through them that the state got at the true state of affairs and the public opinion of the kingdom. Even the public departments were not free from these secret agents. This shows that the state was anxious to maintain the purity and efficiency of the government departments and government servants. Without being discovered, the spy more often as an ascetic wandered the length and breadth of the land, gathered correct information and communicated them to the king. The intelligence such as was gathered was precise and correct. To see that no mistake arose, the information was often tested by independent testimony. Spies were sent out without the knowledge of one another and these furnished the news independently. If the information received from these different sources concurred, then the

king attached validity to it and acted upon it immediately. One of the regulations of the Kuṛaḷ was that such secret agents should not be honoured openly and this was to maintain strict secrecy. In such cases trust begets trust. So trustworthy servants were generally appointed as ambassadors and spies.

There is an elaborate disquisition on the nature of allies and character of alliances. (Ch. 79—84). The value of a friend is something like an armour. Alliance should be with the worthy if it is to be fruitful. He who gives succour in the hour of peril and who shares the joy and misfortune is a true ally. One should search for genuine friends and stand by them in weal or woe. For true alliance should be close and fast. It should not be base and false.

Tiruvaḷḷuvar realises that this pales into insignifinance if there is no organised treasury which has an unfailing stock of riches. The distinguished author proceeds at the outset to show that such treasury should be built up not by foul and unscrupulous means but it should be acquired by righteous methods without causing least dissatisfaction to the people at large. Tiruvalluvar takes for granted the cannons of taxation highly elaborated and discussed in the Sanskrit nīti texts. He says definitely that such fortune should result in aṛam or virtue and iṇbam or happiness. The idea underlying this brief Kuṛaḷ—veṇba is that in both his acquisition and expenditure the king should use his discretion and that in a righteous way. That alone would ensure his happiness and the welfare of his subjects. In enumerating the sources of revenue to the State a categorical list is given. This includes the income from the estates of persons to whom there is no legitimate heir, the taxes from land and commerce, and the tributes from defected and subordinate princes. (Ch. 76 and especially 756). Emphasis is

laid on the one use of wealth, viz., to put down with an iron hand the enemies of the kingdom.

We shall conclude this by examining the views of the Kuṛaḷ on what a kingdom should really be. It is said that it is a happy land where the intellectuals, the commercials and the peasantry live side by side, in concord and peace. The great politiical as well as the ethical concept underlying the Kuṛaḷ—veṇba (731) is that the kingdom should be free from communal wrangle, and squables and should be full of community life based on the communalistic principles. In the opinion of the great Tamil sage, mere poltical unity is not enough but there should be social unity also. Shall we not take a lesson in this century of conflicts and strifes, communal and otherwise from a twenty century old writer, and grow wiser and happier?

APPENDIX

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PART I

F. 77

I
INTRODUCTORY

In October, 1942, on the occasion of the meeting of the Indian History Congress at Hyderabad in the Nizam's dominion, a few friends of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji made a proposal which later emerged in the shape of the following Scheme.

ज्ञानाग्निः समिध्यते

PRESENTATION VOLUME AND LECTURESHIP FOUNDATION

IN HONOUR OF

DR. RADHA KUMUD MOOKERJI, M.A., PH.D., M.L.C. (BENGAL).
Itihāsa-Śiromaṇi (Baroda)

Professor and Head of the Department of History, Lucknow University

It is proposed to present to Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji a Volume of Studies in recognition of the long and distinguished services rendered by him in different spheres of national life. He stands out to-day as one of the best exponents of Indian History and Civlization of which the most important phases and aspects he has presented in a well-planned series of scholarly works. He is also a prominent figure in Indian public life upon which he has brought to bear in speeches and writings the wealth of his learning and historical knowledge. As a political thinker, he has subjected to scientific analysis some of the most complicated problems of modern India. Some of us remember how decades ago he threw the whole weight of his personality and great gifts, with considerable self-sacrifice, into the national education movement. As a teacher, he has few equals, and has impressed upon his pupils for more than a generation the stamp of a new outlook and attitude which they gratefully recognize in their different fields of work.

It is also proposed to endow in his name a Lectureship of a suitable annual value in the subject of Indian History and Civilization at the University of Lucknow he has been serving.

We appeal to the many pupils, friends, and admirers of Dr. Mookerji, as also to patrons of Learning, for financial contributions. The total Scheme is estimated to cost Rs. 75,000.

Persons contributing Rs. 500/- or more in aid of the Scheme will be called *Patrons*, those paying Rs. 100/- *Donors* and those paying Rs. 25/- *Subscribers*. All classes of supporters will be entitled to receive the Presentation Volume free of charge.

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II

BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji is the son of late Gopalchandra Mookerji who, after a brilliant academic career, rose to be the leader of the Bar at Berhampore in the district of Murshidabad in Bengal, and achieved the high distinction of being appointed by the Calcutta University to the Tagore Law Professorship but, unfortunately, he did not live to deliver the Lectures. Heredity has thus been a favourable factor in the career of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji. The following biographical details are culled from the *Biographical Encyclopaedia of the World* issued by the Institute for Research in Biography in U.S.A., giving "authoritative biographies of the most important persons in the world."

He received his school education in his native town of Berhampore (Bengal), and higher education at the Presidency College, Calcutta. Throughout his academic career he won first grade Government Scholarships. He obtained double Honours in the B.A. Examination in 1901 and established a record by taking his first M.A. Degree in History and the Cobden Medal in Economics in the same year in 1901. He obtained a second M.A. degree in English in 1902. In 1905 he achieved the unique distinction of winning by examination the coveted prize of the Calcutta University known as the Premchand Roychand Studentship of the value of Rs. 7,000/-, together with the Mouat Gold Medal. He obtained the Degree of PH.D. of that University in 1915.

He began his educational career as Professor of English at the Ripon College, and, later, at Bishop's College, Calcutta, in 1903. In 1906, he was appointed Hemchandra Basu Mallik Professor at National Council of Education, Bengal, and the Bengal National College, under the Principalship of Sri Aurobindo Ghosh. He served as the first Maharaja Sir Manindra Chandra Nandy Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture at the Benares Hindu University in 1916, and as the first Professor of History at the Mysore University from 1917 to 1921. Since 1921, he has been serving as Professor and Head of the Department of History at the Lucknow University.

Among his public activities may be mentioned the following: He was elected a member of the Bengal Legislative Council (the

Upper House) on the nomination of the Indian National Congress, and Leader of the Opposition in 1937, and from 1939 to 1940 he served as a member of the Bengal Land Revenue Commission (known as the Floud Commission) by deputation from the Lucknow University to the Bengal Government. He organized the Bengal Anti-Communal Award Committee of which he became the Secretary along with Mr. T. C. Goswami, the present Finance Minister of the Bengal Government, with the poet Rabindra Nath Tagore as its president, Sir B. C. Mahtab, G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., Maharajadhiraja Bahadur of Burdwan, as its working President, Dr. Sarat Chandra Chatterji, the Novelist, and Hirendra Nath Datta, the Philosopher, as its Vice-Presidents.

He has been invited to participate and lead many of the cultural movements of the country with which his special study bears filiation. He was elected a Sectional Chairman at the All-India Oriental Conference at its Mysore session, and also at the Indian History Congress at Lahore in 1940. He presided over the United Provinces Secondary Education Conference at its Meerut session and at the All-Bengal Teachers Conference at Khulna in Bengal. He also presided at the Vikramāditya celebration organized by the All-India Hindu Mahasabha at Amritsar and is the General Editor of the Vikramāditya Commemoration Volume of the Gwalior Government.

He was invited to deliver Extension Lectures by the Mysore University at several centres in the Mysore State; the Manindra Lectures by the Benares Hindu University; a series of Lectures at the Punjab University; a Course of Readership Lectures at the Calcutta University; Lectures at the Bombay and Osmania Universities; Extension Lectures at the Annamalai University; Sir William Meyer Lectures at the Madras University; inaugural Addresses at the Hyslop College, Nagpur, and Hitkarini Law College at Jubbulpore; and Anniversary Addresses at the Bihar Research Society, at Patna, and Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute at Poona.

The Government of Baroda has awarded to him the Sri Sayaji Rao Gaekwad Prize of Rs. 7,000/-, and conferred upon him the title of *Itihāsa Śiromaṇi*.

During the stirring times, 1906-15, he threw himself heart and soul into the various national movements of the country and

was placed in charge of a number of economic organizations aiming at the development of indigenous commercial enterprise such as the Co-operative Hindustan Bank of Calcutta, and also toured the districs of Bengal as a missionary of the National Education Movement.

Dr. Mookerji's grip upon Ancient Indian Culture and his religious outlook have also brought him into close contact with several religious and political movements aiming to make Hinduism more dynamic and a factor of harmony amid the clashes of creeds. He has been elected as a Vice-President of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha for a number of years, President of the All-India Hindu Youths' Conference at its Lahore session, President of Assam Citizens' Association, and President of the *Akhaṇḍa Bhārata* Conference and of its Standing Committee.

Dr. Mookerji is the author of the following works:

1. *A History of Indian Shipping and Maritime Activity from the Earliest Times* [Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1912]. The Foreword to this work was written by that distinguished Savant, the late Sir Brajendra Nath Seal.

On this wrok Lord Curzon wrote to the author: "It is a subject well worthy of treatment, which seems to have escaped the notice of previous students and I congratulate you on having made so useful a contribution to our knowledge of India."

The late Dr. Vincent A. Smith wrote to the author that the book "is a possession which deserves to be treasured. The illustrations which you have brought together with so much labour are a history in themselves. Every authority on the subject has been ransacked and I cannot suggest any omissions. If I live to bring out a third edition of my *Early History*, I shall not fail to make use of the new material supplied by you. You have done good service by placing on record in scholarly fashion a full account of India's old-world achievements in the shipping line."

The late Dr. K. P. Jayaswal, in a long Article on the work in the *Hindusthan Review* for 1913, wrote: "Professor Mookerji's work is one of the first attempts by Indians to present a systematic survey of the secular activities of the Hindu race. As a pioneer in his subject, he has fully succeeded in his enterprise. The Volume is a production on which both the author and its country may be congratulated. The book is a mine of information

and a monument of patient and scholarly work. It will remain indispensable to the student of Indian History for a long time. Any praise for the conception of the book cannot be too high."

The Shipping World, London, wrote: "This is a book to be read from cover to cover."

The London *Times* stated: "Mr. Mookerji has selected a fascinating and almost untrodden field of historical research. He has compressed masses of information into a compact and fluent narrative. He is evidently one of that small but growing band of Indians who are determined to wipe out the reproach that the historical faculty is dead within their race."

The *Liverpool Daily Post and Mercury* wrote: He tells a well-arranged connected tale in excellent nervous English, he makes the dry bones live, and shows a picture of Eastern Seas both illuminating and fascinating. In the words of Principal Brajendra Nath Seal who supplies an introductory note, 'the signal merit of this survey is that these facts of history are throughout accompanied by their political, social, or economic interpretation, so that the monograph is not a mere chronicle of facts, but a chapter of unwritten culture-history conceived and executed in a philosophical spirit. One great merit of the book is its pioneering mission."

2. *The Fundamental Unity of India* (From Hindu Sources) [Longmans Green & Co., London, 1914].

This book had its Foreword from the Right Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald, ex-British Premier, who wrote. "To those who follow the work of the band of Indian historical students who are struggling, with no great measure of encouragement, to found a School native to the soil and inspired by Indian tradition, Mr. Mookerji's books need no introduction, especially since he published his *History of Indian Shipping*."

The substance and importance of the work are thus brought out by Dr. F. W. Thomas, the late Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford: "In a country marked by so many diversities of climate, race, usage, and belief, it seems to me that it was worth while to draw attention to the idea of unity which you have rightly traced in a variety of geographical and political conceptions, and in the possession of a common fund of culture which we may term Brahmanic and which has in fact spread beyond the

bounds of India itself, dominating a wider sphere by you aptly named Greater India. Your work is characterised by much learning."

3. *Local Government in Ancient India* with Foreword of Lord Crewe [Clarendon Press: Oxford]. On this book Lord Haldane wrote: "The book bears closely on the problems in the West . . . The hitsory of Ancient India shows how organic growth solves questions that are not capable of treatment from any mechanical point of view alone. The life of a nation consits in growth, and not in external causation. Apart from the substance of the work, I found its literary form very attractive."

Lord Bryce wrote: "The distinction you draw between the State and Society in early India as compared with European countries is to me very illuminative. We Westerners are always too prone to think our structure of society and government to be typical. Is the difference visible in India due to the separation of religious and ecclesiastical organisation and power from civil? If so, one might expect some parallel in ancient Egypt. Or is it due to the independent origin and growth of local communities?"

The Right Hon. J. Ramsay MacDonald wrote in the *Socialist Review*: "The young school of Indian historical study is producing some interesting results and I am glad to add Professor Mookerji's *Local Government in Ancient India* to those I already possess. His book will give the modern student of industrial and political theories many interesting illustrations of most up to date ideas."

Professor E. J. Rapson wrote in the *English Historical Review*: "All will feel grateful to him for the real service which he has rendered to scholarship by collecting together and arranging in a convenient form the widely scattered evidence for the early history of local government in India."

4. *Nationalism in Hindu Culture* (First Volume in the Asian Library Series, London).

5. *Men and Thought in Ancient India* [Macmillan and Co., London].

London Daily News wrote on this book:—"We know of no recent small book better than this as an introduction to the wonderful past of India".

[*The Near East* wrote:—"Dr. Mookerji has produced the most interesting book on the history of Hindu and Buddhist India which has yet come into our hands".

6. *Harsha* [Rulers of India Series, Oxford; *Calcutta University Readership Lectures*].

7. *Asoka* (Gaekwad Lectures) [Macmillan and Co., London].

8. *Hindu Civilization* [Longmans Green and Co., London].

9. *Ancient Indian Education* (A book of over 700 pages about to be published by Macmillan and Co., London).

10. *Early Indian Art* (Indian Press, Allahabad).

11. *Asokan Inscriptions* (Indian Press, Allahabad).

12. *Chandragupta Maurya and his Times* [Sir William Meyer Lectures, Madras University].

13. *India's Land-System*, Ancient, Mediaeval, and Modern [Published by the Bengal Government and also published as a part of Vol. II of the Report of the Bengal Land-Revenue Floud Commission].

14. *A New Approach to the Communal Problem* (Padma Publications, Ltd., Bombay).

15. *Gupta Empire* (In the Press).

III

PROGRESS OF THE SCHEME

The cost of the Scheme was originally estimated at Rs. 10,000 but thanks to the spontaneous and generous support of some of its sponsors and signatories the estimate was exceeded in a very short time and raised to Rs. 15,000/-, and later to Rs. 30,000/-, with the growing volume of support forthcoming for the Scheme. As we are going to the Press, the total collections for the entire Scheme including the publication of this Volume and the foundation of Dr. Radha Kumud Mookerji Lectureship at the Lucknow University have exceeded Rs. 60,000/-. The Lectureship has already been instituted by the Lucknow University on the basis of the originally stipulated endowment of Rs. 30,000/- which the Committee has already transferred out of its funds to the University.

The Committee has transferred to the Lucknow University further sums of Rs. 8000/- and Rs. 1000/- by which the University has instituted respectively two post-graduate Radha Kumud Mookerji Scholarships and one Radha Kumud Mookerji Gold Medal to be awarded annually at its Convocation to the best B.A. of the year.

The Committee expresses its profound gratitude to the Patrons, Donors and Subscribers who by their generous contributions have helped to make the Scheme such a complete success in such a short time in spite of the difficult and depressing conditions created by the War. The Committee cannot but feel gratified that the love of India's culture keeps burning in so many hearts against the blackout of militarism and the clouds of worldwide despondency.

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